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ERRATA.

- Page 851.** Fourth line from bottom, for "devoted" read "devout."
869. Put the * on line 2, at end of line 17.
879. Eighth line from bottom, for "reinstated" read "reinvested."
889. Pages 889 to 898 are repeated.
969. Article VII is numbered Article VIII.

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ARTICLE I.—MR. TENNYSON AND THE IDYLS OF KING ARTHUR.

Idylls of the King. By ALFRED TENNYSON, D. C. L., Poet Laureate. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

JOHN MILTON, when, at the age of thirty, he had left England to perfect, by travel and by experience of foreign lands, the varied education by which he had been training himself for immortality,—“pluming his wings and meditating flight,”—had come at last, through France and Northern Italy, along the coast of the blue Mediterranean to Naples. Here he lingered among the charming scenes of that Italian landscape, rich in natural beauty and not less rich in historic memories. Here he mused over the tomb of Virgil, and as he looked about him or glanced off to seaward, his eyes, as yet not sightless, rested on many an object which had been made immortal by ancient fable or by classic verse. Here too he was the guest of the noble Manso, himself a man of letters and a poet, but more famous as the friend, protector, and biographer of Tasso, and as the patron of the more recent but less worthy

poet Marini. Doubtless, in the weeks that Milton spent surrounded by such scenes and in such companionship, there was much talk and meditation of the poets, ancient and modern, whose names and memory were so associated with the place, and more especially of the tales of chivalry and romance, which lived in the verse of Tasso. Thus it was that the young English poet was led to speak about the ancient tales of British chivalry, and to tell the polite and appreciating Italian the mythic story which, centuries before, the romance writers had begun to fabricate,—the story of Arthur and his noble knights,—of Arthur and the battles that he fought for Christ and Britain. And here it was, most probably, (as indeed his biographer has suggested,)* that the plan of writing a great epic poem, upon which until now he had meditated vaguely, began to take definite shape in his mind, and to be freely spoken of in his intercourse with his friends. He would sing of Arthur and the British kings who fought the Saxons, and would make the valor and the faith of those old warriors to live again in his enduring verse. Such was the plan which he then hoped to accomplish. The hope grew upon him while he stayed in Italy, and, when he was suddenly summoned home again, he expresses it distinctly in his parting epistle to Manso :

"Indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
 Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem!
 Aut dicam invictæ sociali feedere mense
 Magnanimos heroas."

He carried his design with him back to England, and we find him still cherishing it in the elegant elegiac poem which he wrote soon after his return, on hearing of the death of his friend Deodati. In the mythic history of Britain, in the story of the crafty maneuvering of Merlin,—of the betrayal of the fair Igrayne, the birth of Arthur and the wars and treachery that followed,—was to be found the subject for his promised epic. Only it is noticeable that now, in the gravity of his maturing manhood, and chastened by the bereavement which he

* See Toland's Life of Milton, (London ed. of 1761,) page 14–17.

had suffered, he chooses this for his subject, not in the hope of a wide immortality of fame, but preferring rather to live in the affectionate and grateful memory of his own countrymen. If only by his poem he may secure to himself a reward like this, he says :

“ mi satis ampla
Mercea, et mihi grande decus, (sim ignotus in avum
Tum licet, extero penitusque inglorius orbi.)”

But the news which hurried Milton back to England, before he had become satisfied with his stay in Naples, was the news of civil discord and commotion which was soon to be followed by civil war and a great revolution ; and for years to come, he had enough to do “in liberty’s defense,” without planning epics or writing them. When, at last, with a soul strengthened by experience of controversy in matters of religion and of state, disciplined and matured by personal affliction and suffering, he came to the production of the promised poem, he found that he had all this time been in training for a nobler work than to record the fictitious story of any earthly heroes. He had been occupied too long with matters far sublimer than the wars of Arthur and the adventures of his knights. He could not descend again from the high places from which he had been doing battle for freedom, for purity of faith and order, and for eternal truth. Now that the time had come for him to sing, he sang “of man’s first disobedience,” and of the wise counsels and the mighty acts of God ; —and so the epic of King Arthur has remained unwritten until now.

It has remained unwritten, but not unattempted. Only a few years after Milton died, Sir Richard Blackmore, a learned and excellent man, so eminent in the profession of medicine that King William III appointed him his own physician, employed his leisure time in writing a long poem, in which he celebrated the military exploits which are attributed to the early part of Arthur’s reign. This production being received with unexpected favor, he followed it speedily with another poem, in twelve books, in which he recorded the tedious series of Arthur’s later triumphs. Sir Richard was a man of un-

commonly religious spirit. His motive in writing was a most excellent one,—and he succeeded in showing to a generation whose literary taste had been fearfully corrupted, that a poet could write good verses, and a great many of them, too, without polluting them with all the indecencies in which Dryden and his fellows had delighted. He succeeded, also, to some extent, in elevating the taste which had become thus degraded. But in spite of the excellent spirit in which they are written, and although the verses are smooth and polished and rhyme with faultless regularity, the poems are monotonous and heavy. The Arthur whom they celebrate is a mere military hero, although his general character, as far as it appears, is every way respectable ; he appears chiefly engaged in battle with opposing armies, and with an occasional dragon ; celestial powers array themselves on his behalf against the machinations of Lucifer and his fiends, who are contriving continually for his temporal and eternal destruction. Once or twice he is made to personate some Scriptural character. Lucifer, for instance, asks and obtains leave to distress and tempt him, feeling sure that in adversity his integrity of character will be destroyed. But he endures with the patience and constancy of Job. Merlin, the great magician, is represented, contrary to all history and all fable, as having proved false to Arthur and the British cause, and as giving the assistance of his wicked enchantments to the hostile army. Being brought, as Balaam was of old, for the purpose of pronouncing a curse upon the British king and people, he is forced to bless instead,—and does so in a very excellent and Scriptural style, very good in its place, but not what we look for from the wizard of King Arthur's court. But we look in vain through all these successive books for that King Arthur who was “the floure of all knights and kings,” who was so brave and yet so gentle, who was so pure and just, who was illustrious not only on the battlefield and at the tournament, but also “at the head of all his table round,” in council, as a king, a friend, a husband.

This last remark is true also, though in a less degree, of the Prince Arthur whom Spenser introduces as the hero of his “Faery Queen.” He is not distinctly the Arthur of the old

romances. So far as the character of the hero is concerned, he might as well bear any other name. He appears at best but seldom, and the part which he plays in the poem is not a conspicuous one. The scenes and persons with which he is connected are allegorical and of the poet's own invention, and we catch no glimpse of all

“The goodliest fellowship of famous knights”

that met at the round table, and whose delight it was to

“talk of knightly deeds,
Walking about the gardens and the halls
Of Camelot.”

The “Faery Queen” has not, indeed, shared the fate of Sir Richard Blackmore’s epics, and is not banished to the dusty shelves of libraries; but it is because the sweetness of the melody, the beauty of the verse, the pure and high morality of the poetic thought have made it worthy to be always read and loved; and not because it has successfully treated or even attempted to treat the history and character of its nominal hero, King Arthur.

It is not at all surprising that a subject which Milton considered worthy of his genius, and which, in some form and to some extent, has been a favorite one with a great many of the English poets, should long ago have attracted the attention of that poet who is, in our day, the greatest living master of English verse. Among the earliest of his poems are traces of his familiarity with the romances and legends that cluster about the almost mythical name of Arthur. It was when he first began to be known as a poet, that he put in verse—and with such exceeding skill as even he himself has rarely surpassed—the story of “the Lady of Shallott,” to which we shall have occasion again to refer. Besides this he had given us such a perfect lyric as the “Sir Galahad;” and such an exquisite little gem of description as the fragment of five stanzas, in which he paints Sir Lancelot and Queen Guinevere on one of those Maying parties in which, as old Sir Thomas Malory tells us, the queen delighted to ride, “bedashed with hearbes and floures in the best manner and freshest;” and

such a complete and vivid picture as that which he hangs in his "Palace of Art," and in which he portrays how

"mythic Uther's deeply-wounded son
In some fair space of sloping greens
Lay, dozing in the vale of Avalon,
And watched by weeping queena."

And such passages as these, even without the splendid fragment of an epic which we find in the "*Mort d'Arthur*," were sufficient to give evidence of a poetic taste which could appreciate what was beautiful and good in those old fables, and of a poetic power which could mold them anew, expanding and adorning them and making them, to countless readers in our time and in times to come, sources of pure and healthful pleasure and of real instruction. They gave evidence, too, that the poet who produced them was casting longing eyes toward the great field of ancient romance, from which these were only single flowers, and encouraged the hope that he was making ready by and by to enter it, in the maturity of his powers, and to bring us forth a noble poem and a worthy one,—the poem which Milton might have written, but that he had higher work to do,—the poem for which all readers of English poetry have so long been waiting,—the epic of King Arthur. We welcome this volume of "*Idyls*," regarding it as the first partial fulfillment of that cherished hope, and trusting that the Laureate is meaning to continue, prefixing and adding to them, till he shall have given us a series of poems,—idyls, if he chooses to call them so,—arranged, as these are, in a sort of chronological order,—having, as these have, some thread of connection, and so making the story of Arthur more or less complete, from the days of his birth by the fair Igrayne, and of his nurture under the cunning superintendence of Merlin, to that magnificent closing scene which Mr. Tennyson has already described to us,—when

"all day long the noise of battle roared
Among the mountains by the winter sea ;
Until King Arthur's table, man by man,
Had fallen in Lyonness about their Lord
King Arthur."

Precisely such an arrangement as this, which, so far, Mr. Tennyson has adopted, would be most accordant with the style of the old romances, as we find them compiled by Sir Thomas Malory. There is no closely connected story, of which the fortunes of the "lily maid of Astolat," for instance, are an inseparable part,—but the several subordinate stories are, to a great extent, complete in themselves, but strung together in some sort of unity by a common attachment to the story of Arthur,—something as was that rhyme of Vivien's which she likened to "the fair pearl-necklace of the Queen." Is it too much to hope that Mr. Tennyson, who has never written better poetry than when he has written upon subjects connected with King Arthur, will give us more of so excellent a sort?

Before we pass to a more careful and particular examination of these poems, we ought to say something further about the subject of them. Whether there ever was a British King named Arthur has been not only doubted but even positively denied; and whether there ever was or not cannot greatly concern us now; for if there was we can positively know but little more about him than the fact of his existence in the earlier part of the sixth century. It is difficult, however, if there was no such real existence, to account for the fact that we find his name famous in tradition, in fragments of poems, and in the scanty historical records of those days, even centuries before the time when Geoffrey of Monmouth produced the startling and ingenious fables which were the basis of the romances, in prose and verse, that became so popular in later years. It is difficult to explain, on any other hypothesis, the legends which connect the name of Arthur with so many actual localities in Southern England and in Wales. And it is, certainly, vastly more satisfactory to accept the meagre historical evidence, liable as it may be to suspicion, and to conclude that there really was, in the first half of the sixth century, an Arthur, whose reign was so illustrious above those of the petty kings preceding and succeeding him, and whose character was so excellent and noble among a people, and at a time when such nobility was uncommon, that his name

endured, in spite of the lack of historians, living from generation to generation between the lips of men. And so his glory grew from age to age, and was made magnificent beyond the truth, till Geoffrey, partly collecting and partly inventing the fabulous history of his life and acts, made a groundwork for all the romances which have come down to us. And thus, too, in later ages, Arthur has come to be considered, even by those who know but little more of him than his name, as the ideal of a king and hero, brave, generous, and chivalric. Such was he, in fact, to the old romancers. Their ideal of a Christian knight and heroic king may have been a low one,—although not always quite so low as some modern critics would have us believe it,—but that ideal was Arthur, reigning at Camelot among his knights of the round table, and inciting them by precept and example to be perfect in whatever should become a noble knight. The romances of these old writers are best known to modern readers in the compilation which was made so long ago as the year 1470, by Sir Thomas Malory, a knight of the court of Edward the Fourth of England, and his version of them has been the authority which Mr. Tennyson has apparently recognized, so far as he has thought proper to confine himself to them.

In regard to "La Morte d'Arthur," under which title Sir Thomas Malory's book was published, it is not out of place to say briefly that it seems to have been considered by its author to be chiefly a fictitious romance, but founded upon veracious history; that it was published for the delight and profit of the reader, and for the purpose of perpetuating the fame of a king whose existence had even then begun to be questioned. The three volumes appear, at first, to be filled merely with monotonous and somewhat tirseome descriptions of wars and tournaments, of the adventures of the noble knights of the round table, encountering giants and sometimes dragons, jousting perpetually with stranger knights, delivering damsels from distress in which uncourteous knights had held them, meeting with rebuffs and disfavor, or with love and goodly cheer, from the damsels to whom they offered their devotion. But through all the monotony and din of these successive adventures,

appear the characters, clearly drawn and memorable for their vividness and power, of "the blameless king" himself, of Guinevere—that is, Winifred—his beautiful but faithless queen, of Lancelot and Tristram, peers in bravery, and bound together in the truest friendship,—of the crafty Gawaine, and, above all, of the pure Sir Galahad, who surpassed all others in his worth and glory, and who, with Sir Percivale and Sir Bors, achieved at last the quest of the Sanc Greal. And the simplicity and beauty of the old knight's narrative, the power of his descriptions, the appreciation which he shows of what is beautiful and noble wherever he finds it, the tinge of the supernatural with which his stories are colored, just enough to make them fascinating, but not enough to make them monstrous,—all these combine to make the volumes not wearisome but delightful; add to this that they are written in the purest and strongest Saxon style, in such language as we rarely meet with now except in King James's version of the Bible.

The times of chivalry, and the romances which in those times attained so wide a popularity, have been often and justly condemned as in a high degree immoral and impure. It must be confessed that, to a fearful extent, this censure is a well deserved one. We can hardly claim, even for Sir Thomas Malory's book, that it is to be recommended as widely useful for popular reading. It is a mere collection of romances, and as such, of course, is not a book of the highest utility. No doubt the real morality which Malory's picture of chivalry presents to us, is sometimes no morality at all. But it is not true that his ideal is thus low and unworthy, and that it finds its expression in the criminality of a Lancelot, for instance. We can sympathize, indeed, with good old Roger Ascham's indignation, when he tells us that he knows of a time "when God's Bible was banished the court, and 'La Morte d'Arthure' received into the Prince's chamber." Just so we should be indignant, and should know what to believe of the character of such a court, if it were true in our day that the Bible were cast out and "Vanity Fair," for instance, or even "Oliver Twist," welcomed in its place. But that good old schoolmaster spoke too hastily, and evidently without knowing whereof he affirm-

ed, when he declared that, in that book, "they are counted the noblest knights who do kill most men without any quarrel, and commit fowlest adulteries by subtlest shiftes." What shall we say of the whole romance of the quest of the Sanc Greal, if Roger Ascham's statement is correct? And what shall we say about the pure Sir Galahad,—beyond all question the strongest, bravest, noblest of the knights of the round table,—who sat in the "seat perilous," in which no other man might sit and live, and who was kept, by heavenly power, from pride and arrogant presumption, from cruelty and from defilement? How is it, if these tales are all so steeped in licentiousness as some modern critics would have us believe,—how is it that we find in them a character so supernaturally lovely, and so bright an example of religious purity, simplicity, and faith, fanciful, it may be, but so fascinating and so elevated in its tone that we know not where to look in all English allegory for its superior, unless in the dream of the Elstow tinker? It is something of the spiritual beauty and of the ethereal, almost colorless, purity of this "quest of the Sanc Greal," that Mr. Tennyson has made familiar to us in the lyric to which we have had occasion once already to refer. This is the same Sir Galahad who says and feels—

"My strength is as the strength of ten,
Because my heart is pure;"—

this is the "just and faithful knight of God," doing frequent and perilous battle, and going through much tribulation, but always fighting in a righteous cause, and always aspiring to a heavenly reward. No earthly love is his, although he counts as sweet, indeed, and worthy of all gratitude, the pure love of woman;

"But all my heart is drawn above,
My knees are bowed in crypt and shrine."

He is content with faith in heavenly things of which he sometimes has a foretaste here:

"A maiden knight—to me is given
Such hope I know not fear;
I yearn to breathe the airs of heaven
That often meet me here.

I muse on joy that will not cease,
Pure spaces clothed in living beams,
Pure lilies of eternal peace,
Whose odors haunt my dreams."

So living and so diligently following his quest, he at last achieves it, and in great peace and glory, kissing his comrades Percivale and Bors, and commanding them to God, he sends a farewell message to his sinful father, the great Sir Lancelot, bidding him, simply and solemnly, to "remember this unstable world. And therewith," as Sir Thomas Malory simply tells us, in his quaint old English, "hee kneeled down before the table and made his praiers; and then sodainely his soule departed unto Jesu Christ, and a great multitude of angels beare his soule up to heaven, that his two fellowes might behold it." Before we can condemn, with sweeping and indiscriminate censure, all the old romances of chivalry as being penetrated through and through with immorality, we must forget such stories as the quest of the Sanc Greal, and such characters as Galahad and Percivale and Bors. And we venture to say that, when Sir Thomas Malory's book usurped the place of the Bible, in the Prince's chamber, this romance was not a favorite one, nor these the characters that were most read and imitated.

We should be glad to show, if it could be done without too great a digression from our plan in these pages, after how excellent a sort this old knight moralizes over the fortunes of the heroes whom he describes in his book, and to illustrate by examples the simple, reverent, and noble spirit in which he wrote. What we have already said is enough to prove that the field of old chivalric romance is not, at least, so wholly vile as some would have us believe it. It was, at any rate, a field into which a soul like Milton's could enter without defilement. For, as he himself tells us,* he found, as he read, that the ideals, at least, were noble; and if the real attainments of the characters fell short of them, or were in gloomy contrast with them, he was saddened to be sure, and made indignant,

* Masson's Life of Milton, Boston edition, p. 289.

but was not polluted. "So that," he says, "even those books which to many others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living—I cannot think how unless by Divine indulgence—proved to me so many incitements to the love and steadfast observation of virtue."

In this hurried and inadequate view of the age of chivalry, and especially of the times of Arthur, and of the literature which has depicted to us the manners of that age, it is not difficult to see why it must prove so fascinating to the poet. It appears, in a sort of fantastic way, and to a very limited extent, as a golden age. And it is so far distant in the dim past, and so almost unknown to authentic history, that the imagination wanders back to it unconstrained, and accepts with ease and wild delight the unreal supernaturalism that fills it. We are willing enough that, as we look back into that far-off horizon of the past, the sky should seem to mingle with the earth; that the powers of heaven and of the air should come into a closer contact with men. That unreasonable love for fanciful impossibilities which is so powerful in the minds of children,—and which makes so attractive to them a fairy tale, for instance, or one of those grotesque books which the Germans in our day manufacture for the children of this favored age,—exists with no little power among many children of a larger growth, and gives to such fables of the olden time as these of King Arthur and his knights a continual power to charm. Especially is this true of any mind which is in an uncommon degree imaginative and poetic. No wonder, then, that Milton, when he was young and had not acquired the sterner and more practical character which his later years brought to him, and when he was lingering at Naples, captivated by the soft sky and pleasant landscape, and by the memory of classic days, was led to think of Arthur, and the

"goodly usage of those antique tymes,
In which the sword was servaunt unto right;"

whereof, not long before, his predecessor, Edmund Spenser, had sung so sweetly. No wonder, too, that Tennyson has turned again and again to the romances of those bygone times,

which he knows so well how to appreciate, until he has grown into the spirit and even the very language of them, and can remodel and polish them and rehearse them to us expanded and adorned in his own melodious verse. It is not, we may well be sure, in any lazy and repining love for a dead past, as if, with it, the age of gold had gone forever by, that he looks thither and delights to linger there. But it is rather because he finds in those old times ideals which may be full of life and beauty, and lessons which may be full of instruction, in that "golden year" which now is and which is coming all the time; for Mr. Tennyson is not a poet of the past, but of the present and the future.

We are now prepared to look more directly and particularly at the four "Idyls" before us. The three last of these are founded upon subjects taken from the "Morte d' Arthur;"—but the subject of the first is found in those old Welsh romances, which have been so long locked up from modern readers in a language which seemed to repel all scholars, except some few who cared little or nothing for the idle stories of those forgotten times. Recently, however, the enthusiasm and diligence of an English lady, who married into Wales, has given us, in a most elegant and attractive English translation, these stories of the Mabinogion; and they prove to be what their title indicated that they were,—children's stories of the times of Arthur and his knights, but with such a power to amuse and fascinate that others beside children might well be delighted with them. One of the most conspicuous knights of these romances, though he is one that is nowhere mentioned in the English and Breton legends, is "the brave Geraint," and there is, perhaps, no more beautiful and simple woman's character, throughout the whole range of the chivalric literature, than the character of Enid. And so, although the story was a long and rambling one, and needed to be told with great skill, lest it should become wearisome, Mr. Tennyson did well to choose it and to give it to us in his fresh and graceful verse. If he can find, among the Welsh stories, more knights as brave and generous as Prince Geraint, and more women as

fair and good as Enid, we would gladly have him give them, also, immortality in similar Idyls.

If the story of Geraint and Enid is a somewhat queer and fantastic one, the moral of it is very high and noble. Against all slothful and selfish indulgence,—against all over indulgence in emotions which of themselves may be most honorable,—against all bitter and unfounded jealousy,—against all self-wrought perplexity and sorrow that men endure, it speaks with a simple and right manly utterance. Geraint, a knight of the round table, in the quest of an adventure which he had undertaken in behalf of Guinevere the queen, had found and suddenly had loved, in spite of all her broken fortunes, Enid the fair, the daughter of Earl Yniol. He jousts for her, bravely enough, against her wolfish cousin Edyrn, son of Nudd, who, proud and mean and cruel, failing to win her love, had hated her and had worked the ruin of her father's house. Him, Geraint, after a wondrous battle, had vanquished, and had sent humbled and sullen to Guinevere, to give to her apology and allegiance for the foul insult which he had done her, and which, indeed, was the very cause of Geraint's adventure. Recovering thus, for Enid and her father, title and lands and fortune, he will not have her dress herself in any other than the faded silk in which at first he found her, when he had heard her singing to herself and guided by the music of her bird-like voice, had come to her exclaiming—

“Here by God's grace is the one voice for me!”

And in that faded silk she rides with him, abashed and trembling, to the court, and there is welcomed with all honor by the queen, who

“with her own white hands
Arrayed and decked her, as the loveliest,
Next after her own self, in all the court.”

Thus being wedded, for a while Geraint honored and loved with all the power of his great, ardent soul, his fair and guileless wife, rejoicing greatly in the love that was between the queen and her. But at last, heeding the rumors that were rife about the sin of Guinevere, he gained permission, from the

king, to go to his own province, hoping there to keep his wife beyond the reach of any taint or stain of evil influence. And here, absorbed in this one blind affection for her, all other duties are neglected, and all other joys forgotten, so that his very vassals jeer and mock at him as

“molten down in mere uxoriousness.”

Weeping to see herself the cause of all the great dishonor into which her lord has fallen, and fearing lest that strength and courage which she loved so much should indeed be dying out, and all through her; and yet not venturing to tell him all her sorrow and her fear, for dread lest he, with jealous anger, should suspect and blame her boldness, she sits beside his couch, one early morning, gazing admiringly upon the mighty

“warrior in his dreams;
Who, moving, cast the coverlet aside,
And bared the knotted column of his throat,
The massive square of his heroic breast,
And arms on which the standing muscle sloped,
As slopes a wild brook o'er a little stone,
Running too vehemently to break upon it.”

Gazing thus admiringly, she sorrowfully reproves herself for lacking in the courage to speak out and counsel him to look to his good name, lest all the sneers and scoffs at him should not be undeserved,—and weeping over him exclaims in view of her own cowardice,

“O me, I fear that I am no true wife!”

“By great mischance,” Geraint, awaking suddenly, caught these last words, and stung with jealous pain and anger, and almost with despair, at such confession, springs up and girds his harness on, and starts at once upon a wild and desperate quest of adventure, taking his wife with him, dressed in her meanest dress, even in that old faded silk of hers, which she had reverently treasured. With all the sternness that his love to her,—sorrowful indeed, and disappointed and distrustful, now, but still earnest,—will permit, he bids her ride far on before him, and on no account to speak to him; and so he rides, nursing his bitter anger, tortured with conflicting pas-

sions, and mourning over all his vainly lavished love, while she goes patient, sorrowing too, and not less deeply, but wondering what has been the

—“unnoticed failing in herself
That made him look so cloudy and so cold.”

It does not take long, in that disordered and much neglected province of Prince Geraint's, for them to meet with great adventures; and, in the course of the first day, the prince encounters no less than six strong, caitiff knights, whom he strikes down with spear and sword, and slays. Herein alone was Enid disobedient,—that riding on before and seeing first the threatening danger from those savage knights, she turned back to her lord, “met his full frown timidly firm,” and warned him of their presence, not daring to “obey him to his harm.” Thus for two days, through many perils and through provocations and temptations, Enid endures in meek and patient love, waiting upon her lord, and watching by him when he slept, and weeping over him and growing pale and sorrowful, and wondering wherein she had offended him ; until at last Geraint, who had been wounded in a fight with a base company of knights, fell fainting by the roadside, from his horse. The true and faithful wife, not heeding all his sullen, jealous treatment of her, but only mindful how she best may help him and revive him, searches his wound,—for, in those days, some skill in medicine and surgery was one of the chiefest accomplishments of high born maidens—and binds it up with her own vail. The cruel and brutal earl within whose territories this had happened, noticing, as he rides by, this weeping woman and the wounded knight, and the great war-horse standing mournfully beside them, gives orders that the three be taken to his own rough castle. There at dinner time he finds them all, the knight still seeming senseless, and his faithful wife refusing to be comforted. At last Earl Doorm, impatient at the failure of the coarse and savage hospitality which he had proffered to the pale and trembling Enid, seeing that she will not eat, nor drink, nor clothe her-

self in gay apparel like the “gentlewomen” of his hall, strode up to her and smote her rudely on the cheek.

“Then Enid, in her utter helplessness,
And since she thought ‘He had not dared to do it
Except he surely knew my lord was dead,’
Sent forth a sudden sharp and bitter cry
As of a wild thing taken in a trap,
Which sees the trapper coming through the wood.”

But Prince Geraint, who, thanks to Enid’s care and watchfulness, had partially recovered from his swoon, although he had been lying still and silent as if senseless yet, and who had been deeply conscious of his wife’s affectionate devotion to him, and of her brave rejection of the brutal politeness of the huge Earl Doorm, had found already that his heart was softening toward her, and had yearned for her forgiveness of his sinful jealousy. And now, nerved by this cruel insult to her, and feeling suddenly his strength renewed, he grasps his sword that lies beside him, springs like a lion at the drunken earl, and smites his head off at a single blow. Panic-stricken at this sudden resurrection of the knight they counted dead, the other men and women fled, “yelling as from a spectre,” and Geraint, left now alone with Enid, makes to her his remorseful confession of the grievous wrong that he had done her, and declares,

“Henceforward I will rather die than doubt.”

And so, thenceforth, the current of their mutual life flows with as deep and strong affection as before; but, with this difference, that now it is not ruffled by any whispering breeze of suspicion, nor tossed by any storm of jealousy. Geraint resumed his old distinction in the brotherhood of knights, and Enid,

—“whom her ladies loved to call
Enid the fair, a grateful people named
Enid the good; and in their halls arose
The cry of children, Enids and Geraints
Of times to be; nor did he doubt her more,
But rested in her fealty, till he crowned
A happy life with a fair death, and fell
Against the heathen of the northern sea
In battle, fighting for the blameless king.”

Such, briefly, is the story ; but before dismissing it, we ought to record the fate of Edyrn, son of Nudd, against whom, long before, Geraint had jousted, at the time when first he saw his bride. This knight, who was a man of great bravery and prowess, but churlish and brutal in his spirit, came to the court of Arthur sullen and humbled by his overthrow, and meaning to be soon rid of life. But coming there, he found that Guinevere forgave him utterly, and saw that all the court, led by the goodly king himself, not hated him, but treated him with noble kindness and with frank generosity. Thus, by and by, the genial warmth of their fine influence stole through the proud and cold reserve in which he had enwrapped himself, and he was changed from his old wolfish nature. And then he talked with " Dubric the high saint," who at that time was the Archbishop of Caerleon-upon-Usk, until the old man that he had been was supplanted by the new and gentle man as which he was hereafter to be known. So Arthur admitted him to the great order of the round table, and he lived honored, and died bravely ; for we think it is none other than this hero, whom we find in another ancient legend, under the name of Ider son of Nuth, fighting valiantly against three wicked giants, on the "mount of frogs," and falling into a trance as if dead, from the severity of his exertions. Whether he ever recovered from this trance, or not, does not appear ; but, at any rate, Arthur, who loved him greatly, founded in his behalf the Abbey of Glastonbury, and instituted no less than twenty-four monks, amply endowed with lands and riches, who should pray continually for his soul.

This is the story, and Mr. Tennyson, in telling it, has, in the main, adhered to the old tale in the *Mabinogeon*. Where he has deviated from it, it has been for the better, and for the purpose of securing a greater simplicity, and of teaching a higher lesson. The character of Edyrn son of Nudd, is almost wholly Mr. Tennyson's; and the story of his change, which is told with such uncommon skill, is altogether framed by him. And in his version of the story, the bright, pure character of Enid appears more clearly, teaching with greater power that it is vastly better to be good than fair, and that a true, and

simple, and confiding love is greatly better than a false, tormenting jealousy.

Just in this way has Mr. Tennyson adhered to the romance concerning Merlin, in the second Idyl; not feeling himself bound by it in all minutest details, but preserving the general facts of it, and expanding them or deviating from them at his will. The name of Merlin is inseparable from the legends of the days of Arthur, and is almost as familiar as is the name of the great king himself. He was the prince of all magicians, "the mightiest and kindest of all wizards :

—“ the most famous man of all those times,
Merlin, who knew the range of all their arts,
Had built the King his havens, ships, and halls,
Was also Bard, and knew the starry heavens.”

He, in the days when Arthur was not born, had been the kind and potent friend of Uther, and had prophesied the valor and the glory of his son. For he it was, who, when in Uther's days there came a fiery meteor, with rays on which there rode a mighty dragon, and when all the land was troubled at it, showed it to be a happy omen of the victories of Uther, and of the conquests and the mighty deeds of Arthur. And thus he caused that cunning workmen should contrive a dragon, all of gold, which, ever after, Uther and his son King Arthur wore upon their helmets or blazoned on their standards in the wars, which was “the dragon of the great Pendragonship,” and whence the king was called Pendragon, that is, dragon's head. To him and to his magic the old romancers attributed the mighty power which brought from Ireland those vast, rough hewn stones which even to this day remain piled up in mysterious grandeur on Salisbury plain. And the tradition which still lingers about that spot, and tells to modern travelers how that “the devil” brought the pile from Ireland, may be, perhaps, received as proof that the same envious rumor which, in Arthur's days, was wont to call him “devil's son,” has even outlived his name and makes him now absolutely identical with the Prince of evil. But what makes Merlin's character vastly more attractive is that he was not

merely a magician, but that beside the wizard power of working charms, of metamorphosing himself and others, of conveying himself unseen over vast distances in a moment's time, he actually possessed a vast amount of merely human learning, and a practical wisdom not at all supernatural. He it was who took the little Arthur at his birth, and had him christened by a holy man, and had him carefully nourished by the wife of good Sir Ector. He it was who gave him always good and sensible advice, in boyhood and in later manhood when by the acclamation of the "comons" he was chosen king. He it was who founded the great order of the round table, counseling King Arthur that only those who were the noblest knights should fill the hundred and fifty seats about it, and that in the "seat perilous" only Sir Galahad, the best knight of the world, should sit. By his advice the table was made round, "in token of the roundness of the world; for," as Sir Thomas Malory tells us, "by the round table is the world signified by right. For all the world, christen and heathen, resort unto the round table, and when they are chosen to be of the fellowship of the round table, they thinke them more blessed and more in worship than if they had gotten half the world." And thus he secured to Arthur's court "the floure of chivalrie of the world," which should be bound together in a loving brotherhood and sworn to vows of noble knighthood and gentleness, and right. The fact that oftentimes these vows were broken, and that some knights were cruel and revengeful, and impure,—so that the sage himself can only say of them at best,

"All brave, and many generous and some chaste," —

was not the fault of Merlin, and does not disprove the noble wisdom of his plan. This is only one instance of the wise and practical policy of Merlin, which was continually displayed in counsel at the council-board, and in stratagem in battle. Similar also was his great skill in all mechanical arts, and in all the sciences. He was not merely a coarse and vulgar wizard, but a venerable scholar, versed in all wondrous lore of ancient times and foreign lands. But more than all his

learning, his wisdom and his magic power, was that genial soul of his which made him, notwithstanding all his might, a cheerful, sometimes mirthful man, loving the good and always reverencing God. Such, then, was Merlin. And yet, in spite of all his kindly reverent love of truth and goodness, in spite of all his learning and his wisdom, in spite of all his magic and his power to charm, he fell in love with Vivien, or, as Sir Thomas Malory puts it, he "was assoted and fell in a doteage on" her.

The character which we have described is particularly true of Mr. Tennyson's Merlin. Apparently he has glorified the sage a little in order that he may make his fate more tragical and the character of his traitress more hateful. Vivien, indeed, as we have her in the Idyl, is, to some extent, a character of Mr. Tennyson's own making. It is true that, even in Sir Thomas Malory's book, where she appears as "one of the damosells of the lake which hight Nimue," she is not very amiable, and certainly she wrought the ruin of the wizard by her coquetry and artfully malicious fascinations. But Merlin is represented as having ardently loved her, even before the time when she began to practice on him. It does not appear that the "damosell" kindled the passion intentionally, but only that having found herself "assoted on," she used her power "till she had learned of him all manner thing that shee desired," and then, because "she was ever passing wery of him, and faine would have beene delivered of him, for she was afraid of him, because he was a divel's sonne, and she could not put him away by no meanes,"—she quietly and heartlessly disposed of him by means of a charm which he himself had taught her. Afterward she wrought her fascinations on Sir Pelleas, a brave and noble knight, a thousand times too good for her, and married him with great serenity, while the good Merlin lay hopelessly and pitifully entombed within a great rock,—not in a "hollow oak," as Mr. Tennyson has given it. For once "upon a time it hapned that Merlin shewed to her in a roche where as was a great wonder, and wrought by enchantment, which went under a stone. So by her subtile craft and working, she made Merlin to goe under

that stone to let her wit of the mervailes there, but she wrought so there for him, that he never came out, for all the craft that he could doe. And so she departed and left Merlin." This cool proceeding on the part of this "damosell,"—who, by the way, was the same one who fostered and trained Sir Lancelot in his boyhood, (a fact which may account for some of the subsequent improprieties of that great man,)—was calamitous enough not alone for Merlin, and for all the court and kingdom of King Arthur that suffered in his loss, but also for certain laborious spirits whom the wizard, when he went on his last visit to his mistress, had left working on a brazen wall with which he intended to surround the city of Caermarthen. These fiends he strictly enjoined not to cease from work till his return, and as he never to this day has come again to release them from that hard obligation, they may be heard at any time, (so Spenser says,) obeying literally the terrible commandment. It is quite safe to go and lay one's ear against the earth over their subterranean workshop, although the listener must never dare to enter "that same baleful bowre, for feare the cruel feendes" who clash their iron chains and beat their brazen cauldrons, groaning hideously the while, should seize him and devour him. Of Merlin himself we hear never more except that once, many years after his entombment, the good knight Bagdemagus, riding on a quest of adventures, passed the place where he was buried, "and there hee heard him make great mone; wherefore Sir Bagdemagus would have holpen him, and went to the great stone, and it was so heavy that an hundred men might not lift it up. When Merlin wist that he was there, he bad him leave his labour, for all was in vaine, and he might never be holpen but by her that put him there." Alas! poor Merlin—vanquished and undone at last by enchantments subtler far than any he could wield,—victim of a serpent-power of charming mightier than his own and which had not his own great noble soul of gentleness and kindness behind it,—he perished by the "much shameful death, as to be put into the earth all quicke," which he himself had well enough foreseen, but yet could not escape. That which makes the story wonderfully true, as well as all the more pitiful,

able is the fact that Merlin knew, if only he had opened his eyes and looked, that all the specious virtue of the witch was false and only covered up a soul of wickedness. The mystery of such conquests always is that the captivity of the victim is brought about by arts which he can see through if he will.

It is thus clear enough that in the old romance, Vivien was somewhat the same cold, heartless, artful, unprincipled coquette that she appears in the Idyl. But the expanded character, in all its hatefulness and hideousness, in all its awful guilt, in all the woe and suffering of which it is the malicious or careless cause, is the production of Mr. Tennyson's own genius, building upon the few brief hints of Sir Thomas Malory's story. The poet has done well to draw this picture. We could almost have expected it of the man who has a scorn and hatred for all false, deceitful and unholy love, so cordial as that which is expressed in "Lady Clara Vere de Vere," and from the man who could write the passionate and indignant stanzas,

"Come not when I am dead
To drop thy foolish tears upon my grave,"—

stanzas so full of keenest anguish, mixed with a pity which, were it not so fine and so forgiving, would be exquisitely scornful. And it seems to us that the picture, as he has drawn it, is almost a perfect one. In some respects it strikingly reminds us of passages which the greatest of English poets has left us in his "Samson Agonistes;" but it is better than those, because, in that great poem, Milton only hints incidentally at the method in which Samson,—between whose experience and Merlin's there is a wonderfully strong resemblance,—was overcome by the great craftiness of a woman; whereas, in Mr. Tennyson's Idyl, in words and measure almost Miltonic, all the minutest details of the story are wrought out with extraordinary vividness and picturesqueness. The exquisite skill with which the wileful traitress has attired herself for her malicious purpose; "the flattering prayers and sighs and amorous reproaches" by which she strives to win from the old sage his dangerous secret; the restless perseverance with which, in varied ways, she follows up the attack; the show of argument,

the weaknesses of which she femininely covers up with a sort of affectionate petulance; the simple and heart-broken grief with which, a little later, she tries to efface the effect of the loathsome rage and open hate into which she had for a moment betrayed herself; and last, the real terror into which the thunder bolt had thrown her, when she

“ called him dear protector in her fright,
Nor yet forgot her practice in her fright,”

caressing him more fondly than before, and feigning penitence for faults confessed; the way in which thus

“ mustering all her wiles
With blandish'd parlies, feminine assaults,
Tongue batteries, she surceased not day nor night,”

to overcome, in some unguarded and too weary mood, the cautious wizard, until he

“ overtalked and overworn
Had yielded, told her all the charm and slept;”—

all this is told with a power and beauty that Mr. Tennyson has rarely equaled, and justifies us in pronouncing this Idyl to be certainly the most artistic in its construction of all the four. Nor is there in all the volume anything more perfect, of the sort, than the scenery of Vivien. The first five verses are, of themselves, a picture so complete and vivid, that it lives before us at this moment as visibly as if upon the canvas of some cunning artist. The thunder storm, which from the first was threatening, is exquisitely managed,—rising slowly, long-impending, filling the world with awful gloom, warning the wizard, by the still solemnity with which it overshadowed him, against a weak compliance with the words and tears of a deceitful woman, threatening with mutterings of vengeance the bad but beautiful enchantress, thickening till

“ the dark wood grew darker towards the storm
In silence, while his anger slowly died
Within him, till he let his wisdom go
For ease of heart,”—

and finally, as if in sharp and sudden answer to the heaven-

defying prayer of Vivien, bursting with fearful majesty, so that

“out of heaven a bolt
 (For now the storm was close above them) struck,
 Furrowing a giant oak, and javelinning
 With darted spikes and splinters of the wood,
 The dark earth round.”

Then weeping passionately over the great sin and woe which were to come, it passed away, and

“left the ravaged woodland yet once more
 To peace.”

The power of this description, and the consummate skill with which this natural scenery of the sad story of the poem is managed, are beyond praise.

We need not stop to show how true and noble is the great magician’s scorn of empty fame,

“The cackle of the unborn about the grave,”—

nor how sublime is his love for, and humble acceptance of that truer fame which is “but ampler means to serve mankind.” Nor do we need to intimate that the great storm of righteous scorn and anger which the poet pours upon the sinful wiles of Vivien, applies with awful force to all the wicked coquetry of all lands and times. Surely until human nature becomes better than it is, the lesson of this Idyl will not fail to be a timely one.

It was not difficult for those who were familiar with the poems of Mr. Tennyson, to recognize in “Elaine,” the third of these Idyls, something of the strange story of “the Lady of Shallott.” In that sweetest of his early poems, he had somewhat vaguely shown to us the story of a pure and simple maiden, living alone “in fantasy,” and dealing only with the far-reflected images of things which came into the clear mirror of her stainless soul, and which her never ceasing fancy pondered on, weaving them all into a magic web of light and shade, of fancied joy and sorrow. An awful doom was on her, if she dared to look beyond the quiet towers of Astolat, and mingle with the real things of life:

“She knows not what the curse may be,
And so she weaveth steadily,
And little other care hath she,
The Lady of Shallott.”

All had been well, if only, in an evil day for her, the great Sir Lancelot had not passed by upon his way to Camelot. But now, alas ! she can no longer be content with images and shadows of this mighty world. In no mere web of fantasy can such a goodly knight as he have place. The curse has come upon her : and she looks forth from Astolat, away off towards the noisy world, with all its din of war and tournament, with all its jealousies and hatreds, with all its sin and sorrow. Henceforth her life is real,—sadly and sorrowfully real. For lo ! she has looked, and

“lifted up her eyes
And loved him with the love which was her doom.”

She leaves her tower and comes forth under a stormy sky and into a bitter east wind. She glances sorrowfully enough, once more toward Camelot. She sees with awful clearness all her own mischance,—her hopeless love, her joyless life, and calmly waits for speedy death,—for death which only can contend with and can overcome the mighty love she bears to Lancelot. Despairing of his love she only hopes she may be mourned by him and buried by his pitying hands. And so “she floated down to Camelot,” telling dumbly her sad name and story, and thus meeting with a royal burial by King Arthur’s order. But more than that, her simple prayer was answered ; for when the king and all his court came out to gaze on her, and wonder at her fate, then

“Lancelot mused a little space ;
He said, ‘she has a lovely face ;
God in his mercy send her grace,
The Lady of Shallott.’”

Such was the story of the early poem,—a story told with wondrous power and poetic skill, but wild and fanciful, and, to a careless reader, seemingly obscure. In this Idyl we have it again,—expanded and in detail, and told with great simplicity, but still the same. And yet this later poem does not spoil the

earlier one. We confess that we like the lyric better than before, since we have read the Idyl: although we cannot say that it is better than the Idyl. Certainly we would not willingly part with either.

The story of the fair Elaiue, giving us, as it does, the picture of a true, unselfish and absorbing love, comes fitly and most welcome, after the dark sketch of the false and hateful selfishness of Vivien. There is something very beautiful and fascinating in the character of "the lily maid of Astolat,"—in her unaffected simplicity and in the frank and unsophisticated intensity of her great love for Lancelot. All her days she had lived quietly with her father, old Sir Bernard, and her brothers. She knew little of the world about her, and nothing of the wily ways of ladies of the court. And when a knight of the great bravery and chivalry of Lancelot, so courtly and so gentle in his manners, so noble in his bearing, and so strong and so invincible in aspect, that men said of him always, even if they did not know his name, that he was "one of the likeliest knights of the world,"—when such a knight as he came to the "baron's place" of Astolat, it was sure to follow that this maiden "ever beheld Sir Launcelot wonderfully; and she cast such a love unto Sir Launcelot that shee could not withdraw her love, wherefore she died." It was no shame to her that she had loved a knight so noble and so valiant, and, she must well believe, so good. Exquisitely simple and touching is her conversation with Gawaine, when in his search for Lancelot he had come to Astolat and found his well-known shield in Elaine's keeping. Sir Thomas Malory shall tell the story in his delightful style and strong old English. "'Is that knight that oweth that shield your love?' said Sir Gawaine. 'Yee, truely,' said shee, 'my love he is, God would that I were his love.' 'So God me speede,' said Sir Gawaine, 'faire damosell, yee love the most honourable knight of the world, and the man of most worship.' 'So me thought ever,' said the damosell, 'for never or that time for no knight that ever I saw loved I never none erst.'" So simple, and so unrestrained, so natural and all absorbing was her love that when at last the tournament was over, and when there was an end to all that tender nursing of

the wounded hero, in which “ever this faire maide Elaine did her diligence and labour night and day unto Sir Launcelot, that there was never child more meeker unto the father, nor wife unto her husband than was that faire maide of Astolat;” and when Lancelot was ready again for jousts and battles, and was about to take his leave of the old baron, she thought it not unmaidenly to tell the knight her love, and pray that in his mercy he would suffer her not to die for it. Nor when she finds he cannot help her does she love him less ; but always to the end of life, which now cannot be greatly distant, will she purely think upon him, sadly, indeed, but not less lovingly. And when “her ghostly father bad her leave such thoughts,” she answers, innocently and meekly, that she cannot leave them while she lives and is “an earthly woman ;” and therewith she humbly prays to “the high Father of heaven” and to “our swete Saviour Jesu Christ,” pleading that if she has sinned in loving Lancelot beyond all measure, she has also suffered and is suffering “innumerable paines.” Thus, hoping that her sin may be forgiven, most piously and lovingly she dies. But even after death she went with a simple and most piteous appeal to Lancelot, asking humbly that, if he could not love her while she lived, he now would love, at least, her memory. And because she trusted that this last request of hers would be received and granted by the knight, she would go richly clothed, as fitted one with such a love for one she thought so noble ; and thus it was that when she came to the king’s palace she was clad in cloth of gold, and thus “shee lay as though she had smiled.”

It is not difficult to see the beauty and the value of the poem in which Mr. Tennyson has given us this delightful story. It is a picture of a simple, pure, and maidenly affection, contrasted with the false and hateful love of Vivien, and the designing and selfish witcheries of her coquetry. It is the picture, too, of a love that meets with no return ; but therein does the truth and faithfulness of it only appear the more conspicuous. That the poem means something is as certain as that Mr. Tennyson is its author ; and what it means, we think, may be ex-

pressed in words which Mr. Tennyson intended for another use, but the spirit of which pervades a great part of his poetry :

“ I hold it true, what e'er befall ;
I feel it when I sorrow most ;
‘Tis better to have loved and lost,
Than never to have loved at all.”

The lesson is that, though the fruit of such a love be sorrow, and that sorrow irrepressible and even unto death, yet, if it brings also patience and a meek and holy resignation,—if it be also such as theirs—

“ Whose loves in higher love endure,”—

then, out of all this sorrow there may come a selflessness, and holy joy and peace, and such a quiet faith in the hereafter as was in the soul of that pure maid of Astolat when, in her death, “shee lay as though she had smiled.”

We have purposely avoided, in our examination of this third Idyl, any close observation of the character of Lancelot,—a character strangely powerful and fascinating, and wonderfully pitiable too, and full of warning,—because it seemed better to delay it until we should come to Guinevere, with whom his story is inseparably connected. It was an evil day for Arthur when he married Guinevere, although it was true that men could say of her “as of her beautie and fairnesse she is one of the fairest that live.” Merlin, his wise and faithful counselor, although he advised him “that ye take a wife, for a man of your bountie and noblenesse should not be without a wife,” and although he recognized the surpassing beauty of this daughter of King Leodegrance, “warned the king privily that Guenever was not wholesome for him to take to wife, for he warned him that Lancelot should love her and shee him againe.” But finding that Arthur’s heart was fully set upon the match, and having the sagacity to see that “there as a man’s heart is set he will be loth to return,” he forbore to torment him further with his prophecies, but glanced at happier things. It is this hint occurring in the old romances that Mr. Tennyson has seized upon, when he describes the wondrous

vision of a prophetic bard at the time when the great order of the round table was instituted :

“ that night the bard
Sang Arthur's glorious wars, and sang the king
As well nigh more than man, and railed at those
Who called him the false son of Gorlois :
For there was no man knew from whence he came ;
But after tempest, when the long wave broke
All down the thundring shores of Bude and Boss,
There came a day as still as heaven, and then
They found a naked child upon the sands
Of wild Dundagil by the Cornish sea ;
And that was Arthur; and they fostered him
Till he by miracle was approven king :
And that his grave should be a mystery
From all men, like his birth ; and could he find
A woman in her womanhood as great
As he was in his manhood, then, he sang,
The twain together well might change the world.
But even in the middle of his song
He faltered, and his hand fell from the harp,
And pale he turned, and reeled, and would have fallen
But that they stayed him up ; nor would he tell
His vision ; but what doubt that he foresaw
This evil work of Lancelot and the Queen ?”

We quote the passage not only for its own exquisite beauty, and because it well illustrates some peculiar excellencies of Mr. Tennyson's poetry which we will notice presently, but also because it shows how much the merest hint in the romances can suggest to a mind of high poetic genius, like Mr. Tennyson's. It illustrates, moreover, the style in which he felt at liberty to treat the legends, expanding them and departing from them at his pleasure.

In spite, then, of Merlin's warning, Arthur in his willfulness must have his way. And so he marries Guinevere, in great pomp and “in the most honourablest wise that could be devised.” It was not long before the prophetic warning of the wizard began to be fulfilled. For when Sir Lancelot arrived in Arthur's court, fresh from the tutelage of Vivien, his beauty of aspect and his bravery attracted the attention of all observers, and among others, of the queen. It further happened, that

on the day when he was admitted by King Arthur to "the high order of knighthood," an incident occurred which seems to have been the beginning of the great and guilty love which was, in after days, to make him so notorious. Lancelot himself shall tell the story, in a conversation which, a long time afterward, he had with Arthur,—only a little while before the infidelity of the queen was publicly discovered. "That same day *yee made mee knight,*" he says, "through my hastinesse, I lost my sword, and my lady your queene found it and lapped it in her traine, and gave me my sword when I had neede thereof, or else had I beene shamed among all knights. And therefore, my lord King Arthur, I promised her, at that day, ever to bee her knight in right or in wrong." A fatal promise,—not for Lancelot alone, but for the king and all the realm, and fatally fulfilled! Soon after, in consideration of his wonderful bravery, he was appointed one of a select number of knights, who were known as the "queen's knights," whose business it was to be the special protectors of the queen, and without whose attendance Guinevere must never ride abroad. And fostered by these opportunities it was that there grew up between them that passionate and all absorbing attachment, in which they sank their self-respect, their purity, their honor, and at last their reputation. We have little need to trace the history of their crime,—to note the constant jealousies and passionate anger of the queen, and the remorseful consciousness of guilt and bitter condemnation of himself which made Sir Lancelot always sorrowfully patient under all her reproaches, and only the more obedient to her slightest wish. All through the romances this story is implied rather than directly told. Like the sad and gloomy background of some varied picture, it lies behind the other legends and is seen continually through them. It gives to the character of Arthur a touching and pathetic beauty, and it makes the story of Elaine the purer and more lovely by the force of contrast.

Except for this great sin which fearfully disfigured him through all his manhood, Sir Lancelot might have been almost peerless among Arthur's knights. Even in spite of it he could boast that he had never been overcome in a fair fight, save

only by the pure Sir Galahad. Never had king a trustier and braver champion in battle and in tournament than Lancelot was to Arthur. Never had knight a firmer friend and nobler rival in all feats of arms than Lancelot was to Tristram. Never had vanquished foe a conqueror more gentle and more merciful than Lancelot was to those with whom he fought. Never had any wronged or suffering maiden a more prompt and courtly defender than was Lancelot to all who asked his aid. Never had any youthful warrior who was striving for an honorable name, a more generous and sympathizing friend than Lancelot was to Gareth and to many others. And yet, from his first manhood until he had come to full maturity, and was beginning to grow old,—for twenty-four dark, troubled years,—he was in bondage to this shameful sin. Nor was this bondage wholly unresisted. Keen and bitter was his self-condemnation, and when, as was the case sometimes, there was added to it the jealous anger of the doubly faithless queen,—it tortured him even to madness. Often he chafed against the chains which bound him, but which he lacked the strength to break. The agony he suffered left its mark even upon his countenance and made him prematurely old.

“The great and guilty love he bare the queen,
In battle with the love he bare his lord,
Had marred his face and marked it ere his time.
Another sining at such hight, with one,
The flower of all the West and all the world,
Had been the sleeker for it: but in him
His mood was often like a fiend, and rose
And drove him into wastes and solitudes
For agony, who was yet a living soul.”

Mournful, indeed, was this long contested battle between his passion and his duty,—and yet more mournful the continued victory of passion. The warrior resistless in battle, the knight unmatched in tournaments, was powerless in the conflict with his own fierce selfishness. How true it is, and always has been, that “he that ruleth his spirit” is better than “he that taketh a city.”

But it was not until all the brotherhood of the round table was dispersed upon the quest of the Sanc Greal,—a quest in

which there should “no knight winne worship but if hee be of worship himselfe, and of good living, and that loveth God, and dreadeth God,”—that Lancelot found how foul and how radical was his great sinfulness. Then at last he found that he had been “more hardy then is the stone, and more bitter then is the wood, and more naked and bare then is the leefe of the fig-tree.” Then was he forced to make remorseful confession that “hee had loved a queene unmeasurably many yeares, ‘and all the great deeds of armes that I have done, I did the most part for the queenes sake, and for her sake would I doe battaile, were it right or wrong, and never did I battaile all onely for God’s sake, but for to winne worship and to cause mee to bee the better beloved, and little or nought I thanked God of it.’” It was this very pride of his, using, as it did, “wrong warres with vaine-glory, more for the pleasure of the world than to please” God,—that lay behind his open crime and led him the more readily into it. For, long before, a “damosell” had had the boldness and good sense to say to him “one thing me thinketh that ye lacke, ye that are a knight wiveless, that ye will not love some maiden or gentlewoman;” and Lancelot had replied—“to bee a wedded man I thinke never to be, for if I were, then should I be bound to tarry with my wife and leave armes, and tournaments, battells and adventures.” It had been well for him if he had listened to this good advice and followed it, and had chosen to be good rather than famous: it was his duty, too, for, as he said himself, “I might have been married and I had would, but I never applyed mee to be married.” It was not wholly his misfortune that he did not love the maid of Astolat, for instance, but it was, in part, his sin. There are few passages in all the Idyls of higher truth, of nobler thought, and of more touching beauty than those verses in which Arthur kindly and most wisely shows to Lancelot his error :

“ answered Lancelot, ‘ Fair she was, my king,
Pure as ye ever wish your knights to be.
To doubt her fairness were to want an eye,
To doubt her pureness were to want a heart,
Yea, to be loved, if what is worthy love
Could bind him, but free love will not be bound.’

'Free love, so bound, were freest,' said the king.
'Let love be free; free love is for the best:
And after heaven, on our dull side of death,
What should be best, if not so pure a love
Clothed in so pure a loveliness! yet thee
She failed to bind, though being, as I think,
Unbound as yet, and gentle as I know.'

It was not his misfortune that he sacrificed the joy of pure and wedded love to his exultant love of honor, and that so he fell into his shameless love of Guinevere. It was his sin, as, afterwards, he sorrowfully saw. His story is to us the story of a proud and godless love of glory, leading at last to infamy and wretchedness.

During the quest of the Sanc Greal, it seemed, indeed, that he had "left pride and taken him unto humilitie." And yet, again and again, did it become needful that he should receive warning and rebuke for his "evil faith and poore beleve, the which," as was once told him, "will make thee to fall into the deepe pit of hell, if thou keepe thee not." "Hee hath taken upon him," said a goodly hermit, "to forsake sinne; and were not that hee is unstable, but by his thought he is like to turn againe, he should be next to achieve the Sanc Greal. But God knoweth well his thought and his unstableness." And so, although at last he came nigh unto the Sanc Greal, and saw the great glory and "clearnesse" which shone round about it, and heard the melody of a voice "which sung so sweetly that it seemed no earthly thing, and him thought that the voice said 'joy and honor be to the Father of heaven,'"—yet he could not approach to it, nor be fed with it, but was smitten down as by a blast of fire, so that he lay as dead for many days. And when the quest was over, and he had come again to the round table, he "forgot the promise and profession that he made in the quest," and went back again to all his sinful love. This was the state of things when the fair maid Elaine "cast such a love unto Sir Launcelot,"—a love of which he was unworthy, a love which in his blindness and his willfulness he cast aside,—but a love which took great vengeance on him afterward when, all remorsefully, he gazed upon that funeral barge that floated down from Astolat, and knew that there was

lying one who loved him with a purity and strength and simple truth which Guinevere could never show to him, and which he could not ever know again.

Such is, in part, the history of Lancelot, and such his character,—a character of wonderful interest and drawn with great force and spirit. There is a splendor and a nobility about it which make it strangely fascinating, and which, as it seems to us, showing as they do how magnificently good he might have been, make the great blackness of the sin which he committed the more hideous and hateful. It sometimes happens that we find, among military men particularly, instances of character in which the noblest force and courage are combined with great simplicity, and with exquisite tenderness and delicacy of sensibility. Not to mention some real instances in history, which will readily occur to the memory of our readers, the character of Colonel Newcome, in recent English fiction, is such an one. And we hazard little in saying that in all our modern fictitious literature there are few characters so beautiful and so irresistibly fascinating. Somewhat the same elements of grandeur and of beauty are found in the Lancelot of Sir Thomas Malory's romances and of Mr. Tennyson's poems. Of such a man we should have the right to expect that if he ever was a penitent, his sorrow would be very deep and bitter, and his humility most genuine. So was it, in fact, with Lancelot. For nearly seven years he did great penance for his sins, and suffered such remorse as could not be relieved by any “comfort that the bishop, nor Sir Bors, nor none of all his fellowes could make him.” And when at last he died, there was a wondrous joy of angels over him, as “over one sinner that repenteth,” for he had become as had been prophesied “a full holy man.” He outlived both the king and queen; but after the death of Guinevere he lingered in much pain and weariness of body and of soul, not mourning for the loss of his old “rejoycing of sinne,” but piously repenting of his own “presumption and pride,” and of his great ingratitude to God and to his king. And finally, one day his comrades found his “carefull body” lying lifeless on his bed, and noticed that “hee lay as hee had smiled.”

The subject of the fourth Idyl is the discovery of this guilty love of Lancelot and Guinevere,—the awful remorse and penitence of the queen, and the sublime and mighty sorrow of the king. Here, again, Mr. Tennyson has simplified and condensed the story so that it becomes more manageable for poetry, and perhaps more impressive in its power. We have not space to dwell upon it. We cannot more than mention the exquisite skill with which the incidents of the sad story are arranged, and the scenery of it managed. Nowhere else in the volume is the poetry so passionate, and so sublime as here. Nowhere else in all that Mr. Tennyson has written is there such life, such fire, as lives and burns in the description of the interview of Arthur with his queen. The tone of the preceding Idyls is comparatively quiet, if we except some parts of "Vivien :" but here is the expression of a passionate emotion far more intense than any words can utter, but which, by some mysterious power, is made to live even in the very sound and rythm of the verse, and to excite in those who read it a wonderfully sorrowful and pitying sympathy. We cannot forbear to call attention to the power with which the character of Arthur,—which until now was somewhat hidden in the background of the other stories, though we have caught continual glimpses of its majesty,—is made to blaze forth suddenly with such a glory and a beauty that it fairly startles one. In a somewhat similar way, the queen, who until now has seemed to be little more than a jealous, sullen, passionate beauty, is made by her repentance to be full of most attractive loveliness. Equally noteworthy and singularly true is the distinction which the poet makes between the queen's remorse and her sincere repentance. For when she left the court, and, to the holy house at Almesbury,

"Fled all night long by glimmering waste and weald,
And heard the spirits of the waste and weald,
Moan as she fled, or thought she heard them moan :
And in herself she moaned, 'Too late, too late,'"—

even then, in her despair, she felt a bitter shame, and was all wrapt in black remorse. How men would scorn her,—how

disgraced she was,—how bitterly the realm, on which her sin had brought

“Red ruin and the breaking up of laws,”

would hate her,—and how all her love of Lancelot was at an end forever,—these were the thoughts that filled her mind and crushed her down in tearless and in hopeless misery. But not yet was she penitent. Not even when she tried, a little afterward, to stifle her remorse and calm her conscience by the thought that she had put upon herself the penance not

“in thought—
Not ev'n in inmost thought to think again
The sins that made the past so pleasant to us :
And I have sworn never to see him more,
To see him more,—”

not even then did she repent, for still she loved him with a guilty love no self-inflicted penance could atone for: and, even in that very act of penance, all her memory went back, in guilty longings and regrets, to those same passionate days which now were come to such a bitter ending. But when the King had come to Almesbury, and found her there in her remorse and shame, and showed her all her sin and all the woe and ruin she had caused, and yet forbore to cast against her the reproaches which she well deserved, and curse her with the curse which she had brought on others; when, with a soul all filled with manly sorrow and with pitying love, he gave to her his full and free forgiveness, harder to be borne than any scorn or curse; when he spake to her of true repentance, and of a hope that yet might be fulfilled when this unstable world had passed away; and when, although he loved her still, he would not bring her forth again to fill the throne she had disgraced, but left her with a pure and tender and most passionate and last farewell, and with a silent blessing,—then the queen repented. Then, at last, she saw the loveliness of purity and goodness: then her mind and soul were changed, and she loved Lancelot no longer, but clave with all her being unto Arthur. This was something different from penance, and sublimer than remorse. There was hope in it, and faith. Her

sorrow was not less, but it was purer. Her shame was not less deep and self-condemning, but it was holier. She fixed her thoughts, now, on "that world where all are pure," and on the day when she herself should stand "cleansed and forgiven before high God." In such a spirit does she humbly ask to join the sisterhood of nuns,—to fast and grieve and pray and labor with them, hoping not for joy, on earth, but only to

"wear out in almsdeed and in prayer
The sombre close of that voluptuous day,
Which wrought the ruin of my lord the king."

It is impossible to convey, by any analysis or by mere quotations, a just impression of the beauty and the power of this great poem. There is a sublimity and a tenderness in it that can be felt, but not described nor wholly explained. The value of the truths which it enforces is not easily to be overestimated. There are few poets who have set forth more impressively the beauty of a true repentance, and the splendor of a true forgiveness. We need only add that in this Idyl, more than in the others, Mr. Tennyson's own genius has supplied the incidents and details of the story. In all the volume there is nothing fresher and more picturesque and vivid than the episode in which the little novice tells the story of her father's ride from Lyonness, when the round table was founded, and of the joy and the exultant hope which lived among

"spirits and men
Before the coming of the sinful queen."

And the introduction of this episode is only one instance of how much we owe to Mr. Tennyson, beyond what the old legends would have furnished.

We have left ourselves but little space to speak of the volume as a whole, and of some peculiar characteristics of the poetry. It will be enough to say, in general, that most of the great excellencies of style, by which the author's former poems are distinguished, are found here also, and some of them in a greater degree than heretofore. There is something of the same terseness of expression and condensation of thought that we find in "Locksley Hall," for instance. The verse seems cram-

med with meaning and although unrhymed, is, nevertheless, more musical and easy than the rhymes of almost any other poet would be. The English language will owe much to Mr. Tennyson for what his poetry has done to restore to it something of the strength and beauty which it had lost or was losing. It is most noticeable that in this volume, even more than in his former ones, he uses an uncommon number of old Saxon words,—such words as give to Milton's verse much of its strength and of its simple grandeur,—and that, on the other hand, he excludes many of the more fashionable and polysyllabic words of Latin origin. To this peculiarity is to be attributed much of the majestic simplicity which is so observable throughout the *Idyls*; and also the force of such a verse as the following, in which Geraint imposes on the prostrate Edyrn the conditions of his liberty :

“These two things shalt thou do or thou shalt die.”

These, now, are little, stubbed, common, monosyllabic words, but, for that very reason, they are wonderfully strong and most appropriate to such a use. And in his preference for this sort of diction, Mr. Tennyson has rescued from oblivion some valuable words and made them new again. We cannot instance them, nor can we stop to point out others which he himself has coined for special uses, and which have passed already to a permanent place in the language. It is evident enough that, in his study of the “English undefiled” in which the romances of Arthur are preserved, he has acquired the style and the vocabulary, as well as the spirit of them.

Those critics who object to the formation and use of compound words, of such a sort as those which give such vast advantage to the German writers, will find enough to condemn in this new volume. For our own part, we cannot help believing that this copious source of strength has been too little made available, and that Mr. Tennyson is doing a good work in showing the resources of the English language in this direction,—resources not equal to those of the German, but yet not insignificant.

But what we chiefly wish to call attention to, in this review of

the whole volume, is the exquisite adaptation of the sound and rythm of the verse to the sentiment which it expresses,—an adaptation frequently apparent in Mr. Tennyson's former poetry, and some admirable instances of which were quoted in a former volume of this journal.* How distinctly, for instance, is the voice of many waters vocal in these verses:

“as one,
That listens near a torrent mountain-brook,
All through the crash of the near cataract hears
The drumming thunder of the huger fall
At distance.”

And so, again, how apt the movement is, when Enid hears
“The sound of many a heavily-galloping hoof.”

So in “Vivien,” when the wileful witch was

“dazzled by the livid-flickering fork,
And deafened with the stammering cracks and claps
That followed.”

“and ever overhead
Bellowed the tempest, and the rotten branch
Snapt in the rushing of the river-rain
Above them.”

Almost perfect, in its way, and illustrative of the same beauty of rythm and sound is the description of the hermit's cave in the third Idyl:—

“A hermit, who had prayed, labored and prayed,
And ever laboring had scooped himself
In the white rock a chapel and a hall
On massive columns, like a shorecliff cave,
And cells and chambers: all were fair and dry;
The green light from the meadows underneath
Struck up and lived along the milky roofs;
And in the meadows tremulous aspen-trees
And poplars made a noise of falling showers.”

How vivid is the description of the tournament at Camelot:

* *New Englander*, Vol. VII, p. 212-3.

"The trumpets blew ; and then did either side,
 They that assailed, and they that held the lists,
Set lance in rest, strike spur, suddenly move,
Meet in the midst, and there so furiously
Shock, that a man far-off might well perceive,
If any man that day were left afield,
The hard earth shake, and a low thunder of arms."

In "Guinevere," perhaps the measure is more perfectly managed than in any of the other Idyls, but we cannot do more than merely call attention to such passages as this :

"*A murmuring whisper through the nunnery ran,*
Then on a sudden a cry, 'the King.' She sat
Stiff-stricken, listening ;"

or this, in which the slow, incessant lapse of weary time is represented :

"The days will grow to weeks, the weeks to months,
 The months will add themselves and make the years,
 The years will roll into the centuries,
 And mine will ever be a name of scorn."

But we must not multiply quotations. The extracts we have given are enough to show the exquisite care and labor with which the verse has been perfected.

We would be glad to call attention to the wonderful pictur-esqueeness of some of the scenes and incidents ; to the peculiar beauty of the images drawn from the sea-shore and the ocean,—images which show how carefully the Laureate has studied nature, in his sea-side home on the Isle of Wight ; to the startling vividness with which his dreams are told,—such dreams as Enid's, when she thought herself a dull and faded creature

" Among her burnished sisters of the pool,"—

or such as Guinevere's, who

" dreamed

An awful dream ; for then she seemed to stand
 On some vast plain before a setting sun,
 And from the sun there swiftly made at her
 A ghastly something, and its shadow flow
 Before it, till it touched her, and she turned—
 When lo ! her own, that broadening from her feet,
 And blackening, swallowed all the land, and in it
 Far cities burnt, and with a cry she woke."

We can scarcely forbear, also, to show some specimens of the very quiet and subtle, but exquisitely pleasant humor which, now and then, flashes out upon the surface of the poems,—such as sparkles in the sudden anger of Geraint, when all the town seemed mad about “the sparrow-hawk,”—or such as manifests itself in the description of the same knight’s conduct when he ate the “mowers’ victual” up and left them “laboring dinnerless.” More willingly we shall refrain from searching through the pages which are filled with so much truth and beauty, to find some petty imperfections or some trifling faults. Some such, there doubtless are, but it shall be the privilege of other critics to exhibit them. We are content to love the beauty of the poems and to admire their power. We are grateful for the truth they teach,—for all the pictures of the true and false, the beautiful and hateful, the good and bad, which they contain. And we rejoice to look continually, as they do, beyond the present, and away from this unstable world,—away from wars and tournaments, from witcheries and jealousies, from pride and passion, and from every sin and sorrow,—far away

“To where beyond these voices there is peace!”

ARTICLE II.—AMERICAN LEGISLATION.*

LEGISLATION is a comprehensive and practical subject. It has to do with the character and the general welfare of the great political community, and is, therefore, it is believed, worthy of the special attention of educated men. No class in society is too high or too low, too cultivated or too rude, to be beyond its reach; none so isolated or independent, as to be exempt from its influence and power. It creates and it exhibits the character of a community. It forms the habits of society, advances or retards the material interests of all its members, nor is it without its control over public morals, as well as intellectual improvement. There are few subjects with which it may not deal, and fewer still upon which it does not leave its impress. Nor does its consideration regard only the past. Legislation is not a finished work. Long as human government may last, it will continue to affect human happiness, and to associate itself with physical, moral, and intellectual development.

Legislation is itself a science, sadly unstudied, it is true, but still a practical science, behind no other in its capabilities to promote human happiness. If antiquity can make it venerable, it is old as the human race; if names can give it respectability, it has commanded the attention of the ablest minds in all civilized nations, and if variety can make it interesting, it is multiform as are the creations of human fancy. In a land where law has done so much for the promotion of mental cultivation, it is but a fitting return that educated men should contribute the results of their study to legal improvement.

But the legislation which it is our present design to consider, is of comparatively modern origin. It is only within a few hundred years that the written law of any nation has emanated

* The substance of this Article was delivered as an Oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Yale College, at its last Anniversary, July 27th, 1859.

from those whose action it was designed to control. In the earlier history of the world, the right to make laws, with very rare exceptions, was vested in the same person whose duty it was to execute them, or in a select class, above the common ranks of the people. The republics of Greece had, it is true, something like popular legislation, but those republics were but cities. The districts governed by them were appendages rather than constituents of the state. The power was in the citizens of the town, and even that was little more than a right to accept or refuse ordinances proposed for their adoption. Such, also, was the Roman constitution at the only periods of its history when the legislative can be said to have been severed from the executive power. The "plebiscita" were propositions of the executive ratified by a popular assembly,—an assembly convened in the Campus Martius, in no sense representing the cities and provinces over which its action was to have the authority of law.

Even to this day, in most countries, the executive is the sole legislator. His decrees constitute the only written law of his subjects. The theory of such a government is, of course, a theory of force, or of divine right. It does not assume the consent of the governed. Such legislation, however, is not without its advantages. Being the work of a single mind, it might be expected that it would manifest greater unity of purpose and freedom from whatever is complicated and experimental. What might thus be expected, we apprehend, finds its realization in the history of those nations where the statute laws have been made by the person who has in charge their execution. But it might also be inferred that such laws would not be well adapted to the social convenience and common necessities of the people, and the inference is undoubtedly found to be in accordance with observation and experience. Making all due allowance for the common propensity to magnify that which is our own, it can hardly be denied that that people are best governed who make their own laws, under suitable restraints against licentiousness; that they enjoy higher facilities for general social development, and better protection to all their personal and relative rights, while, at the

same time, there is an absence of that sense of constraint, which, in despotic governments, is onerous, and which, to a people with a temperament and education like ours, would be unendurable. American legislation is thoroughly popular, representative indeed, yet more expressive of the popular will than any other which the world has ever witnessed.

Its forms are not original with us. They came from the mother country. Before the revolution there were legislative assemblies in most of the provinces, closely resembling each other, and all miniature likenesses of the British Parliament. They were composed of two distinct bodies, the separate assent of each being necessary to the enactment of any law. When a successful struggle had finally separated us from the mother country, and it became necessary to frame institutions suited to our altered circumstances, very little change was made in the machinery of the law-making power. Our fathers did not cease to be English, because they resisted English oppression. They loved liberty more than country, but they were not indifferent to the merits of the British constitution. Popular deliberation and assent were, in their view, indispensable to all wise legislation. But they were not insensible to the attendant dangers. They knew that popular impulse was unreasoning, that it was liable to yield to excitement, or to the seductions of present apparent expediency. With large comprehension they foresaw the possible evils of hasty and improvident legislation, and they felt that, with the divided responsibility inseparable from it, there was danger to be apprehended. In their judgment nothing deserved to be enacted as law until it had received careful and repeated consideration. Whoever has studied the history of our national and early state constitutions must have been impressed with the solicitude which their framers felt to devise suitable checks against the anticipated licentiousness of popular legislation. It was one of the most difficult problems in the construction of our new forms of government. More than one device was adopted, but, if we may judge from an experience of seventy years, not one too many. The framers had seen that the existence of two houses, each acting independently of the other, had proved a

check upon inconsiderate action, and they could devise no better form for the future than that which was furnished to their hands in the organization of the British Parliament. They were aware, indeed, that the existence of two separate bodies in one legislature might sometimes prevent any action, but they thought, and thought wisely, what is now often forgotten, that too much legislation is a greater evil than none,—that it is even better to “bear those ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of.”

It is true there was no order of nobility in the land, and the prejudices which, if not engendered, were certainly deepened by the revolutionary strife, rendered the creation of such an order impossible. Nor was there any material out of which to construct it. There was no individual wealth to sustain such a class in the community. The military distinctions, which had grown out of the necessary maintenance of the army, were too unequally distributed. Besides, the successful commanders were citizen soldiers, not bred to arms, but neighbors and companions of those who had served under them in the ranks. Even in the country from which our people came, with few exceptions, title had not been obtained by military prowess. But the division of the legislature into two distinct bodies was too important not to be preserved. To accomplish it the plan was adopted of requiring the upper house to be chosen by a different constituency, generally larger, and providing that its members should hold office for a longer period. In some of the states a higher property qualification was also demanded. The two houses in England are a necessity resulting from the existence of an order of nobility. The two houses in American legislatures are the offspring of no such necessity, but of an apprehension in the framers of the government that uncurbed popular legislation would prove unsafe. They threw around the legislatures other restraints. They preserved, in a qualified degree, the prerogative residing in the British crown, to arrest even the joint action of both houses, conferring upon the executive a preventive, though not a legislative authority. They did more. By written constitutions they restricted the general legislative power of the

community, when acting by their representatives, and prohibited any action upon some subjects, and particular action upon others. In this respect American legislation is unlike that of the mother country. There never has been a written organic law which restrained the plenary action of the British Parliament. There are, indeed, old statutes and long standing usages, which, by common consent, have come to be regarded as constitutional, but the limits of legislative action are much more strictly defined in this country than they are in England. With these slight differences, the forms of American legislation are as old as constitutional government. Whatever peculiarities it exhibits are due, therefore, to some other causes than its singularity of form.

It is obvious, however, from the mode in which the upper houses in our legislatures are constituted, that all cannot have been accomplished that the framers of the constitutions hoped to secure. They devised a palliative, not a protection. Having in part, if not wholly, the same constituency, both houses must be the representatives of the same spirit. Almost alike dependent upon the same popular breath, they are found to yield alike to popular impulse, and often to legislate hastily and unwisely. Our legislation is more the work of the people than is that of England; our statutory enactments a more direct reflex of the current popular sentiment. If it be true, as was said of England by Richardson, in 1668, "that the law is nothing but the history how our ancestors have managed propriety in all ages," American legislation must pre-eminently be an exponent of American feeling and American impulse. Whatever tends to make an impression upon the common mind,—whatever contributes to direct or to characterize social conduct,—must here, more than elsewhere, find expression in the written law.

If, now, the inquiry be made what particular influences are most potent in giving direction to legislation—in presenting the objects sought to be accomplished by it—in restraining its excesses—and in giving peculiarity to its action, we answer first, and pre-eminently, the power of common usage or custom. In every civil community of long standing, continued usage is

king. Its influence pervades all classes, reaches every dwelling, and, in some degree, controls all action. Its throne may be disturbed, but it is sure to reassert its authority, and reduce to obedience its most rebellious subjects. It is a power eminently conservative, fearful of innovation, steadfastly arrayed against change. In this land, as in all others, there exists a multitude of social usages, the day of the birth of which no man can tell. They have stolen upon us silently and unnoticed. They have made themselves our constant companions, entered into our daily life, taken part in all our concerns. They have identified themselves with all our interests. They are themselves our interests. We should cease to be what we are without them, and their sudden extinction would be to us like translation to another world. They constitute a power which no legislator may ignore, a power ruling within as well as around him. It would be unaccountable, indeed, if legislation, so popular as ours, so direct and immediate an expression of public sentiment, should escape the influence of these usages. Whatever peculiarities they exhibit must find their way into the written law of the land.

Our present purpose does not embrace an inquiry into the reasons why that, to which we have been long accustomed, should rule as an ever-present power within us. We aim only at presenting the fact, and directing attention to the intensity and universality of this power. The usages of society are its habits, and the same reason which accounts for the control of habit over the man, explains the power of usage over a community.

To obtain some adequate appreciation of the unavoidable influence which the established usages of society exert over popular legislation, we need but observe how great is the power of that which is usual over the individual man. It not only guides his conduct, but it lies at the foundation of his faith. Such is our mental constitution that frequent repetition of an act or event enforces belief in its continued recurrence. In an extended sense, this is a universal truth, applicable alike to the facts of physical and intellectual nature. With all of us, the common reason for belief, is the knowledge that what we rely upon as

a fact is in correspondence with what has previously existed. We know that a heavy body will fall toward the center of the earth, if unsupported; we believe that fire will burn, that heat will change ice to water, but we believe only because observation has taught us that such have been their habits heretofore. The same is true in regard to all expected physical phenomena. It is equally true in regard to mental and moral action. Of this the most simple illustrations may be given. We believe that memory will preserve to us the scenes of this day—that the power of reasoning, once acquired, will continue—that attention is essential to perfect understanding, but our belief is only another name for a conviction that that which hath been is that which shall be. So in morals, no one doubts that the tendency of a life of indolence and vice is to suffering, or that a course of virtuous action is promotive of happiness, and this undoubting conviction is but a deduction from repeated results of past observation. So instinctive is the belief which is caused by that which is usual, or customary, that we have learned to denominate usages, laws. Thus we speak of the laws of being, of motion and of mind, and mean nothing more than their usages. It would be a curious speculation to enquire how far it would be possible for human reasoning to exist, were it not for this constitutional tendency to yield to that which is usual, the assent of our understanding. Certain it is that without it the limits of knowledge would be narrow indeed, for even our faith in human testimony has no other foundation. Our experience has taught us that reliance may generally be placed upon assertions of fact by our fellow-men. We therefore repose confidence in them. There is more truth than falsehood in the world. We rest upon this conviction in our individual life, and as members of the community. Upon the same principle human testimony is daily received in our courts of law as a basis for the vindication of social rights, and the repression and punishment of wrongs. So, too, we judge that certain motives will influence to certain conduct, or the converse, that a given line of conduct indicates certain motives. We do not desire to be understood as asserting that the conclu-

sions we draw are always right conclusions; that the faith we adopt is a true faith. I speak now only of the fact that from such evidence we commonly deduce belief—and that as regards most of our convictions, especially those which have a practical influence upon life, we can give no other reason for the faith which is in us than that such has been the custom, the conduct, or the belief of others.

And what we notice in ourselves, we look for in our fellow-men. The evidence that controls our understanding, we regard as sufficient to control theirs, even in matters of religious faith. We anticipate that the son of a Buddhist will worship Budh—that one born and educated in Rome will be a papist—that the child of New England parents, reared in the family circle, will be a protestant, not because either has ever examined the evidences which support his faith, but because the usages to which he has been accustomed tend to impose belief. We may call such faith prejudice. It is so, but it is an early judgment adapted to the constitution of our nature. It is a part of man himself. Of this "*vis consuetudinis*" the legislative reformer in the faith, the morals or the material interests of the community must take account. He must admit that faith thus founded is not entirely without reason, and must anticipate the resistance that reliance upon evidence, the nature of which, in most things, all men regard as satisfactory, is calculated to present. Laws are unmeaning, if not mischievous, which are not adapted to the character and common habits of those intended to be governed by them, and when those common habits of thought, of reasoning, and of belief are carried into a legislative body, they must give tone to its action.

While such is the power of usage upon the individual man, it is not less controlling over men in a state of municipal society, and it is even more potential over their legislation. We have nothing now to say of its effect upon national character. It is doubtless true of a nation, as it is of every man, that its customs are true exponents of its character, and that they establish its reputation among mankind. But they do more. They give to it its laws. The great basis upon which the

rules of civil conduct of any people rest, is the social usages of that people.

In vain would be a search through the moldering records of the past, for any royal decree or for any parliamentary enactment, securing the relative rights which we now enjoy unquestioned, or enforcing the social obligations which we all acknowledge. Some of the domestic relations, indeed, are founded in nature, and some are of Divine appointment, but most of the rights and duties which grow out of them are such as usage has enjoined. *Political* privileges are the creatures of written law—most *civil* rights, however, have had a different origin. The general principles which regulate the ownership of property,—the privileges attached to ownership—the evidence upon which title to it depends, the securities which are thrown around its enjoyment, as well as those which environ the person and reputation, are not the dictates of superior power, but the commands of common assent,—the long practised usages which men have tacitly adopted. Statute law may have recognized them, and may have added new sanctions, but it never created them. No human wisdom has ever yet been found adequate to devise a system of rules sufficient for the government of the most simple minded people. No code of laws has ever been framed by a legislature which answered all the necessities of social organization. Not a tittle of our laws had their origin in statutory enactment. They have come down to us from by-gone times, authority only, because they were the practised customs of our fathers. Even our organic laws—our national and state constitutions and many of our statutory enactments—are but reproductions of older usages, with which their framers were familiar. The British Parliament, as has been seen, was the model after which the provincial, and subsequently the state legislatures, were formed. The concurrent assent of two deliberative bodies, the check upon their action by the chief executive, and most of the forms of legislation, were borrowed. The construction of the judiciary departments, the general distribution of powers between the executive, legislative and judiciary, and very many of the provisions of our bills of rights, are but written

recognitions of what had been the practised usages of our ancestors through many generations—many of them usages so old that no history has preserved the date of their birth. Written constitutions are perhaps the most remarkable illustrations of the controlling power which custom exerts over men as members of a political community. They show that it governs alike theories and practice. Such instruments look to the future more than to the present. Though intended to work practical results, they are in themselves theoretical,—plans or schemes for anticipated social action. In them, if anywhere, we might look for a release from the behests of usage, and for a free rein given to unrestrained speculation. But such an expectation finds no fulfillment. Even here the usages of the time, the customs of civil society, assert their sway, and demonstrate the universality of their influence. There have been some notable instances of attempts to frame the organic law of a civil community, in disregard of popular usages, all of which resulted in failure. The constitution which John Locke formed for the province of South Carolina was one. If any theorist could have succeeded in such an undertaking, it would seem that Locke should not have failed. Deeply read, as he was, in the mysteries of the human mind, an ardent lover of his race, with the history and experience of the civilized world spread out before him, unembarrassed by the dissentient opinions of any associate, he had apparently every requisite for the work which he undertook to perform. But in its execution he omitted one element, the absence of which admits of no compensation. The constitution which he framed, though beautiful in theory, proved unfitted for those for whom it was designed. It ignored their habits of thought and of life, made no account of their social usages, and consequently was found impracticable in operation. It was laid aside. Plato's theory of a republic would doubtless have shared the same fate, had it been applied to the government of any nation existing in his age.

In the popular mind of most nations a distinction seems to have been made between certain usages regarded as constitutional, and others which regulate only common intercourse. The former have been considered as inseparable from national

independent existence,—the latter as indispensable to social, domestic and individual happiness. The former have in many instances been subverted, but the latter have proved ineradicable. Conquest has overthrown constitutions, but it has required the extinction of a people to wipe out their domestic usages. Our Saxon ancestors submitted, though reluctantly, to Norman ascendancy, but they adhered with inflexible tenacity to the usages which they had inherited, and they have sent them down to us, commingled with those of their conquerors, but still preserved.

We shall be enabled to estimate more fully the indestructible nature of these usages adopted by common consent, and the extent of their influence upon legislation, if we notice briefly the assaults which they have successfully resisted. As in all countries they are the recognized rules of civil conduct, so they necessarily precede all legislation. The very considerations which give them power tend to make them permanent. Yet every written law assumes that they are inadequate to the necessities of society, or that they are in conflict with the best interests of the people. It aims either at their extinction or modification, or it seeks to superadd still another usage. There is, therefore, a constant struggle for the mastery between the usages of a people and their legislation. A power which can maintain such a conflict, continued through long years, and yet survive unconquered, must possess no common vitality. Whoever shall write the history of the legislation of this country and of England, in which, more than in any others, written law is the work of the people, will have a theme not only rich in materials, but immense in extent. Soon after the English restoration, Whitelocke, in remarking upon the multiplicity of written laws, observed complainingly, "now the volume of our statutes is grown or swelled to a great bigness." At that time all the British statutes were embraced within a single volume. Times have greatly changed since the days of Whitelocke. More is attempted now, by positive legislation, every year, than was the work of centuries before the English revolution. Modern sentiment appears to regard legislation as a remedy for all social ills,—as a ne-

cessary promoter of all true progress. Our statute books are a permanent record of numberless schemes of political and social improvement, and of attempted ameliorations of those laws which have been established by the common sense and common usage of the people. We have a national legislature in annual session. We have more than thirty state legislatures, most of them also convening annually, and all employed in devising new rules for individual conduct. The results of their labors are seen in the numerous volumes of statutes which pour from the press, already too numerous to find space in any private library. It is a noteworthy fact, that legislation begets legislation; that notwithstanding the real and imaginary improvement which has been made in society, and notwithstanding all that written law has attempted to accomplish, the work to be done remains undiminished. Each legislator addresses himself to a task greater than that which engaged the attention of his predecessors. The body of the statute law grows in magnitude with every year. The work done by one legislature is often undone by its successor, and a new structure raised upon its ruins. All this is under the pretence of improvement. It avows a purpose to meliorate the condition of society; to give to the community a better system of laws than their experience has devised, and to change those customs and usages which necessity introduced, and which are the ligaments that bind society together.

We would not be understood as asserting that all which is done by our many legislative assemblies is an invasion of the common usages of society. Our political system requires that short lived provision should be made for the maintenance of government, and that its different departments should be reminded of their dependence by annual or biennial grants of the means of administering public affairs. These grants, usually called appropriation bills, contribute to swell the statute book. So also much of the attention of our legislative bodies is directed to private objects. Still these are partial innovations upon the general usages of the community. Not taking them into account, however, there emanate from our

lawgivers multitudinous enactments of general application, experimental in character, designed to substitute a theoretical future for a practical present. Surely, if positive institutions, if legislative enactment could make any system of domestic law perfect, ours would long ere this have been in a high state of perfection. Surely, if anything could have destroyed those usages which gave early character to our people, and which have been the rules of civil conduct in all our history, the legislation of the last seventy years should have accomplished the work of destruction. But it is the legislation that perishes. The customs of a people cannot die a violent death. Originating in physical necessity, in peculiar location or dangers, or in a tried experience of what is convenient and useful, they are perpetuated by the same causes which gave them birth. They are susceptible indeed of modification, they accommodate themselves to advancing civilization; they yield to the plastic hand of science and of religion, yet they maintain more than an equal struggle with legislation.

It is no uncommon observation that certain legislative acts are in conflict with popular sentiment, or in advance of it. Such laws are not expected to prove enduring. If not soon obliterated from the statute book, they remain there a dead letter, nominally law, but truly powerless,—the form without the life. No power, not even that of a despot, can force upon an unwilling people laws subversive of their customs and their faith. The attempt involves a conflict between a rule which is a part of themselves, and an artificial regulation obligatory only because of the mode of its enactment. All the instincts of self-preservation revolt against it.

The authors of the code Napoleon, men of no common wisdom, and men who, while intent upon their great work, kept steadily in view the results of human experience, remarked that "no legislator can escape that invisible power, that silent judgment of the people, which tends to correct the mistakes of arbitrary legislation, and to defend the people from the law, and the lawgiver from himself."

Attempts to elevate a people in the arts, in science, or in morals, by statutory enactments greatly in advance of their

usages and general sentiment, have always proved abortive. Such attempts not only fail to accomplish their purpose, but they often induce serious mischiefs. Their tendency is to bring all law into disrepute, to diffuse a spirit of insubordination, and thus endanger the continued existence of orderly society. A law upon the statute book, which cannot be executed, is a standing proclamation of license to disorder. There is far less permanency in the legislation of this country than is generally supposed. That silent judgment, of which the authors of the code Napoleon spoke, pronounces its decree upon every act of legislation, and many fail to pass the stern ordeal. Some are forced out of existence, and others submit to modification to render them more consonant with popular sentiment and habits. How few are the statutes in any of our books of laws which have survived unaltered a quarter of a century? Even our constitutions perish in the lifetime of their framers, and constitutions, far less than other laws, interfere with the social habits and everyday life of the people. How few, if any, of the old thirteen states have preserved their original constitutions? Some of those who but recently came into the sisterhood have more than once reconstructed their organic law. Change is the characteristic of all that is artificial in our system of government. There is however a substratum of popular usages, which lies deep below all written laws, incapable of being disturbed by any great convulsion. Upon this the lawgiver must build, if he would raise an enduring structure. We have dwelt long upon this part of our subject, because, in our judgment, it is intimately connected with all the other influences which are felt by legislation,—itself affected by them and in return qualifying their efficiency.

Among those other influences are such as result from the local situation and physical capabilities of the country which our people inhabit. As usages are the fruit of necessity, or of convenience, and earlier usages principally of physical necessity, it is of course to be expected that whatever is novel or unusual in the situation of any people, should operate upon their written law. Location directs the nature of their employments, and consequently of their relations to one another.

After all, the legislator has most to do with that which is material. No law can be equally fitted for all material interests, and legislation which is not adapted to the circumstances and employments of those to be affected by it, is unmeaning and absurd. There must from necessity be national dissimilarity. No one supposes that the laws which would suffice for an agricultural people, would meet all the wants of a manufacturing or a maritime nation. Every art has its peculiar customs, every employment its own necessities. So also the proximity of others, whose interests are diverse, and who are animated by a different spirit, imposes the necessity of peculiar laws. There is very much in our situation, which has contributed to the character we possess, and which has been speaking out in all our past legislation. We are far removed from any of the great powers of the world. Our position is one of security, fortified by distance, against force, and protected even from annoyance. We can hardly be said to have neighbors, or even acquaintances, except those of our own choice. We are at liberty to foster our industry, and advance our interests, in our own way, unchecked by the jealousy or interference of any external power. We need no standing army to repel sudden invasion. There is nothing here to awaken the conviction that any domestic policy we may adopt would be unsafe.

Moreover, we have such a domain of unappropriated land as no other nation has ever enjoyed, open to the occupation of all our people, and promising competency, if not wealth, to even moderate industry. All along our history this region has spread its broad acres before the eyes of the landless, inviting them to enter and to enjoy.

The products of our soil, too, are almost infinitely diversified, adapted to every variety of pursuit. Mines, fisheries, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures afford unwonted facilities to successful effort. Apart from all the effect which the physical advantages we possess are suited to produce upon the spirit and character of our people, it is impossible that they should not directly shape much of their legislation. No one would dream that the written law, which would be adapted

to Holland or the British isles, would answer well for our physical condition. It is not difficult to trace in our statute books many effects which have resulted from our remote situation,—our immense landed possessions, and our diversified and peculiar physical interests. We select one. The change which American legislation has made in the law of descent of real estate, is one of its most important achievements. It is that which, perhaps more than any other, has been far-reaching in its influence upon the spirit, the character, and the general development of our people. It has taken away the privileges of the Norman feud, and the Jewish birthright. It no longer permits the whole land of the father to descend, at his death, to his eldest son. It casts the inheritance upon all the children alike, and makes them all land owners. It thus restrains large accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few at the expense of the many—breaks up the distinctions in families, which grow out of the unequal distribution of property—gives to merit a precedence over birth,—and fosters in the community a spirit of self-reliant independence. This great departure from the law of our English ancestry has, doubtless, been induced mainly by the fact that land here has always been abundant, that there has been enough for all, and though, within the older states, the influence of the great unappropriated region at the west is now felt but indirectly, yet in those states where there remain unappropriated or even unsettled lands, they continue to be a constant subject of legislation.

Nor do the effects of physical causes cease with the first legislative action. The abolition of the law of primogeniture prepared the way for other laws promotive of general education, and awakened a desire for the establishment of schools, common to the children of all. Who can say that without this, free public schools, our glory and our safety, could ever have found a permanent abiding place in this country?

Yet another influence that impresses itself upon our written law flows from the comparative shortness of our existence as a distinct people. Two hundred years are a brief period for maturing a nation, especially when its first efforts must be

expended in subduing a wilderness for an abode,—too brief to give consistency to its policy—hardly enough to furnish indications of what its ripened manhood will be. Age creates impressions that early youth cannot inspire. We render involuntary homage to what has outlived centuries. We esteem it vandalism to destroy it. But there are few things among us which time has rendered sacred. There is little here that challenges our veneration,—little to diffuse abroad a conservative spirit. We have no monuments of art, hoary with years,—no structures built by the hands of our fathers, which have survived the decay of long ages. We have no laws on our statute books which reach back far beyond the memory of living men,—no educational institutions which, compared with those of the old world, are not yet in their early youth. We have even no state or national constitution, which is older than the time to which living memory extends. We see, among us, none of those physical or social monuments, around which human veneration is wont to cling, and which attach the present to the far past. We are almost in jest when we apply the term “old” to anything artificial around us. During our short independent existence we have witnessed unexampled improvement in the structure of government, in the modification of those laws which regulate social life, and perhaps in moral and religious culture. We have seen the work of many generations condensed into the lifetime of one. It is natural, though it may not be philosophical, to conclude that future advancement may be no less easy than was the past,—that as construction was indispensable to our existence as a separate people, and as it has been successful, reconstruction will prove equally safe. We may imagine the consternation which would gather upon all English faces, were the tower of London, or Westminster Abbey, suddenly destroyed, but the shock would be equally great, were some old statute repealed, which had been a living law since the days of Henry the Eighth. Time hallows even abuses. The long continued and energetic contest which was needed to effect a small reform in the representation to the British House of Commons in 1832, illustrates the strength of the attachment which men feel for that which

nothing but time has rendered venerable. There are no such venerations in this country. There is hardly anything, it would be considered sacrilege to destroy. What may be hereafter, (if anything of the present be left undisturbed for a long hereafter,) we can only conjecture from the history of other nations. The present effect of the novelty around us, it is not difficult to perceive. It is certainly not conservative. It has no tendency to give stability to our institutions,—none to consolidate, or even to secure the advances already made.

Closely connected with this, and tending to produce similar impressions upon our legislation, is the fact that we are not a homogeneous people. A large majority, it is true, are of English descent, but there are Scotchmen, Irishmen, Germans, French, Spaniards, Norwegians and others, in the aggregate numbering millions, intermingled with each other, and with the English race. All these have brought with them an attachment to the customs and to the legislation of their fatherlands. They cherish their peculiar theories,—their ideal of what would constitute the best attainable common good. Ardent in their attachment to the free institutions of the country, they take part in its public concerns, and their influence is felt in all our halls of legislation. They are probably more active in the affairs of government, because they enjoy a privilege denied to them in the land of their descent or birth. Society here is in a state of fusion. What it will be when its particles shall have readjusted themselves, it is too soon now to predict. It is easier to tell what it cannot be. It cannot be English. It cannot be German. It cannot have the spirit and character of any other living nation. It is wonderful how much has already been accomplished in blending the different constituencies that make up American society. We are the only people into which flows a never-ebbing tide of foreign immigration. It is diffused through all our borders. But it passes at once into the same crucible, and comes out American. The process, however, cannot be without a disturbing effect upon our legislation. Men of these different nationalities are found in nearly every legislative body. They necessarily take with them their preconceived opinions, and by contact with

others work out results, which are distinctly American. Even if not themselves members, they contribute, in their daily life, to the formation of a public sentiment which seeks expression in the legislative will.

The fact should also be noticed, that the unprecedented progress made during the present age, in invention, and in the application of science to the arts, tends to multiply and to direct legislation. The development of the arts and sciences in modern times has been too rapid, and the consequent changes of social condition have been too sudden, to warrant their being left to the slow process of the growth of compulsory usage. So long as the advance of society is steady and uniform, it may be assumed that existing usages will accommodate themselves to whatever changes may take place. Until within quite a recent period, social improvement has been by regular gradations. High civilization has not been the growth of any single age. But, of late, science has become something more than abstractions. Its tendency is now altogether practical. It is no longer what it was in the dark ages, or even in the days of Bacon. Indeed, the present century is the commencement of a new era. The principles which the scientific investigations of former periods brought to light, are no longer mere toys to amuse an idle hour—curiosities to excite the wonder of the unlearned. They have become tributary to the convenience of society. Long known principles, as well as more recent discoveries, are valued now just in proportion as they have been made subservient to popular use. The spirit of the age is bold, but utilitarian. It has laid hold of the elements themselves, but only to put them in harness, and compel them to human service. Science has entered the abodes of all our people, and revolutionized the employments and habits of social life—it has banished from our dwellings the spinning wheel and loom of the matron, the knitting needle of the spinster, while the sewing machine threatens still larger innovations. Science has invaded the department of agriculture, fertilizing the soil, planting the seed, gathering the crops, and preparing them for use, by other than human hands—it has monopolized the whole

domain of manufactures—it has entered the realms of commerce and trade;—opened new avenues to their successful prosecution, given to them novel and superior instruments with which to labor, and has rendered the modern merchant as unlike his predecessor as is the cross-legged Turk who sells his wares in the bazaar of an eastern city. Science has also compressed society, has brought its members into closer contact with each other, and into nearer neighborhood with other communities. What physical, what social wonders have been wrought by the multiplication of canals, of rail ways, of telegraphs, and by the introduction of steam navigation! Applied science has, within the last fifty years, regenerated society—has diverted labor from its long worn channels—has introduced comfort, even luxury, into the homes of poverty—has stimulated the enterprise that had long lain dormant—has generated in the universal mind a consciousness of power, and awakened conceptions of what is attainable, too vivid to admit of inaction.

All this has made unwonted demands for legislative interference. It has rendered necessary new rules, suited to the altered circumstances of the people. This sudden expansion of human capabilities, aided by the application of science to the uses of life, found no usages in the community adequate to regulate the new complications both in the physical and moral condition of the people which it introduced. Trade found itself, in many particulars, without law. Convenience had established no rules for what had no existence, and selfishness and all evil passions were not slow to avail themselves of new facilities for their indulgence. Here was a great and a new work for legislation. Here was a necessity to be supplied—a vacuum to be filled. To enable the legislator to meet wisely this new order of things, required no common knowledge of the transition state of society, no small amount of judgment to plan, and of prudence to foresee the effect of legislative action. The attempt has been made. Modern legislation has been largely engaged in regulating the new duties and rights which the application of science to the purposes of common life has caused to spring into being. Many of our statutes re-

late to canals and railways, to telegraphs and manufactoryes, to hours of labor, to the duties of the employer, and to the rights of the employed. It is probable that such statutes will become more numerous as the effect of this influx of mechanical improvements becomes more manifest in common life. It is true that the effect upon legislation, which practical science has wrought, has been, thus far, rather to substitute a new subject matter, than to introduce a changed spirit into our law, but there can be no great physical changes which do not work corresponding changes in the mind and heart of the community.

It is not difficult to perceive that this cause must be peculiarly effective upon American legislation. The benefits of mechanical improvements are more generally diffused in this country than they are in any other nation. There is in all classes a greater readiness to avail themselves of anything which is labor-saving or labor-doing. No decided improvement can long be confined to a single neighborhood. Even patent laws, with all their authority, are too weak to prevent constant infringement. An improved churn or plough invented this year in Connecticut, will next year be in use in Oregon. There are few villages or neighborhoods in which there is not a steam engine, and fewer still unvisited by the products of some labor saving process. Our whole population is familiar with many of the achievements of the age. It is incredible that all this should not give birth to common ideas of a possible improved state of society, and greatly stimulate the popular mind to increased activity. And in such a system as ours, where all written law is but the outspaking of the common sense, it is equally incredible that such ideas should not find expression in the statute book.

We do not intend to dwell upon the power of party spirit or legislation, or upon the consequences which follow that peculiar division of parties, that which now exists, and always has existed, in this country; or upon that increasing and inordinate desire to become rich without labor, now so prevalent and so corrupting. Each of these is worthy of attentive consideration, and one of them, at least, is fitted to excite apprehen-

sion for the future. Our limits will allow us to refer, very briefly, to but one other of those influences which reach our written law.

The age in which we live is an age of extravagant mental and moral speculation. Whatever causes may have combined to give to it this characteristic, the fact is undeniable. And the speculation which formerly expended itself in theories, now aims at putting them into practice. At no other period has organized society been the subject of so much day dreaming. In not a few minds conceptions of social improvement and illusory theories of a reorganized state of society, far more conducive to human happiness than is its present structure, are but daily bread. There are no schemes of reform so wild as to find no partisans. There are no established relations of life too sacred to be beyond the reach of projected modification. Even marriage, the foundation of all society, is, in the apprehension of many, not what it should be, but requires the ameliorating hand of human legislation. The relative position of the sexes demands readjustment. The expressed wisdom of the past is, in the judgment of such theorists, but folly, and even the book of inspiration is trustworthy only so far as it can be tortured into accordance with their principles.

Such enthusiasts would be harmless, were it not for the sublime energy with which their schemes are prosecuted. Moderation seems to have been expunged from their catalogue of virtues. Disheartened by no failure, they make it rather a reason for wilder extravagance. They substitute denunciation for argument, and agitation for conviction.

There is a still larger class in the community, not so deeply infected, who are yet dissatisfied with the existing order of things,—who regard the government and laws as radically defective, and who are not slow to believe that their own visions of right and policy are essential to the highest social development. They are doubtless true reformers in spirit, patriots and philanthropists. But they are not wise reformers. They undervalue present good, and overlook its cost. They forget that, though a rule may not have been the best conceivable at its origin, society may have accommodated

itself to it, and that it cannot now be eradicated, without leaving a wound. Failing to consider that all members of the community are not equally enlightened, and that both mental and moral reform must, in the nature of things, precede positive human law, they look to no other means of securing their projected reforms, than the coercive power of statutory enactment. It must be admitted that men of these and kindred views have deeply engraven their spirit upon modern legislation. Probably few persons become members of either our state or national assemblies, who are entirely without the impression that there are evils in existing law, which it is their mission to remove. Associated with this is a frequent ambition to connect their own names with some public measure. To the ill considered experiments to which such impressions and this ambition prompt, many of the evils of our present legislation are to be attributed.

From the view which we have submitted of the influences which find their way into all legislative bodies, especially into those which reflect the popular sense, the transition is easy to the faults and imperfections which American legislation exhibits. We have already alluded to some, and have reserved to ourselves only time to mention a few others. The intelligent observer must be impressed with the conviction that American legislation is excessive. The most artificial state of society is not the best. That community is most prosperous, as well as most free, which is permitted to pursue its course of industry, untrammeled by any rules other than those which are necessary for its protection and harmony. The prescription of any new rule of action, necessarily produces temporary friction in the machinery of society, and instead of promoting immediate harmony, tends to foster litigation. Skillful legislation will therefore be sparing. Its province is not to construct, but to develop. The lawgiver should be an assistant, not a despot. As society advances, new complications will arise. Legislation should disembarass them, and prevent their continuing obstacles to further improvement. When an old custom has lost its vitality and become an useless form, it may be excinded. When forms are needed for the application of acknowledged

principles, it is the province of legislation to supply them. When crime assumes new phases, or overleaps existing barriers, the lawgiver should provide for its repression. When an additional stimulus is needed to whatever is useful or noble, it should be supplied. Whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil. He that is familiar with the labors of judicial tribunals must have observed how immensely the complications of society are multiplied by modern legislation, and how numerous are the disturbances to which it gives rise. There is eminent wisdom in the old saying, "few rules and those inflexible." How wide has been the departure from this maxim, in these days, the size of our statute books will show.

Nor is it alone in its excesses, that legislation needs reform. It is not sufficiently intelligent. There is very much in the material of which legislators, in this country, are made, that tends to inconsiderate and ill advised action. We have said that legislation is a science, and yet, by most of those who frame it, it has never been made the subject of study. In England, there is, what is called, a political education. There is a profession of statesmanship. Not a few devote their lives to the attainment of a knowledge of national history, not merely of the biographies of eminent men which fill so large a place in all written history, but of the whole course of executive and legislative proceeding. To them political economy is not a sealed volume. They illuminate themselves with the lights of past experience. They observe the growth of legal principles, and mark the effect upon society of each new development. Nor are they ignorant of the existing state of the law, of its defects, and of the mischiefs, if any, which need a remedy. Knowing alike the law and the facts which require legislative interposition, they are not insensible to the derangement which even a slight alteration may cause in a great system of rules for municipal conduct, and they are able to foresee it. Such men are cautious. When they enter Parliament, if they bring with them integrity, they bring safety. We have no such class of men in this country. Here men are born legislators. While there is a general appreciation of the value and the necessity of a preparatory education for a theo-

logian—for a medical practitioner—for one whose province it is to administer the laws, or even for an artist, its importance to the lawgiver is not practically felt. Yet in his relation to the welfare of society he is behind no one, unless it be the teacher of religion.

We cannot but think that in this American scholars are in fault. Here is a department of science which they overlook. Too often themselves indisposed to enter a legislative body, they do not devote to the true principles of useful legislation that thought which their importance to the general welfare demands, and consequently they have little influence with those who are active agents in making the laws. Cultivated intellect and thorough knowledge do not contribute their share to the municipal regulation of the community. It is doubtless due to the general intelligence of our people, that our written law is not more crude than it is. But were it made a subject of general study; did legislation, equally with other sciences, command the devotion of educated men, we should be delivered from a multitude of evils. We should not, often, as now, find in our statute books an enactment working widely different effects from those which its framers anticipated—deranging what no one ever desired to disturb, and imposing the necessity of other legislation to remove mischiefs introduced by itself. We should no more be subjected to the trial of illusory theories, and ill digested experiments, so many of which now end in failure, and during their continuance work social disaster. We should have a clearer expression of the legislative sense, with a consequent diminution of the necessity to resort to courts of law, and a decrease of the number of cases of individual hardship.

In this age of wonderful mental activity, when science is in a state of rapid progression—in this utilitarian age, when universal knowledge pays her tribute to the common weal—it should not be that the science of legislation alone is regarded as unworthy of the study of educated men. Young ambition is often eager to assume its duties and to share its honors. It would be a nobler ambition to aspire to fitness to discharge its duties well.

ARTICLE III.—DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES.

Fourteenth Annual Report of the Society for Promoting Collegiate and Theological Education at the West.

Address on the Mutual Coöperation of Different Denominations, in the support of Christian Colleges.

WE owe our readers an apology for the phrase which we have placed at the head of this Article. We confess it is not exactly classical. The word "denominational" is of recent American origin; and we remember the time when the combination of this word with Colleges would have seemed harsh, if not quite unintelligible. But changes in ideas and institutions compel changes in words; and Americans are not necessarily to be charged with relapsing into barbarism, if they do make changes in the English language, corresponding to the novel ideas and social combinations, which have originated on this side of the Atlantic.

Diversity of religious denomination has increased so rapidly within the last quarter of a century, and has become so important an element in American society, that there is an imperative necessity of an adjective expressive of it. The word "sectarian" might be supposed to meet this want; but it always implies more or less of censure, and for that reason men are not fond of applying it to themselves and their party. They are apt to flatter themselves that though much attached to the religious denomination to which they belong, they are still not sectarians. They feel, therefore, the need of a word which will describe zeal for a denomination, as they like to call it, without any implication of a narrow and sectarian spirit. For this purpose, evidently, the word "denominational" was coined, and has obtained currency; and we shall profit nothing by protesting against its use, for it meets a widely felt want.

The phrase, "Denominational Colleges," is also the product of comparatively recent changes in the minds of the American people. It is within the memory of men yet not far from the meridian of life, that the thought had scarcely been entertained by any mind that a College should be in any sense the representative of a sect, or that such Colleges as Princeton, and Columbia, and Yale, were not suitable for the education of any American youth, whatever might be the religious views of his parents.

But it is supposed the world is growing wiser. Many now regard it as an established law of society, that no College can flourish unless its very life is intertwined with that of some religious denomination ; and that conversely no denomination, or, as persons entertaining such views, would generally prefer to say, no church, can be expected to prosper without a system of Colleges forming a part of its organic life.

The process by which these ideas have taken possession of the popular mind is quite marvelous. They are not the result of any new light which has been thrown upon the subject by discussion, or by discovery, or by the experience of educators. They are the direct products of that multiplication of sects, and that vast increase of the sectarian spirit which have so strangely characterized the last half century of our history. Men full of zeal for their religious denomination, and ambitious of its aggrandizement, have discovered that Colleges are instruments of power, and have therefore eagerly seized upon them, and sought to wield them with as much efficiency as possible, for denominational purposes. "*Furor arma ministrat.*"

It seems to us, therefore, quite time to pause in our career, and inquire whither all this is tending. What is to be the result of an order of things which is new, we say, not within the memory of our fathers, but of ourselves ; which has been inaugurated with the rashness and hot haste of sectarian zeal, rather than with the considerateness and sober reflection which the magnitude of the interests involved clearly calls for ; and which is already, with an arrogance not very pardonable, representing itself as the normal condition of society, and not

unlikely to spurn any questionings of ours as radical and revolutionary.

Such an inquiry into the tendency of Denominational Colleges we purpose now to institute. We have referred, at the head of this Article, to two very unpretending pamphlets. But unpretending as they are, they afford a proper text for introducing this subject to our readers. In the year 1844, the "Society for Promoting Collegiate and Theological Education at the West," was organized for the purpose of rendering needed aid to infant Seminaries of learning in the West, till provisions could be made for their permanent endowment. Its resources have been chiefly derived from collections in Congregational and New School Presbyterian Churches in the New England and Middle States. Its principles are wholly unsectarian and coöperative. But within these last few years it has experienced constantly increasing difficulties in the performance of its noble work, from this new and growing rage for Denominational Colleges. In the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Society, and the accompanying Address, drawn up by a Committee, of which, that veteran in the cause of coöperative benevolence, Absalom Peters, D. D., was the Chairman, the prominent points of the subject are presented with clearness and force. Whoever will read these documents will find the question argued from a practical rather than a theoretical stand-point, and by minds that have seen and felt the magnitude of the obstacles which this zeal for Denominational Colleges throws in the way of large-hearted Christian men, who are endeavoring to lay the foundations of liberal learning along our Western frontier.

There are three forms under which the denominational element in Colleges is sometimes exhibited, to each of which we must give some attention, in order to present the subject fairly to our readers. That form which would always be preferred, were the denominational spirit free to obey its own impulses, is to subject the Colleges to the control of the organic system of the denomination itself, to the General Association, the Synod, the Convention, or the Presbytery. As there are many among us, at the present time, who cannot

be made to feel that their churches are not living in criminal disobedience to the Saviour's command, "Go teach all nations," however earnestly the individual members of the same are engaged in the missionary work both at home and in foreign parts, unless the missionaries sent out, and the funds contributed, are under the direct control of the ecclesiastical machinery of their own denomination; so there are many who cannot believe that they have any provision for the liberal education of their sons, unless their Colleges are a part of their ecclesiastical system, controlled by their Presbytery, their Synod, or their Convention. They can feel safe in sending their sons to such Colleges. But if they must send them to Institutions not thus controlled, they are apprehensive that some unfair advantage will be taken of them, to turn them away from the faith of their fathers. Hence their zeal for Denominational Colleges. This is certainly a novel order of things, and we believe it will be transient; but thousands are rushing into it with just as much confidence as they would do if it had the sanction of centuries of experience.

It is perhaps not easy to say which are the most unfit to exercise control over our higher seminaries of learning, our political or our ecclesiastical bodies; though we should be willing to grant the bad preëminence, in this particular, to the former. And yet the unfitness of both is largely due to the same causes. They are alike bodies constituted for other ends than the management of literary institutions; and those primary ends for which they exist will always be paramount in their proceedings, and reduce all other interests which they may attempt to embrace and take care of, to a subordinate position. If Colleges are controlled by political bodies, they will be rendered subservient to the views and interests of whatever political faction may happen to be in the ascendency. In that case, the hope of their being conducted with a sober, steady, and enlightened regard to the interests of liberal learning, is wild and chimerical. The man who indulges such an expectation has surely not read human nature successfully. He has need to be reminded that the stream cannot rise higher than the fountain. He who thinks that Yale College could

have been raised to her present position of world-wide usefulness and renown, under the control of the political bodies of the State of Connecticut, must surely have studied Politics or Colleges, or both, to very little purpose.

And the very same objection holds good against subjecting Colleges to the control of bodies constituted for ecclesiastical purposes. There is the same natural tendency of ecclesiastical bodies to make the interests of their denomination paramount, in all matters to which they apply themselves, as in political bodies to make the interests of party paramount. And if the management of Colleges is committed to them, it may be expected that the interests, real or supposed, of a religious denomination, will be made to override the interests of learning. Our inference in this case is quite as obvious and quite as inevitable as in the case of political bodies; and we know but one way in which it is possible to break its force. It may perhaps be denied that any real or supposed interests of a religious sect having a College under its control, can come in competition with the ends for which such a seminary of learning ought to be conducted. Such a denial would rather indicate an amiable good natured confidence in our fellow men, than a knowledge of the actual state of things amid which we live.

An important chair of instruction, for example, is to be filled. Is it then entirely certain, is it even probable, that the interests of sect, or what is much more accordant with the reality of things, sectarian passions, and an enlightened regard to the interests of learning will point towards the same candidate for the place? Is there no reason to fear that a regard for denominational interests will lead to the appointment of an inferior man, who is right denominationally, in preference to a superior man who cannot be exactly squared to that rule? Is it so perfectly easy to fill a vacant Presidency, in any one of our Western Colleges, with a man fully adequate to such a station, that we can afford to insist that the candidate shall be of some certain, precise shade of opinion in respect to Presbyterian or Congregational notions of the Church? Or can it be quite consistent with the best interests of learning, to insist

that the place shall only be filled by a man who is a good Methodist, or by one who is "all right" on the immersion question? Would it have been wise to exclude Timothy Dwight from the Presidency of Yale College because in his notions of church government he was not quite a Congregationalist?

The simple truth is, that there is a narrowness and a littleness in managing the affairs of an Institution professedly consecrated to liberal learning, in such a spirit, which must expose our Colleges, and the denominations which control them, to the contempt of all liberal-minded men. This very cause is degrading our Colleges in all parts of our country, but more especially in the West and South. It is constantly tending to fill their chairs of instruction with men of very indifferent qualifications, who are placed there, not because they were ever believed to be the fittest men for the place, but because it was thought they might do, and they were of the right denominational stripe.

We affirm that such an order of things is the legitimate fruit of subjecting our Colleges to the control of the ecclesiastical powers of the several denominations. It is precisely the result which comes by a necessity of human nature, from such a system. And we predict that if this system becomes general in the West, as seems now to be threatened, and is persisted in, the long future of our Western Colleges will be as illiberal as it should be liberal, and as insignificant as it should be dignified and respectable.

But this is not the whole of the unfitness of ecclesiastical bodies to conduct the affairs of a College. They are the most *unstable* portion of American society,—the most likely to be rent asunder by internal convulsions. This is not an accidental circumstance, but results from the very nature of the case. All our ecclesiastical systems in this country are attempts to maintain a government without any power of forcibly compelling obedience. And yet they are governments which are continually in contact with the deepest and most sacred convictions, the most energetic emotions, and the most stirring passions of the human heart. They are thus constantly awaking into life and energy, powers which they

are unable to control. They may and do legislate and command, but have no means whatever of compelling obedience. They may adjudicate, but they have no executive arm clothed with authority to compel submission to their sentence. They are precisely in the condition in which one of our State Governments would be, if, with its Legislature and Judiciary constituted as at present, it were deprived of the right forcibly to compel obedience to its laws, and submission to the decisions of its courts. It would not be long, in such a State, before rival legislatures, rival courts, and rival executive officers, would be exercising their functions on the same territory, and in presence of each other; and, in process of time, they would become as numerous as the separate ecclesiastical systems of our country; and they would be multiplied by exactly the same process.

This is the inevitable condition of all ecclesiastical governments, wherever liberty of conscience is fully recognized and established. We do not affirm that ecclesiastical governments so conditioned are bad; we do not affirm that they may not accomplish useful and important ends. But we do affirm that they cannot be stable. They must be constantly liable to the rise of minorities, whose views and feelings are in irreconcileable conflict with those of the ruling majority; and whenever this does happen, convulsion and disruption must and do ensue. To this liability all the great ecclesiastical systems of this country are constantly exposed.

Our Colleges, on the other hand, are, and of right ought to be, among the most permanent of our institutions,—as permanent as our mountains,—as perpetual as the springs which gush out among our hills. Why, then, subject them to the management of bodies so unstable?—unstable in their very nature, as all our ecclesiastical bodies must be.

If any one calls in question the soundness of these views, we appeal to indubitable facts in confirmation of them. Let such a doubter call to mind the earthquake which shook the great Presbyterian Church, from 1830 to 1838, and which finally divided that great body into two parts, each having the same constitution and the same name. Let him call to mind

the more recent agitations which have appeared in that portion of the divided Church known as the New School, on the slavery question, and carried still further the process of disruption. Let him predict, if he can, the results of the already widely extended agitations of the same body, in relation to denominational Home and Foreign Missions. Let him forecast the future of the Old School Presbyterian Church, amid the commotions with which slavery is rocking this great nation.

The adherents of that ecclesiastical system, since the great convulsion of 1837-8, have perhaps flattered themselves that they have a ship strong and steady enough to outride the storm without rocking. So thought the projectors of the Great Eastern. But the first smart gale which she encountered had well nigh driven her upon the rocks, in spite of all her anchors and engines. Enough of tempest is looming up in the coming history of this country, to test the stability of Old School Presbyterianism. Let not her pilots be too sanguine.

In proof of the same instability of our ecclesiastical systems, let us also look at the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mason and Dixon's Line, like some great backbone crossing the continent, long ago divided it towards the North and towards the South. And yet agitation ceases not: fragment after fragment is dissevered, and fresh convulsions are still rising up to view from the opening future. We repeat it, that we do not affirm that systems of which such things are true may not be good, but we can hardly suppose that their best friends are as well satisfied as they would desire to be, of their stability.

To all this, however, it may be objected, that these convulsions have not, as yet, produced any very disastrous consequences to the Colleges under the control of the ecclesiastical systems, in which they have occurred. So far as this is true, it is because this zeal for the denominational control of Colleges is more recent than the most disastrous of these convulsions, and is a product of that intensity of the denominational spirit which they have occasioned. Had Beloit, Wabash, Illinois, and Marietta Colleges been placed under the

supervision of the Synods within which they are respectively located, previous to the great disruption of 1837-8, is it probable that they would have come off unharmed from that catastrophe? If Webster College, in the State of Missouri, had been placed, at its organization, under the direction of the New School Presbyterian Synod of that State, would it now find its ecclesiastical mother in good condition to afford it nourishment, protection, and guardianship?

The Church is indeed destined to perpetuity. It will be as lasting as the Mediatorial reign of Christ. But no wise man can discern any signs of permanency in our ecclesiastical systems. Those artificial arrangements which man has devised for centralizing a government over the Church, and marking the boundaries and perpetuating the divisions of rival Christian sects, sustain no vital relation to the life of the Church; they are confessedly man's work. Who will pretend for a moment that they are not? And, like all the other works of man, they are transient and perishable like their author. Even while they last, they are as changeable as the drifting sands of the desert.

Why, then, subject our seminaries of learning to the necessity of sharing their ever variable and uncertain fortunes? As our Colleges grow out of great permanent and distinct wants of society, why not allow them to stand on their own independent basis? Standing there, they encounter fewer popular passions, and are exposed to fewer causes of commotion and convulsion than any other portion of the body politic. They ought to be,—with wise management they may be,—the most permanent social structures on earth, the Christian Church only excepted. Why, then, should we insist on uniting the permanent with the transient? Why should we unite their destinies to the ever changeful and uncertain fortunes of political and ecclesiastical systems?

To Congregationalists there is another consideration, which ought to be perfectly decisive against all such arrangements. They are utterly at variance with the spirit and tendency of the Congregational system, and cannot be adopted in a Congregational community, without producing an ecclesiastical

revolution. We do not purpose to enlarge on this point; it cannot fail to be obvious to every thoughtful man who has studied Congregationalism. What would have been the condition of the Churches of Connecticut, and of Yale College, if, during the conflicts of the last forty years, the General Association of that State had possessed the power to reappoint, at stated intervals, the Trustees of that great seminary of learning; or even to fill the vacancies which might from time to time occur in their number? Such an arrangement must have immensely increased the violence of those agitations which have been experienced; it must have seriously endangered, if not utterly destroyed, the ecclesiastical unity of her Churches, and invested the General Association with a relative importance in her ecclesiastical system, at variance with its principles, and dangerous to the independency of the Churches. The College itself must have been exposed to agitations and rude shocks, most detrimental to its usefulness and dangerous to its permanency. In short, does any thoughtful man believe that Yale College could have been forty years ago placed under the guardianship of the General Association of Connecticut, without producing a revolution which would have been felt in the most disastrous consequences in every school district of the State?

But such an arrangement will work no better elsewhere in connection with that ecclesiastical polity than in Connecticut. It can work nothing but mischief anywhere. The Congregationalists of one Western Territory have already founded a College, giving the power of appointing its Trustees to the General Association; and in one new Western State there are serious questionings about doing the same thing. It is to be hoped these brethren will reconsider this matter, and abandon a principle likely to work much mischief if adhered to.

There is, however, little danger that this method of controlling literary institutions will be extensively adopted by Congregationalists. The logic of their system is too obviously against it. But a Northwestern Convention of Congregationalists, a few years ago, extemporized a plan for subjecting an institution of learning to the organic control of the Congrega-

tional Churches, without giving any appointing power to the existing ecclesiastical bodies. It proposes to lodge the power of appointing to the Board of Trust, which directs the affairs of the institution, in a Triennial Convention or Council, to be composed of all the Congregational ministers, and one delegate from each of the Congregational Churches of a contiguous group of States, for the benefit of which the seminary is especially intended. This is a novel idea, the working of which has not yet been tested by experiment. But it seems to us liable to great, perhaps fatal, objections.

If the Convention should, as it ought, confine itself strictly to the one object for which it exists, there would be danger that after the novelty of the thing was over, few churches would be represented, and few ministers would incur the expense necessary to attend it. The appointing power might thus fall into the hands of a handful of men living in the vicinity of the Institution, and a power of control designed to be denominational, would in practice be only local; and, therefore, secure very little either of the confidence or sympathy of the churches.

But we should suppose the danger much greater in another direction; that a great Convention—(and that would be a great Convention indeed, which should embrace one minister and one lay delegate from each of the Congregational churches in eight Northwestern States)—we say that a great Convention gathered from all the churches of a vast region, would not, when assembled, confine itself to the simple business of appointing Trustees, for which alone it was called together, but would become a great Triennial deliberative Assembly, for discussing and resolving upon all the questions supposed to be of importance to the interests of religion and the peace and prosperity of the churches. Such a Triennial Assembly, entrusted with the high and permanent function of exercising control and supervision over a great Institution of learning, is a power hitherto unknown to the Congregational Polity, the influence of which is likely to be important, and, we fear, disastrous. It does not require prophetic power to foresee, that such an experiment is attended with much danger to the peace

of the Churches, and even to their independency, as well as as to the prosperity of the Institution.

Let us not flatter ourselves that the times of agitation and conflict are yet over, even in Congregational Churches. And in the midst of such conflicts as those which the New England Churches have experienced in the last forty years, the meeting of a great Convention, like that which assembled in Chicago in 1858, could not fail to produce a commotion, which would be disastrous to the harmony of the Churches and highly prejudicial to the interests of the Institutions, over which it should exercise a guardianship. Nothing is so distressing to children as the quarrels of their parents, and such distresses would in that case be sure to come upon the Seminary. It seems to us that such an arrangement is likely to produce all the bad consequences which we have hinted at, as likely to follow from placing Yale College under the control of the General Association of Connecticut, and even worse on account of the vastness and heterogeneous character of the Convention.

We should also fear that the appointing power would be exercised by an Assembly so vast, and hastily convened and transient in duration, with very little deliberation or wisdom. It should be borne in mind that the Convention assembled in Chicago in 1858, numbered some four hundred members; that a full representation of the constituency would at that time have brought together a Convention of not much short of five times that number, and that if the constituency maintains its present ratio of increase for a generation to come, it is not probable that there will then be a public building in Chicago, which can accommodate the sittings of the Convention. For such a body to become fully aware of the qualifications which are necessary in the Trustees of a great Seminary of learning, and fully informed of the fitness of the men they vote for, is quite impossible. We are not speaking of the working of that system in times of harmony and repose, but in times when the Churches are under the excitements of controversy and conflict. In such times we think the scenes

of the annual meetings of the Nassau street Tract Society might be reproduced in Chicago, with aggravations.

We do not believe, therefore, that any thoughtful man considers this novel idea as a solution of the difficulty : it will be well indeed for the Churches of the great Northwest, if it does not prove to be the very worst form of denominationalism, in its relation to Seminaries of learning. We do not predict ; we cannot refrain from suggesting ; time must determine.

In view of these and like considerations, we think it will be conceded, that there are great and perhaps fatal objections against subjecting Colleges to the direct organic control of the various denominations. But it may still be claimed that there are other ways in which we may have denominational Colleges, without encountering the difficulties which have been alluded to. Let us then examine the other methods which have been proposed and to some extent attempted in practice.

The College may be placed under the direction of a self-perpetuating Board of Trust, composed, however, of men who are attached to a single denomination, and regarded as under bonds to conduct the Institution in the interest of that denomination, and to perpetuate the Board of Trust in the same line of succession. We cheerfully admit that this form of denominationalism partially avoids some of the objections which we have thus far urged. A College so constituted will be exposed to much less danger from those internal commotions to which all ecclesiastical systems are more or less liable, and may for that reason be expected to enjoy a much calmer and more peaceful existence. But still, as it is regarded as the property of the denomination, it cannot altogether escape the storms. The organic powers of the denomination will claim to speak in the name of the denomination, and in its behalf to dictate measures to the guardians of the College, and will have it in their power not a little to disturb the tranquillity of the halls of learning, and weaken the hold of the Institution on public confidence. Neither the Faculty nor the Trustees of such an Institution, can be fully independent in

their offices; they can only enjoy peace by doing the behests of the sect with great promptness and submissiveness.

In so far as the denominational control of an Institution can be successfully exerted under this form, it has no less tendency to illiberality and narrowness, than the method of direct ecclesiastical control. It tends to confine all appointments within the limits of a single denomination, and forbids the Trustees to place the fittest men in the chairs of instruction, unless they are right on all denominational issues. We do not assert that a Board of Trust, so pledged, would not sometimes make appointments outside the denomination. But such cases would be rare and exceptional, and not at all inconsistent with the general tendency of which we speak. And we affirm, without fear of successful contradiction, that men qualified in the high and proper sense of that word—qualified intellectually, morally, and religiously—to fill the various departments of instruction in our Colleges, are not so abundant, especially men whose services can be had at the present miserably low salaries of College Professors, that our Boards of Trust can afford to apply such tests to candidates otherwise eminently fitted for the places which are to be filled. And if they persist in applying them, they will not fail to belittle, and degrade their Colleges. In proof of the soundness of this view, we appeal to facts which are patent to every observing man.

There is yet a third form in which it is conceivable that we should have Denominational Colleges; and it is a form which is not without its advocates and its experiments. It is to unite two or more denominations in the support and control of the same College, but to divide it between them by a definite understanding that each denomination is to be entitled to a certain number of seats in the Board of Trust, and to certain chairs of instruction. This plan does seem to offer the advantage of uniting more than one denomination in the support of the same Institution. And yet it is for experience to determine how far it will accomplish even this. We should fear that it might result in depriving it of the hearty sympathy and support of either. But however that may be, it as truly impresses the Institution with the spirit of sect as the methods be-

fore considered. It elevates minor denominational peculiarities into tests of fitness for the highest and most dignified stations: it tends to fill our most important chairs of instruction with men of inferior talents and attainments, because they are supposed to be right in the matter of denomination, and thereby to impair the efficiency of the Institution in the discharge of its appropriate function.

And by whom are the instructors of an Institution, under such auspices, to be appointed? By the respective denominations in partnership, acting through their organic bodies? Then we fall back upon all the consequences of a direct ecclesiastical control. And we should be apprehensive, too, that in such a case little regard would be had for those qualifications which make the true educator, and that the Faculty of such a College would be made up on both sides, or on all sides, of ardent sectarians, who could never harmonize with each other. Such an Institution would, we suspect, achieve very little for the cause of liberal learning.

But, on the contrary, are the instructors to be appointed by a Board of Trust, held under bonds to give a certain number of places to each of the denominations in partnership? What guaranty, then, has either denomination that such men will be appointed as will be acceptable to the denomination, and in the judgment of their brethren fitted to take care of its interests in the Institution? In such an order of things we should expect to hear the Trustees charged with appointing men as representatives of this or that denomination, who are not the genuine article, belonging to the denomination only in name and position, and not true to its principles and interests. Whether there are any facts now before the public to justify such an expectation, we leave to well informed readers to judge. In truth, we are inclined to regard this as the worst of the three forms of Denominationalism to which we have referred. Sure we are, that it is the most likely to produce alienations among brethren, and heart-burnings in the community, and to prove in practice utterly impracticable. We believe the obstacles supposed to lie in the way of the *individual* coöperation of Christians in all good works, thou-

connected with different denominations, to be more imaginary than real; and so far as they are real, we believe they ought to be regarded as contrary to the spirit of Christ, and discreditable to the Christian name. But we do not believe that different denominations, *as societies, as corporations*, can coöperate. Christian coöperation is individual, not corporate.

If, then, American Protestantism cannot devise a better platform for a Seminary of learning than either of those we have thus far spoken of, we must conclude that the prospects of liberal learning among us are rather gloomy. Indeed, the considerations thus far presented do show this, if nothing else, that the difficulties to be encountered in laying satisfactory foundations for Institutions of learning among the heterogeneous elements of our Western States, and amid the jarring passions, the conflicting views, the rival interests of so many sects, must be great and appalling. We are persuaded, also, that a practical acquaintance with that problem would greatly increase the depth and solemnity of that conviction. Still we do not believe the case hopeless. A better platform is possible, and the present is the time when all enlightened good men should take their place upon it. It is not new; our fathers erected it amid the primeval forests of New England. It is not untried; it has been subjected to the test of experiment for generations, and that noble galaxy of New England Colleges is the result. With such an experiment, we are satisfied. Let those who are moved to test some new model, pay the cost of the experiment; we are not inclined to share it with them. We do not mean that the New England Colleges are perfect; the age of perfect social institutions is, we apprehend, far off in the future. But the New England Colleges are manifesting, in every year of their history, a sober, conservative tenacity in adhering to the good which has been attained, combined with a ready capability of all needed changes and improvements. Nobly have they done their work in the past; nobly are they doing it now; and nobly will they adapt themselves to coming exigencies.

We deny that these Colleges are in any proper sense Denominational. They are for the most part controlled by inde-

pendent Boards of Trust, owing no obligations, expressed or implied, to any denomination or ecclesiastical power. They are under obligations to founders, to society, and to God, to perform their sacred trust "*Christo et Ecclesiae*," for Christ and the Church universal; to consecrate the Institutions under their care to sound learning and Evangelical Faith, and to nothing else. It is not important, it is not relevant, even, to inquire whether a candidate for a chair of instruction in Yale College believes in the Congregational, or the Presbyterian theory of the Church. If the venerable Corporation of that Institution were to descend to such folly, we should expect the spirit of the sainted Dwight to haunt their dreams.

Such a constitution, and only such, do we demand for the Colleges which Christian liberality is founding in the new States of the West. Does any one suggest that this will do very well for New England, but will not do for the West? We think we have shown how well those things are likely to do, and are doing, which it is proposed to substitute for this, at the West. And what reason is there to suppose that this plan will not work well at the West? Is it suggested that the denominational spirit is so much more prevalent at the West than in New England, that more regard must be had to it in constituting our Colleges? We reply, that the effort to satisfy the spirit of sect in laying the foundations of liberal learning, seems to us not unlike the attempt to satisfy the drunkards and the rum sellers in the constitution of a Temperance Society. If it is meant that the enormous prevalence of the spirit of sect in the West is a very formidable obstacle to the success of Institutions of liberal learning, we surely do not need to be told that. But if it is meant that the spirit of sect can suggest any modification of this broad New England platform, which enlightened friends of learning can afford to adopt, we have yet to be convinced of the truth of the proposition.

There is, indeed, one condition on which, were it fulfilled, we should be compelled to admit that unsectarian Colleges in the West are impossible. If it shall prove true that the same spirit of sect, this "*esprit du corps*," as it has h

called by way of euphemism, is so strong as to overcome the moral integrity of good men, so that when intrusted with the management of literary Institutions, founded on this coöperative and liberal basis, they will betray their trust, merge the guardian of liberal learning in the sectarian, and employ their influence and their corporate votes to usurp the control of the Institution in behalf of their sect; if, we say, the spirit of sect is strong enough to induce men thus to violate their faith and their moral integrity, then, indeed, should we despair of undenominational Colleges. But then, it seems to us, we must equally despair of the Church itself. The salt has lost its savor.

But we have faith in the moral integrity of Christian men, and believe that if such crimes are sometimes attempted, or even committed, their recurrence will be only at long intervals of time. And those usurpations which for a time seem successful, will be only temporary, and the perpetrators of them will meet with merited rebuke from an enlightened and Christian public opinion. The Trustees of a College will be found, on the whole and in the long course of events, to desire its prosperity; and they cannot help seeing and feeling the necessity of bringing it into sympathy with the most enlightened, influential and religious portion of the community around it. A little knot of Congregationalists in the midst of a numerous, enlightened, and wealthy Presbyterian community, or a little knot of Presbyterians in the midst of a similar Congregational community, will hardly succeed in permanently keeping an exclusive denominational control of a Seminary of learning thus unrighteously usurped. We think that in relation to questions of this sort good people place too little confidence in one another, and too little in an overruling Providence, and in coming generations.

We are confident that in a long course of years the great currents of Providence will be found to favor Colleges on a liberal and coöperative basis, rather than those on a Denominational basis. There are two causes now discernible, which will in a great degree compel us to place our reliance on the former, rather than on the latter.

One of them, is the tendency of sect, if allowed to exert its influence on the question, to reduce all our Colleges to feebleness and starvation, by multiplying them beyond the demands and necessities of the community. The inconveniences and evils resulting in this country from attempting to erect many Colleges when there is room for but one, are felt and acknowledged by all men who are well informed on this subject. Two causes are chiefly influential in producing this state of things—local interests and passions, and the zeal of sect. These causes operate in all parts of our country, and have produced in all more or less of inconvenience and feebleness. But they act with far greater power in the new States of the West, than in the New England and Middle States. If now it could be shown that by means of a sectarian centralization it is possible in a good degree to overcome the localizing influence of men's private interests and passions, and secure a broader coöperation, we might be willing to accept of Denominational Colleges as the less of two evils, and seize on the ambition of sect, as the most effective weapon with which to combat individual selfishness. But even this poor advantage cannot be fairly claimed for sect. To such an extent has that localization which is characteristic of everything American, pervaded all our Protestant denominations, that in relation to the subject under consideration they will be found quite destitute of any centralizing power, and even coöperating with all those local and private interests and passions which found Colleges when they are needed for no other purpose than to swell the price of town lots and farms adjacent. Men wishing to secure a profitable outcome of a speculation in real estate, if left to themselves would hardly be able to make a plausible show of a College without costing them more than it would pay. But some Denominational interest is at hand, and an appeal to that will be likely to be successful. The feeling is that within each section of very moderate extent, each denomination should have its College, and each therefore allies itself with the local interests of some flourishing village, for the purpose of securing it. Sect consents to help out the speculation, and speculation agrees to aid the sect, and a College is the result.

which is detrimental rather than beneficial to the real interests of learning. Thus Colleges are multiplied to an indefinite extent, without the slightest regard to the real wants of the community, or its ability to support them. It is difficult to say, in this insane rage for College building, which is most selfish and reckless of the real interests which alone ought to be consulted, the spirit of sect, or the spirit of speculation. There is a phrase at the West, that people are "running a thing into the ground." If anything is in danger of being "run into the ground," it is College building at the West.

There is but one remedy for all this. The very spirit and principle of Denominationalism must be abjured in our Colleges. We must found them upon a broad and comprehensive platform of Evangelic Faith. We must coöperate in sustaining them as Christians, and not as Sectarians. We must cherish them not as belonging to our sect, but to Christ and the Church universal. We must esteem them precious, not as the instruments of aggrandizing our Denomination, but as blessings to our country, to mankind, and to the distant future. We think it requires no prophetic power to predict, that if any truly noble Institutions of liberal learning are to be reared up in the West, and stand there in strength and beauty in distant generations and ages, this only is the foundation on which they are to be reared. The spirit of sect, if it is to be consulted in the premises, will only multiply feeble and starveling enterprises, to destroy one another by their mutual rivalships. If any man believes that any one of our Western States can thoroughly found and efficiently sustain all the Colleges, which sect originates, supply them with the requisite endowments and instruments of instruction, and sustain in them Faculties composed of men who by vigorous and varied talent, large and generous culture, are qualified for their high position, especially that it can furnish to each of them a respectable number of students, affording fit employment for men of such talents and attainments; if any man, we say, believes this, or does not see that such multiplication of Colleges renders it nearly impossible to raise any one of all number to this truly dignified position for generations to

come, that man has, it seems to us, studied the subject to very little purpose. And he who does not see that the spirit of sect in all its influence on our College building enterprises, increases and aggravates this evil to an unlimited extent, has been still more unsuccessful in his observations. If we are ever to succeed in founding Colleges in the West worthy of the name, we must first learn that the spirit of sect, though followed by thousands as an infallible oracle, is in truth the most dangerous adviser we can consult.

Another cause which is operating extensively, and greatly favors the founding of Colleges on a broad undenominational basis, is, a growing conviction in a multitude of the most enlarged, liberal, and religious minds, of the superior wisdom and trustworthiness of institutions built on such a basis. The increased development and activity of the spirit of sect within these last few years, is a wonderful and even a startling phenomenon. But he who supposes that this movement has borne along with it the entire mass of the religious mind of the nation, is greatly deceived. In most or all our religious denominations there are many who are shocked at it, and look on with disgust and aversion. They are not ready, either with hand or purse, to coöperate with the denominational enterprises which it originates. Especially when it is proposed to denominationalize seminaries of liberal learning, and make colleges and universities the handmaids of sect, they will coöperate, if at all, languidly and feebly. Indeed, this denominational revival will be found to be rather in the ecclesiastical powers and persons of the time, than in the great mass of good Christian people. And when those people are appealed to in behalf of a College founded on the broad Christian basis for which we contend, they will respond to the appeal with far greater liberality and cheerfulness, than to any enterprise which should bear the image and superscription even of their own sect. It would be easier, at the present time, to raise a sufficient endowment for a seminary of learning on such a basis, than for one committed to, and controlled by, any sect whatever.

Especially is this true throughout the whole extent of

thodox Congregationalism. Congregationalists are sometimes of late seized with this mania for denominational Colleges. We regret this; for it is a disease from which, according to the laws of their constitution, they ought to be exempt. And yet we sympathize with them; they have some apology for it: they have been rudely treated by their partners in some coöperative enterprises. But we think they mistake both the remedy for the evil, and the spirit of their Congregational brethren. The true remedy of the evil is not to endorse and sanction that very denominational exclusiveness and littleness by which their rights have been wrested from them, and to add to the number of denominational Colleges, by organizing others in the interest of Congregationalism; but to give their countenance, support, and strength, to those Colleges which are true to coöperative Christian principles, and to frown on all others, in whatever denomination found.

They mistake, too, the principles and tastes of the great Congregational brotherhood. We have misread our brethren of that connexion, or they will coöperate in Colleges on the basis we have advocated, much more cheerfully and efficiently than in those pledged to any denomination—even their own. They stand with their fathers. They would consecrate the College, "*Christo et ecclesia*," and neither they nor their fathers have yet dreamed that "*ecclesia*" means Congregationalism. Whatever may be true in other denominations, Congregationalists are under no necessity of shriveling themselves within the narrow limits of sect, for the sake of humoring the prejudices of their masses. If Congregational ministers and leaders will act on universal Christian principles, the Congregational brotherhood will sustain them. We think we do not speak "without the book;" and we hope that that spirit of coöperative charity which we know widely pervades the Congregational brotherhood, will be found to be not less abundant in other denominations also.

**ARTICLE IV.—THE REOPENING OF THE AFRICAN
SLAVE TRADE.**

An abstract of the evidence delivered before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in the years 1790 and 1791, on the part of the petitioners for the abolition of the Slave Trade. American Reform Tract and Book Society. Cincinnati. 1855.

Africa and the American Flag. By Commander ANDREW H. FOOTE, U. S. Navy, Lieut. commanding U. S. Brig Perry, on the coast of Africa, A. D. 1850–1851. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1854.

Address of the Hon. JEFFERSON DAVIS, before the Democratic State Convention, in the City of Jackson, Miss., July 6th, 1859. New York Tribune.

Modern Reform Examined, or the Union of North and South on the subject of Slavery. By JOSEPH C. STILES. Philadelphia : Lippincott & Co. 1857.

Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1858.

Barth's Discoveries in North and Central Africa. Harper & Brothers. 1858.

The Independent. New York.

SLIGHT observation convinces the more intelligent that there are two antagonistic principles now at work in human society, two kinds of leaven permeating the body politic of the world. One is freedom, the other is bondage. The one is equal rights, the other is oppression. The two are here in the land of the American Revolution, in the land of the Pilgrims and Puritans. Their forces, like two great armies, are moving toward each other ; they dispute a common territory, and a pitch

battle, or a series of battles, must be added to the encounters already experienced, until one or the other of these two irreconcilable principles is completely and forever victorions.

A new march on one side is now commencing. Whether we may interpret it as a sign of weakness and of partial defeat in past conflicts, or of courage and hope under the flush of supposed victory, it is a movement which must be met. It will be pressed to an engagement. And the issue will not leave both sides with their former advantages. We refer to the revival of the African slave trade. It is already reopened, or, if never closed, has received a prodigious increase. That which had been doomed to death under the ban of piracy has found a resurrection. Not indeed as yet with the consent of national law, but *despite* law. And the fear is that rulers and other men are viewing the transgressions as though the isolated statutes were, or would become, only a dead letter. This traffic winked at will reinstate itself in successful and extensive operation, as sure as two continents stand and an ocean rolls between. Once inaugurated in full career, terrible must be the conflict that can afterward destroy it.

But we may speak in advance of the queries of some of our readers. "Is the slave trade reopened? Is there danger that the laws against it may be repealed or become dead?" Others may say, "Is the slave trade certainly wrong? Is it actually contrary to justice and a violation of human rights?" Or, "Is it so enormously wrong as some represent? May it not be a mixture of good and evil, with so much of the former as to make the traffic tolerable? Ought it not to be respected as the chief act in a train of great and conspicuous missionary events?" These are questions that should be met.

"Is the slave trade reopened or of late largely augmented?" The attempt has been made to cast so much doubt over this inquiry as to give substantially a negative reply. But if we had not a single fact of detected illegal trade of this character, the evident state of public opinion at the South would at least suggest an affirmative. Why all this fever there upon that subject, if no slaves have recently been landed in the southern states from a foreign country? Are not the appetites of many

for this traffic already whetted by the taste? Are they all so law-abiding in the south as rigidly to observe all enactments that they pronounce unconstitutional? Have they suffered the most profitable of all kinds of commerce to go untouched, while affirming that the prohibition of it is an oppression on themselves? Their state of society prepares us to learn that they have already opened their ports to slavers. The easy course of judges and juries with the "Wanderer," allowing the guilty to go unpunished, violating their solemn trusts under the laws of the land, nearly compels us to believe that this is not an isolated case, and must be followed by a throng. When some two or three years since it began to be prophesied by a few that an attempt would be made to reopen the slave trade, and that by the next Presidential election it would be a prominent topic of discussion and perhaps a plank in the platform of one of the political parties, it was regarded by most as a silly prophesy, and the men who uttered the prediction were held up to derision as fanatical alarmists. Already the facts are that vessels engaged in the slave trade have been captured, other vessels equipped for the trade have been seized by the United States Marshals, and these are enough to show that many more have escaped detection and successfully prosecuted their voyages. The most reliable evidence we have in the case is in effect that at least upwards of twenty slave-ships have safely landed their cargoes on the coast of the Southern states during a few months past. Distinguished political men of the country, not of anti-slavery sentiments, freely admit this. *The Richmond (Texas) Reporter*, of late date, contains the following advertisement:

"FOR SALE—Four hundred likely AFRICAN NEGROES, lately landed upon the coast of Texas. Said negroes will be sold upon the most reasonable terms. One-third down; the remainder in one and two years, with 8 per cent. interest. For further information inquire of C. K. C., Houston, or L. R. G., Galveston."

This advertisement shows a fact in the trade itself, and being so openly published becomes only an evident index of many similar cases. It is proved that the ship "Wanderer" brought her cargo of slaves directly from Africa, and landed

in Georgia. A late number of the *Memphis Avalanche*, a southern newspaper, has the following :

"Three of the six native Africans brought here a few days since, were sold yesterday at the mart of Mr. West, and brought respectively, \$750, \$740, and \$515. The latter sum was paid for a boy about fifteen years old, who seemed to possess more intelligence than any of the others. These negroes are a part of the cargo of the yacht *Wanderer*, landed some months since."

According to the most recent information, cargoes of slaves are now frequently being landed along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. New Orleans papers announce the sailing of vessels for Africa, and contain accounts of the latest arrivals of Congo negroes. Advertisements offer three hundred dollars a head for every thousand negroes from Africa landed on the southern coast of the United States. An eminent and long tried missionary of the American Board affirms that there cannot be less than one hundred American vessels now on the African coast waiting to be freighted with slaves, and that at least sixty or seventy of these are destined for the American shores. Other missionaries now on the western coast of Africa write to their friends in this country that the slave trade there has greatly increased during the last twelve months. Rev. Messrs. Bushnell and Walker of the Gaboon mission agree in the statement that all the missionaries on the coast of Africa from the whole Christian world are not equal in number to the slave ships from the port of New York alone that yearly visit that coast for slaves. One city furnishes more slave ships for Africa than all Christendom does missionaries! These men say that they have seen and conversed with citizens of the United States in the Gaboon country who openly stated that their business there was to prosecute the slave trade.

But the state of public sentiment at the south is still more ominous of evil than all the facts and testimonies concerning the present existence of the slave traffic between Africa and the United States. This species of commerce is at the present moment, and has been for months, gaining favor at the south. Many of the most enthusiastic and energetic men and politi-

cians there are its friends. Many of these intend to secure the full resumption of the slave trade, either by the acquiescence of our country in the violation of the laws against it, or by the abolition of those laws. It is to be made, and is now made, a political question at the South. Candidates for high offices are to be tested as to their slave orthodoxy on this subject. They must in some way favor this commerce, now deemed so essential to the highest prosperity of a large part of the Southern states, or receive the opposition of the most determined and fearless politicians of the whole South. There is no probability that they would long be satisfied with the quiet permission to prosecute the trade while a statute existed against them. Why should not those who have a Dred Scott decision obtain also the voice of the Supreme Court of the United States pronouncing the prohibition of the slave trade by our national laws unconstitutional? Our readers are aware that there is now in full operation at the South an "African Labor-supply Association," of which the Hon. J. B. D. De Bow is president. Mr. DeBow openly declares that one object of the Association is to effect, at the earliest possible moment, the abolition of the national laws prohibiting the slave trade.

The Hon. W. L. Yancey, writing for the press from Montgomery, Alabama, after some introductory remarks, says:

"Further reflection has but confirmed me in the opinion then expressed, that the Federal laws prohibiting the African slave trade, and punishing it as piracy, are unconstitutional, and are at war with the fundamental policy of the South, and, therefore, ought to be repealed.

"I am further satisfied that the agitation of this question is beneficial. It has already served to develop (not to create) much unsoundness in our midst upon the question of slavery; and one of the advantages of discussion would be to correct these erroneous views, and to warn our people of those among us who are radically unsound upon the principles which underlie that institution. It is wisdom to ascertain wherein we are weak, that we may fortify our position upon that point, and use extra vigilance.

"Until within the last twenty-five or thirty years, there had prevailed an unbroken calm in the South upon the moral aspect of the slavery question. Taking its rise in the wild and reckless radicalism of the Red Republican French school, the opinion had rooted itself in Virginia, and thence had spread over the whole South—and was taught in its religion—that slavery was morally wrong,

founded in kidnapping, and conducted in cruelty; and it was defended solely upon the ground that it was impracticable to get rid of it. It was in the midst of this unhealthy state of the public mind that the Federal laws, declaring the African slave trade to be piracy, were enacted.

"For one, I am unwilling to see continued on the statute book the semi-abolition laws—but desire to see the subject of slavery taken from the grasp of the General Government—and that Government only be allowed to act upon it to protect it.

"Whether the African slave-trade shall be carried on should not depend on that Government, but upon the will of each slave-holding state. To that tribunal alone should the question be submitted: and by the decision of that tribunal alone should the Southern people abide."

"Yours, respectfully,

W. L. YANCEY."

Notice the distinct avowal that the "Federal laws prohibiting the African slave trade are unconstitutional," "at war with the fundamental policy of the South;" "that the subject of slavery and the slave trade should be taken from the grasp of the General Government—the Government be allowed only to protect it," and that "the slave trade should depend solely on the will of each slave-holding state."

The Hon. Jefferson Davis, the most polished, able, and influential man at the South, in his late address at Jackson, Miss., uttered the following: "If considerations of public safety or interest warranted the termination of the [slave] trade, they could not justify the Government in branding as infamous the source from which the chief part of our laboring population was derived. It is this feature of the law which makes it offensive to us, and stimulates us to strive for its repeal." He is sensitive under the existence of our treaty with Great Britain, by which we are obligated to keep a squadron on the African coast for the suppression of the slave trade. Relative to this he says: "My friend, Senator Clay of Alabama, (his services entitle him to the friendship of the South,) as Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, instituted, at the last session of Congress, an inquiry into the facts connected with the maintenance of our squadron on the coast of Africa, and I hope his energy and ability may lead to the amendment of a treaty which has been productive only of evil." Who does not see that when that squadron is with-

drawn all Federal laws against the African slave trade are abrogated or dead! Mr. Davis agrees with Mr. Yancey that he "would much prefer to leave the subject of the importation of African slaves to the states respectively," which of course would be the fullest reopening of the slave trade. He thinks that there will be no need of importing slaves from Africa into Mississippi; but for such a sentiment, "Let no one, however," he says, "suppose that this indicates any coincidence of opinion with those who prize of the inhumanity and sinfulness of the trade." "This conclusion in relation to Mississippi, is based upon my view of her present condition, not upon any general theory. For instance, it is not supposed to be applicable to Texas, to New Mexico, or to any future acquisitions to be made south of the Rio Grande. All of these countries, which can only be developed by slave labor in some of its forms, and which, with a sufficient supply of African slaves, would be made tributary to the great mission of the United States to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to establish peace and free trade with all mankind." Mr. Davis's conceptions of the augmentation of the slave trade are rather large, when he calmly figures for a supply of slaves from that source enough to fill up all the states that are yet to be carved out from Texas and New Mexico, and the "*future acquisitions to be made south of the Rio Grande.*" Truly, the American squadron on the coast of Africa will have to be withdrawn! Mr. Davis is very gentlemanly belligerent against that feature of the national law prohibiting the slave trade which declares it to be piracy. But he very well knows that the slave trade is a system of robbery practised on the bodies and souls of an unoffending people, which results directly in the death of many of their number, and therefore should be *regarded as piracy*. On an American slaver recently captured, *one hundred and forty* died and were thrown overboard during the voyage from the coast of Africa to Cuba. He also well knows that after long years of experiment and discussion in Congress and out, it was finally the almost unanimous conclusion of Congress and the country, that the slave trade was so strongly intrenched in

human selfishness that it could never be destroyed without the penalty of piracy. And to-day millions mourn, and millions rejoice, that even this penalty is not enough for its object.

But while Messrs. De Bow, Yancey and Davis do not openly advocate prosecuting the slave trade in defiance of law, we very well know what some of their satellites will do. The law adjudged unconstitutional, very many in the south will by no means wait for another Dred Scott decision to be pronounced. Accordingly we have such examples as this. Mr. L. W. Spratt of Charleston, in an address at a recent reception given him in Savannah, spoke as follows:

"But it is said we may not stoop to a measure forbidden by the law. It is not for us, so vested with the trusts of a great destiny, to scruple at the necessary means to its attainment. Situated as we are, we cannot abrogate the law; and must we then forego our destiny for want of the legal means to its achievement."

The audience that heard this, we are told, was "enthusiastic," "large and appreciative." The whole address was pronounced "replete with an elevated tone of truth and logic." Who can doubt that such heroes are already enjoying the profits of the slave trade, and live in expectation of still further advantage!

Let no one suppose that this opposition to the existing laws against the slave trade is confined to a few individuals. The *Savannah (Ga.) News* publishes the proceedings of a meeting of "a large and respectable portion of the citizens of Ware and the adjoining counties, assembled in the court house in Waresboro', on the evening of the 21st of September, to hear Colonel William B. Gaulden deliver an address on the reopening of the African slave trade." At the conclusion of his speech he offered the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted by the meeting :

"In consequence of the high price of labor the agricultural interests of the South are in a languishing condition.

"Therefore, resolved, That in order to obtain the requisite supply, all laws, State and Federal, forbidding the slave trade, ought to be repealed."

 The *Sea Coast Democrat*, Miss., learns from "good authori-
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ty," "that a cargo of African slaves is expected in the ship *Island Harbor* the latter part of the present month. They will, if they arrive safe, be landed without any attempt at secrecy; the consignees trusting to the sentiment predominant in Mississippi as to the necessity of increasing the number of laborers for a triumphant acquittal, in the event of a government prosecution."

The *Southern Citizen*, a leading paper in the interests of the slaveholders at the South, and representing the sentiments of a large portion of the people there, indulges in the following. We copy it both as an indication of Southern sentiment on this subject, and by way of helping the New York Tract Society to a polished mirror into which they would do well to look. The *Citizen* says:

"The Tract Society in New York, as we have already recorded, being wholesomely mindful of the profits of Southern trade, lately refused to embody in the scheme of its publications a system of tracts against slavery, or even against the African slave trade. Not that the members approve of the institution or of the trade—not that they feel anything less than righteous abhorrence for Southern life and conversation and man's property in man, and 'traffic in human flesh,' etc. etc.; but only that they consider it politic (*they*, a Christian society, instituted for the promotion of religion and virtue) to let that particular class of sins go unscathed—to rail furiously against all sorts of sins except only that sin; for in fact that sin pays. Now we wish Southern readers to fully appreciate the value of this forbearance. Even those journals in the North which approved the action (or non-action) of the Tract Society, took care to let us know that it was not because any member of that Society North approved of slavery or the slave trade."

Ex-Governor Adams, of South Carolina, in a letter read on the occasion of a dinner given to Senator Chcsnut, lays down the three following propositions as "undeniable truths":

"First, that the acts of Congress against the slave trade are a brand upon us, and ought to be repealed. Second, that if slavery is right, the traffic in slaves ought not to be confined by degrees of latitude and longitude. And third, that if it is right to hold in servitude the slaves we now have, it is right to procure as many more as our necessities require."

We have deemed it best to give thus much evidence concerning the slave trade party at the South, in order to show

that it is by no means insignificant, and that it has already assumed a formidable bearing, being most fully determined to make this a political question and to try their strength in the legislative, judicial and even executive departments of the government. When this party shall need a demonstration of strength at the North it will have it. They have hitherto never failed to find as many friends as they have needed in the Northern states. Witness the Fugitive Slave Law, the Nebraska Act and the Kansas history. This party at the South is on the increase, and the increase is well accounted for. On Southern ground they have by far the best of the argument. Indeed, with the general Southern principles there is no possibility of standing against them. For, admit the right of one man to hold another as a slave, and you cannot successfully deny the right of traffic in slaves. The right of property implies the right of sale and purchase.

And further, if the right of traffic in this species of property exists among the citizens of a state, and among the various slave states, then who can tell how it is that it is justly esteemed piracy when the trade is simply changed so as to be between citizens of America and citizens or hunters in Africa?

Mr. McRae, a Mississippian, says, "I am in favor of reopening the trade in slaves with Africa. I see no difference, morally, socially, or politically, in buying a slave in Africa, the original source of our supply, and buying one in the home-market of our slave-holding states." This man is logical and consistent.

As to any right to slaves born in America essentially different from that to those born in Africa it does not exist. The *first* right to slaves is founded in robbery, and all other rights are necessarily traceable to the same. If a horse is stolen its progeny cannot lawfully be owned by the thief, or by any one who purchases or inherits the thief's right, though he be a thousand persons removed from the original robber. The system of slavery—the holding of a fellow man as property—is a system of robbery. Masters who are really slave-holders, in this sense, in heart, are every hour guilty of robbing parents of their children, and parents and children of

themselves. Whoso justifies real slavery may in perfect consistency justify the slave traffic—nay, he is very *inconsistent* if he does not justify it, and whoso justifies that in America, or anywhere, may consistently justify the resumption of the slave trade between Africa and America. Hence it is that on Southern principles the slave trade party have all the advantage of argument and are rapidly gaining ground. No pro-slavery men can stand against them. He who attempts it will destroy himself. And all who oppose the slave trade have a further business, or they drive themselves backward. They must oppose slavery itself.

But it may be that we have some readers who doubt whether the slave trade is actually wrong, and a gross abomination, if properly conducted ; that is, on the principles of the highest humanity consistent with the trade itself.

The African slave trade, then, consists in going with vessels to the African coast, and there, or in the interior, purchasing or stealing men, women and children, binding them in fetters, stowing them away in secure holds of the ship, and then sailing to a port of some slave land, and disposing of the victims as commodities or property in the market. The slaves are gathered from various sources in their native land, and disposed of, not as colonists in some one locality, but by being scattered abroad at the will of their purchasers in the slave land to which they are brought. They are not persuaded voluntarily to leave their original homes as emigrants for a foreign clime, with the bright pictures of a sunny land and of golden gains or comforts before them ; they are taken away by compulsion, at the option of the conqueror or purchaser, and borne away to involuntary servitude in the strange country of their enemies. Their toils there are not with the hope of enjoying the comforts and gains of their industry and labor ; nothing is before them but to serve a master for his profit, and at his caprice or will. The day of their deliverance from bondage will be the day of their death.

But is it in human beings, even the most lost and degraded, to desire such a heritage ? Do the native Africans run to the

embrace of slave traders, and crowd their vessels for America or other slave marts? Whom do they esteem as nearest to loving them as himself,—the slave trader, or the missionary? It is notorious that in the full tide of the traffic, the hundreds or thousands of petty tribes in Western Africa are engaged to a wide extent in warfare with each other to supply the material of the slave trade. With slave traders visiting their coast, and creating a vastly greater demand for slaves than exists there for any other articles of commerce, the cupidity of the native tribes, especially of the chiefs, suffers high excitement, and the demand is met. There is no other way to accomplish it but by kidnapping or warfare. None are found ready to volunteer to be sold for the market in far off slave lands. Parents there will not sell their children into slavery, and the trade cannot depend on that mode for victims. Dr. Livingstone says that he has "never known in Africa an instance of a parent selling his own offspring." But he and other travelers and missionaries in that country tell us of numerous instances where warfare was originated and carried forward with the sole object of obtaining slaves for the home or foreign market; chiefly for the latter. The most of their warfare is solely for this object. "The wars," says Dr. Livingstone, "in the center of the country, where no slave trade existed, have seldom been about anything else but cattle. I have heard of but one war having occurred from another cause." Speaking of the half-caste slave-dealers, he says, "The usual course which the slave traders adopt is to take a part in the political affairs of each tribe, and, siding with the strongest, get well paid by captures made from the weaker party." In another place, speaking of the trade, carried on by some of the natives, of slaves for "old guns," he says of the slaves, "These are not their own children, but captives of the black races they had conquered." The wars for this purpose extend more or less for thousands of miles along the western coast and far into the interior. Sometimes those having slaves for sale drive them in chain-gangs to the market; but generally, the slave traders resident there, travel into the country, visiting the various tribes in their reach, and purchase the war-cap-

tives, and often the members of tribes whose chiefs have devoted them, on some pretext, to slavery. Dr. Livingstone, in speaking of one chief, who may stand as the representative of many, says: "I suspect that offenses of the slightest character, among the poor, are made the pretext for selling them or their children to the Mambari." Again, he mentions this characteristic incident: "Two children of seven or eight years old, went out to collect firewood, a short distance from their parents' home, which was a quarter of a mile from the village, and were kidnapped; the distracted parents could find no trace of them." Another of his descriptive sentences is: "The frequent kidnapping from outlying hamlets explains the stockades we saw around them; the parents have no redress." The kidnappers "can sell them [the stolen children] by night." Describing another tribe, he says, "The demand for domestic servants must be met by forays on tribes which have good supplies of cattle;" the cattle being afterward exchanged for slaves. In mentioning the fact that a Bechuana chief would not sell any of his people, nor a Bechuana man his child, he says, "Hence the necessity for a foray to seize children."

If we turn now to the testimony of Mr. Barth, given in his "Discoveries in North and Central Africa," we shall find a substantial agreement with that of Dr. Livingstone. The only difference relates to the difference in circumstances and tribes in the two sections of the continent visited. A single sentence of his is indicative on this point. "In the regions of Central Africa there exists not one and the same stock, as in South Africa, but the greatest diversity of tribes, or rather, nations, prevails, with idioms entirely distinct." It appears that while Dr. Livingstone found but limited evidence of slave hunting, and warfare for slaves, except for the foreign slave trade, Mr. Barth found more for the home trade and domestic slavery, although a great amount for the foreign trade also. The testimony of such an able and learned man, and observing and skillful traveler, who ventured into and explored regions hitherto untrodden by civilized man, must be regarded by all candid persons as of very great weight on this subject. Some of our readers may need the statement that Mr. Barth

went out to Africa as the companion of Mr. Richardson, who was sent upon that expedition by the British government. Mr. Barth is a German, and previous to this expedition was a lecturer at the University at Berlin. He states in the preface to his first volume, that "One of the principal objects which Her Britannic Majesty's government had always in view in these African expeditions, was, the abolition of the slave trade;" that "this was zealously advocated by Mr. Richardson, and, he trusts, was zealously carried out by himself whenever it was in his power to do so." But Mr. Richardson early came to his death. This greatly frustrated the plans of the expedition; and Mr. Barth says, that in his further prosecution of the undertaking, although it was his endeavor to do all in his power for the abolition of the slave trade, yet, after mature reflection, "he was induced to place himself under the protection of an expeditionary army, whose object it was to subdue another tribe, and eventually to carry away a large proportion of the conquered into slavery." Speaking of the objects of his mission relative to the slave trade, and of his accompanying this warring, slave hunting *expédition*, he says: "Hence, it was necessary that I should become acquainted with the real state of these most important features of African society, in order to speak clearly about them; for, with what authority could I expatiate on the horrors and the destruction accompanying such an expedition, if I were not speaking as an eye witness?"—Vol. i, p. 13. We select a few passages from his work, which give his opinion and the result of his investigations in no unmeaning language. In a passage on some diversities between Central and South Africa, he says of the former: "The great and momentous struggle between Islamism and Paganism is here continually going on, causing every day the most painful and affecting results; while the miseries arising from slavery and the slave trade are here revealed in their most repulsive features."—Vol. i, p. 16. "In estimating, therefore, the miseries of these slave hunts, we ought not only to take into account the prisoners led into slavery, and the full grown men who are slaughtered, but also the famine and distress consequent upon

these expeditions."—Vol. ii, p. 394. "There can be no doubt that the most horrible topic connected with slavery is slave hunting." In an account of one of his interviews with the vizier of Bornu, he gives the following: "From this point of our discourse, there was an easy transition to that of the abolition of slavery; and here my late lamented friend, Mr. Overweg, [one of his companions,] made a most eloquent speech on this important question. The vizier could not bring forward any other argument in his defense, than that the slave trade furnished them with the means of buying muskets; and, lamentable as it is, this is certainly the correct view of the subject; for even on the west coast, the slave trade originated in the cupidity of the natives, in purchasing the arms of Europeans. Such is the history of civilization! If the poor natives of Africa had never become acquainted with this destructive implement of European ingenuity, the slave trade would never have reached those gigantic proportions which it has attained; for, at first, the natives of Africa wanted fire-arms, as the surest means of securing their independence of, and superiority over, their neighbors; but in the further course of affairs, these instruments of destruction became necessary, because they enabled them to hunt down less favored tribes, and, with a supply of slaves so obtained, to procure for themselves those luxuries of European civilization with which they had likewise become acquainted. This is the great debt which the European owes to the African,—that after having caused, or at least increased this nefarious system, on his first bringing the natives of those regions into contact with his state of civilization, which has had scarcely any but a demoralizing effect, he ought now also to make them acquainted with the beneficial effects of that state of society. Entering therefore into the views of our hosts, I told them that their country produced many other things which they might exchange for fire-arms, without being forced to lay waste the whole of the neighboring countries, and to bring misery and distress on so many thousands."—Vol. ii, pp. 326–7.

Messrs. Barth and Livingstone speak of cruelties which have come under their observation in bleeding Africa the last few

years. But it should be remembered that the slave traffic from Africa to other countries, for about half a century past, has been under such check as to be comparatively suppressed. If you compare the testimony of these travelers with that given before the British parliament, in the day of the great discussion there, in regard to the foreign slave trade, you will find, that though a great evil still, while carried on stealthily and against the law of the most civilized nations, yet its cruelties bear but a slight comparison with the horrors of the slave traffic at its full hight, when it was pecuniarily the most profitable commerce of several of the leading nations of the globe. And in considering the question of the reopening of the slave trade in this country, we need in fairness to ask, what was the slave trade, before being put under the ban of national law? Some of the items of its wickedness were as follows :

Going back to the first step of the traffic, we find that enormous iniquities were committed *by the native Africans upon each other*, in order to procure slaves for the traders who came from European and American lands. It was then often the case, that villages would go out against each other in strife, and after the conflict the victors would sell the conquered to the slave traders, and thus whole towns would be broken up. Companies of men would often go out and lie in wait near populous villages, and as the inhabitants came straggling out on various errands, would seize and bear them away to the slave ships.

There were four different modes of procuring slaves : by the grand pillage, the lesser pillage, by kidnapping individuals, or obtaining them in consequence of crimes they had committed. The grand pillage was this. A body of a king's soldiers, from three hundred to three thousand, would attack and set fire to some village, and then seize the inhabitants as best they could. The lesser pillage was when a smaller number of soldiers would lie in wait about a town, and seize individuals, or small companies, as they issued. Private individuals, not the king's soldiers, engaged in this mode of kidnapping. Captain Wilson said that slaves were either procured by intes-

tine wars, or kings breaking up villages, or crime, real or imputed, or kidnapping. Free persons were often seized for some pretended or real crime, and after the form of trial, which might be only mockery, were sold to the traders, and the money pocketed by those who arrested and judged them. It is declared to have been no uncommon thing to impute crime falsely, for the sake of selling the persons so accused. All sorts of stratagems and deceit were employed to decoy and seize the unwary, to sell them in the slave market. Children were often found among the slaves that had been brought down to the coast for sale, who had been kidnapped hundreds of miles away in the interior, and whose parents never knew their fate, except that they supposed them stolen away for the slave mart. Harmless women, wives and mothers, were often among the captives, stolen and forced away from their families, with no opportunity to utter one farewell to companions and children. The natives were often deceived into voluntary service, under the promise of good pay, and then seized and sold to the slave traders. The marauding parties generally went out at night, and were armed with bows and arrows, guns, pistols, sabres, and long lances. In some parts, the chiefs of tribes were accustomed to use the most degrading and disgusting means, to seduce persons into the crime of adultery, for the purpose of then arresting them, and selling them as slaves, or causing them each to pay the price of a slave. Another mode of decoy was, by placing fetiches,—pieces of wood, of old pitchers, kettles, and the like,—things to which superstition required attention,—by placing these in paths and other frequented spots, where through accident they might be touched or slightly moved, which was regarded as a crime. Then for this crime, the offender was obliged to pay the price of a slave, or, if unable, as generally with the natives, to be sold to the slave traders. Indeed, all the arts worthy of the fiends of hell were practiced by the Africans upon each other, to satiate the craving maw of the slave trade. Warfare of every kind came to be so much carried on in Africa, for the purpose of obtaining victims for the slave ship, that the very word signifying war, in the African language, came to mean

nothing more, in general, than the system of marauding for the purpose of getting slaves. All these and other iniquities practiced by the natives upon each other, might well be expected, when the lawfulness of the slave trade is declared, or its practice allowed.

But again, this enormous wickedness was not shared by the natives alone. The Americans and Europeans engaged in the slave trade, whether there upon the ground, or luxuriously enjoying its fruits at home, had the greater sin. The traders visiting Africa held out inducements to the natives to practice all these abominations to procure slaves. Nearly all the valuables that the natives could obtain came through the traders in exchange for slaves. No trade for the legitimate articles of commerce in the country was encouraged, or scarcely thought of. The slave trade was the great source of profit. Every kind of industry and vice was devoted to this. The foreign traders offered incitements to the natives, and whetted their appetites for gain by setting a bounty on their seizing and enslaving their brethren. When war existed between England and France, and the ships of those nations were temporarily drawn off from the slave trade, then slaves were not taken, and internal wars among the natives ceased in the parts which the traders of those nations formerly visited, showing that the responsibility of the slave trade was chiefly with the traders and those sustaining them. It was customary for traders to bribe one tribe to attack and seize another, to furnish them slaves. Arms and ammunition were often put into their hands to make their marauding successful. They often advanced goods to the chiefs, to stimulate them to such wholesale robbery and warfare. And when Americans or Europeans of confessed superior intelligence to the Africans, thus encouraged and hurried them on to such bloody cruelties, the *moral* effect upon the natives, as well as physical, was truly horrible. Some of the traders went so far as to make the natives *drunk*, and when in that condition, to purchase choice slaves of them, and even to buy their wives, whom they would not have sold if sober, and whom they afterward sought in vain to redeem. Traders sometimes supplied two opposing kings, at war with each other, with arms

and military stores, to procure slaves, thus making the strife more extensive and profitable for their object. The European traders themselves would embrace opportunities to kidnap persons and make them slaves, and sometimes would entice free natives on board their ships, and then set sail before they could get upon land, and carrying the deceived and entrapped people to foreign ports, sell them into slavery. Such attempts to kidnap free persons sometimes led to resentment on the part of the natives, which the traders punished by adding the cruelties of bloodshed to all the rest.

Another view of these iniquities is obtained by considering the sufferings to which the slave traffic subjected its victims. It was in testimony by Dr. Trotter, before the British parliament, as follows: "On being brought on board, they show some signs of extreme distress or despair, from a feeling of their situation, and regret at being torn from their friends and connections; many retain those impressions for a long time; in proof of which, the slaves on board his ship being often heard in the night making a howling, melancholy noise, expressive of extreme anguish, he repeatedly ordered the woman who had been his interpreter, to inquire into the cause. She discovered it to be owing to their having dreamed they *were in their own country again*, and finding themselves, when awake, *in the hold of a slave ship*. This exquisite sensibility was particularly observable among the *women*, many of whom, on such occasions, he found in hysterick fits." This evidence was confirmed by other commanders of slave ships. Instances were known where, in their anguish, they even committed suicide.

On board the ships the men were linked two and two together, by the hands and feet, and thus kept until they arrived at the port of destination. During the day, from about nine A. M. to four P. M., they were usually allowed to be on deck, and for their further security, the shackles of each pair were fastened to a ring-bolt attached to the deck. The remaining part of the time they were kept in narrow, filthy, and ill-ventilated apartments below, where they were obliged to lie down nearly as closely as possible, and where numbers of them

died. They were fed two coarse and scanty meals a day, and allowed each one pint of water to drink. While on deck for exercise they were obliged to jump or dance. If unwilling, they were whipped until they would. They were also compelled to sing. But their songs were those of sorrow, bemoaning their wretched condition, and wailing that they should never return to their homes. Some of them, in good health on going to the hold of the ship at night, were found dead in the morning. Sometimes of two chained together, one would be found in the morning dead, while the other was living. Some of them would refuse food, with the design of starving themselves to death. Dr. Trotter testifies of one man, who, out of revenge, had been charged with witchcraft, and sold with his family, that he attempted to cut his throat. The Doctor sewed up the wounds. At night the man pulled out the threads, and made further attempts to tear open the wound with his finger-nails. He died in a few days, of starvation. Some slaves would throw themselves overboard, with the idea that they should be able to get back to their native country, or intending to perish. A missionary informs us of a recent case of this kind, on the African coast, where numbers were drowned. Sometimes insurrections arose among them, and on being inquired of as to the reason, they would reply, "What business have you to carry us from our country? We have wives and children, with whom we want to be." The number of deaths of slaves on board the ships was sometimes one fifth the whole number, sometimes one half. "Their sickness was caused in part by their crowded condition, but mostly by grief for being carried away from their country and friends." It has been contended that this mortality might be avoided, by more commodious apartments on the voyage, but all that can never heal the broken heart of its sorrow, which often of itself produces disease. The slave trade must of necessity, by its nature, be a deadly business.

We might consider the cruelties of the slave trade, in its effects upon the slaves, after they are bought and sold in a slave land. Seldom having been born and bred slaves, the spirit of freedom in them is not broken. They have a deep

sense of the injustice they bear. They are not accustomed to slave labor. They are in a strange land. Compulsion is the great resort of the slave driver. Slavery knows no persuasion. Accordingly, the testimony before the British Parliament showed that the sufferings of such slaves are very great.

We might profitably consider the sad effects of the slave traffic on the seamen, and all engaged in it. It is an attested fact, that it is a very unhealthy and fatal employment for seamen; that large numbers of them soon perish. The diseases of the slaves carry diseases to them.

But its effects upon the morals of the seamen are far more deplorable. First, it makes cruel tyrants in general of the officers of the ships, and this results in great cruelties to the seamen. Then the seamen themselves grow vicious, stone-hearted, barbarous, and cruel, excepting in some cases where they have been forced into the service,—being first made drunk, then brought into debt, and then obliged to sail in a slaver, or suffer imprisonment for the debt. Whoever reads the life of the Rev. John Newton, once a sailor, and in the slave trade, cannot fail to be impressed with the callousing, barbarous effects of the slave traffic upon him. No instrumentality, it would seem, could have saved him, but the covenant prayers and instructions of his godly mother, who died before he was four years of age.

But it is time to inquire after the “*sublime missionary movement*” of the slave trade. In Dr. Stiles’s “*Modern Reform Examined*,” we have the following: “The obligation of fraternal coöperation on the part of the North, is suggested by the very nature of that *grand missionary plan* inaugurated by an overruling Providence in connection with the introduction of Africans into the South.”—p. 8. The italicising is his; he therefore means something emphatic. “*Make the most natural record of this transaction from the beginning, and the simple history is neither more nor less than a lucid plan, a statement of the successive steps, peradventure of the most philosophical and sublime missionary movement under heaven.*”—p. 185. “*The second historical fact records their trans-*

portion from Africa. What does this accomplish? A most important and primary part of the work of their evangelization”—pp. 185, 186. “The fourth historical fact incorporates them into our population in the relation of *slaves* to masters. And what a speaking movement is this?”—p. 186. Dr. Stiles also quotes, p. 310, from a letter of Rev. E. J. Pierce, of the Gaboon Mission, published in the *New York Observer*, February, 1856, as follows:

“I think at times, my companion [Rev. J. Best] and myself are ready to exclaim: *Would that all Africa were at the South.* Would that villages and tribes of these poor people could be induced to emigrate to our Southern country, and be placed under the influences *which the slaves enjoy.* My brother thinks that *he would rather run the risk of a good or bad master, and be a slave at the South,* than to be as one of these heathen people. He refers, when he thus speaks, both to his *temporal* and *eternal welfare.*”

This letter was written as a congratulation and help for the book entitled “*The South-side View of Slavery.*”

It should be noticed that Dr. Stiles and Missionary Pierce do not exactly agree. The Missionary does not quite go in for the slave trade as one step in the “grand missionary plan.” Not he! He has seen too much of it! He only wishes that “these poor people could be *induced* to emigrate to our Southern country, and be placed under the influences *which the slaves enjoy.*” He is, alas, so recreant to the “divine institution” that he does not even wish that “these poor people” might be *slaves*. He only wants them to be under the (good?) “influences which the slaves enjoy.” This Missionary’s testimony can hardly be adduced in favor of the slave trade as one “fact” of the “sublime missionary movement.” But his “companion,” it may be, goes a little further. He “thinks” that he would sooner run the risk of a good or bad master, and be a slave at the South, than to be as one of these heathen people.” Yet *he, too,* keeps clear of the *slave trade* as a “fact” of the “sublime missionary movement.” He only “thinks” that he might prefer to be a slave and run his risk as to the kind of a master, rather than be one of the lowest, most degraded, most heathenish of all God’s rational creatures he has yet become acquainted with. Grave in-

sinuations! Heterodoxy on slavery! Missionary Best, if he yet lives, and ever comes to America again, had better keep out of the South, or else expurgate Dr. Stiles's book. He should know that in that part of the country it is deemed highly fanatical and incendiary to insinuate that slavery, even the worst of it, is not *infinitely* better than African heathenism. Really, we begin to have a brotherly feeling for Missionary Best. He reminds us of Paul, "If thou mayest be free, use it rather." It is well for Dr. Stiles's book that he put that missionary letter at the very end. Few at the South probably have ever read up to it.

But now as to Dr. Stiles's "grand missionary plan," "peradventure the most philosophical and sublime missionary movement under heaven." He either means something by it, or nothing. We assume it is the former. If so, then he means that the African slave trade, by bringing the ancestors of the present four millions of slaves of this country to this continent, was one part of a grand missionary movement for the salvation of themselves and their race. And he also means that their being made and kept slaves here, is another part of that plan. Indeed, he says, "The *second* historical fact (of the successive steps) records their *transportation* from Africa." He uses a very unassuming, mild term for the slave trade, "*transportation*," but we see what he means. And again, he says, "The *fourth* historical fact incorporates them into our population in the relation of *slaves* to masters." We wonder he should italicise "slaves," and further, that he did not use the milder and equivocal word "servants," in stead. However, Dr. Stiles means to be honest, though deceived.

The *fourth* fact, their being made *slaves*, we cannot directly discuss. We have now to do with the *second*, their "*transportation*,"—the African slave trade. This slave commerce between Africa and the United States and Territories, is one department, we should say the *Foreign* department, of "the grand missionary plan." We suppose Dr. Stiles means that this was *God's* "missionary plan," not man's. For he calls it a "stupendous scheme of Providence!" And exclaims concerning it, p, 192,

"How all things have been sacrificed to this; all things made tributary to this! For the salvation of men how willing God was to employ the cruel wrath of human covetousness to inaugurate the great movement."

Now, when we speak of the origin of the American Board, or of Foreign Missions in this country or in England, or of Home Missions, and refer the plan to human agency as of noble and grand "intent and execution," we mean that the plan, movement and means were adopted as methods and instrumentalities well adapted to their end, and worthy to be chosen for that object. Does Dr. Stiles also mean that in this "stupendous scheme of Providence" the Lord chose the African slave trade, and slavery, as worthy instrumentalities for carrying forward His plan of salvation? And does he give glory to God for His wisdom and preference of so excellent means as the slave trade and slavery, to save Africa? Then let him be consistent and give some honor to *men* too for choosing the same, and for now practicing them, provided only that they seem to be guided by a purpose in sympathy with Africa's salvation. Let him condemn *no one* for having ever engaged in slavery or the slave trade, not even a single soul of all the slave pirates of the last century who sold their cargoes in America, not even Ghezo, the monster savage slave-king of Dahomey, for he sold his slaves to traders from Christian slave countries; let him blame no one of them all except for failure to have as good a motive as they ought,—and only for that failure.

Dr. Stiles calls upon us "to ponder this stupendous scheme of Providence," the divine election of the slave trade and slavery, "the second," and "the fourth" "historical facts" "of the successive steps" "peradventure of the most philosophical and sublime missionary movement under heaven." But if you praise God for the choice of slavery and the slave trade, do not blame *men* for the same choice; only blame them because they are wanting in good motives, no matter what their iniquities. If only they have a *motive* to do good by doing evil that good may come, praise them. Praise men for all the pious frauds they have committed under heaven! Praise the Romish Church for all her assumptions of divine preroga-

tives, for her oppressions, her persecutions, her murders of heretics; unless, indeed, it can be shown that she has not deceived herself, in all these abominations, into the persuasion that she was doing God service.

But these conclusions are too much even for Dr. Stiles. Though he calls on us "to study out this bold missionary movement of heaven upon earth," this selection of the slave trade and slavery for "that spiritual achievement, the religious good of the heathen," yet, when he comes to the case of *man*, he shrinks from the legitimate deductions of his own philosophy. He does, after all, denominate slavery and the slave trade as "*man's wickedness*;" he does speak of "*man's outrageous cruelty in making slaves*; (Is not that incendiarism?) he does say that "against the original institution of slavery, violence could not be too decided," and that "in many of its *present* aspects hostility against it is still justifiable." Now, for our own part, we are not going to "ponder a stupendous scheme of Providence" and admire it, and praise its Author, when the same thing in man we call "wickedness," and pronounce it "outrageous cruelty." We hope we have another way to worship and honor God. And what is "wickedness" and "outrageous cruelty" in man, we are not going to entitle "historical facts" "of the successive steps peradventure of the most philosophical and sublime missionary movement under heaven." When we do that, we will raise a pæan of glory to Judas for his *higher* "sublime missionary movement" in helping forward the tragedy of the cross, though we detract somewhat from his praise, on account of a defect in his motives. Why does not Dr. Stiles call on us "to ponder the stupendous scheme of Providence," "and see that spiritual achievement, the religious good of" mankind, in God's employment of all the hatred, and lies, and murderous intents of the Scribes and Pharisees, resulting finally in the death of His Son—in order to accomplish the Atonement? Does Dr. Stiles preach in that way? It strikes us as going one step further than the Scriptures. We have heard of God's causing the wrath of man to praise him, and restraining the remainder; we have heard of his

doing good despite of evil; but we do not find in the Bible that he has concocted iniquity and set men upon it as a "sublime missionary movement" for their salvation. Christ's atoning death would have been just as dear to us if he had accomplished it by a second, or the first agony in the Garden, rather than while suffering under the traitorous act of Judas, and the murderous hatred of unbelieving Jews. Surely, Dr. Stiles's argument is to no purpose, unless he wishes to treat slavery and the slave trade with leniency and charity because they are "historical facts" of the "sublime missionary movement." But we have no respect or patience with sin for any such reason, nor do we believe God has. He declares that it is that abominable thing which he hates. To close our mouths and refuse to rebuke the guilty supporters of slavery and the slave trade, would be to enter into a conspiracy with those who are responsible for much of "man's outrageous cruelty in making slaves." Will Dr. Stiles ask us to do that? And yet he does, by his course of reasoning.

But will he say that he means, only, that notwithstanding these great iniquities God has given salvation to some of the victims of the slave trade, and to some of their descendants? Why, then, has he not said it, and not set himself to an exaltation of slavery and the slave commerce? In his preaching of the Gospel does he exalt sin and call it a "stupendous scheme of Providence" on account of its potency in affording the opportunity to man to be saved by Christ's Atonement? Poor Angels, then! For what shall they praise God? Does he expend any of his oratorical genius in exalting the oppressions of the Established Church of England which drove the Pilgrims and Puritans to the New England shore? Does he commend to our respect and affection the exorbitant and unnatural demands of the mother country, in consequence of which at length the freedom of the American Colonies was declared and maintained?

But we are not questioning Dr. Stiles alone. He is the representative of a class.

"Mrs. E. J. Tracy, writing to *The Memphis Appeal* from Holly Springs, Miss., having seen some negroes going to meeting on Sunday, says: 'As with the ra-

pidity of thought I glance from such a scene to benighted Africa, sunk in moral degradation, over whose millions of human souls the darkness of heathenism folds her sombre wings in rayless night, my heart swells with gratitude to the Great Father of all for the institution of American slavery."

Then she may thank God for sin, for without sin there would have been no Redeemer from sin. Is it, indeed, better to sin and then by mercy and great sacrifice be saved from it, than never to sin at all, but always be holy as the sinless angels? For which ought she to thank God, for "man's wickedness" and "outrageous cruelty in making slaves," or that God, despite slavery and all sin, has saved some of the African race and will save more? Is it not high insult to God to thank him for that which he affirms on oath that he hates? Men and women should beware! One form of the unpardonable sin may lie in this direction.

"In his work on Slavery, Dr. Smith says: 'The number of Africans who have died in the communion of the Methodist and Baptist Churches to the present time, and who, therefore, we may assume were Christianized by their residence in this country, exceeds the whole number of all the heathen who have been Christianized by the missionary labors of all the Protestant denominations of Christendom since the days of Luther.'

What if it were true? Which has been the Saviour, slavery, or Jesus Christ? Some men have already made slavery their idol. They are *robbing* God in giving honor and love to it. We have not yet learned whether Dr. Smith has a book on the great benefits accruing from the Devil's fall and Adam's original sin, or on the immensely greater number saved since than before Judas's betrayal of his Master, and the final culmination of Jewish hatred and spite against Christ Jesus! We wonder whether he has made a mathematical calculation of the superior advantages for the salvation of men which have grown out of the persecution of Christians, and the denial of their freedom, which early led to the settlement of this country by many colonies of the true church. Can he tell us how many more are converted in consequence of that iniquity than would have been without it? Does he call us to ponder that oppression as one part of a "stupendous scheme of Providence," and "one of the successive

steps" of a philosophical and sublime missionary movement?" We should like to know whether he has become the disciple of Mohammedanism because it is not so bad as Paganism, or whether he has adopted the Romish Church because more within her pale have been saved (*though despite* all that makes her Romanism) than would have been saved without her existence?

The author of the "South Side" has the following "cheerful view" of the subject: "Such have been the marvelous acts of Divine grace to the Africans, in bringing, through the cupidity and sinfulness of men, to this country, and saving a great multitude of them, that it requires neither strong faith nor fancy to suppose that this work might still go on, in the form of interchange of the blacks between Africa and the Southern States. The South has learned to be, and is fitted to be, the protector and friend of the Africans." ("South Side View of Slavery," p. 118.) Dr. Adams's "South Side" was written some years since, but we suppose his conception of this pleasant "interchange of the blacks between Africa and the Southern States" must be exemplified in a recent case, intelligence of which has just come to hand.

"NEW YORK, Dec. 21.—Advices from Liberia, Africa, to latter part of September, report a new and most extraordinary phase of the slave trade. The *Rebecca*, a Baltimore clipper, commanded by Capt. Carter, arrived there in July last, with forty-two colored emigrants from New Orleans, liberated from the McDonough estate. She was under charter from the Colonization Society, but having landed the free blacks, she moved off to the Southwest coast, and took in a full cargo of slaves, with which freight she is now bound home."

This, then, is the way to operate: set the Colonization Society fully a going, in chartering vessels and carrying to Africa liberated slaves of this country, that have in themselves and their ancestors a long time enjoyed the "protection and friendship of the South," in the fullest play of the chattel principle and all the slave code enactments, and then foment quarrels and wars among the native Africans, help forward the difficulties by grants of whiskey, firearms, &c., buy up all the prisoners and impress on board the slave ships as many other African negroes as possible, and so keep the transportation

ships the most economically employed by carrying liberated slaves one way, to evangelize Africa, and benighted Africans the other way, to receive the "protection and friendship" of the slaveholders and traffickers of our own country. Since learning of this recent transaction, we begin to suspect that Dr. Adams's book is having a wider influence than we had heretofore supposed. We have only one or two doubts in our conception of this "interchange." If hereafter the difficulties of obtaining war prisoners in Africa, to supply the American market, should become great, would it be allowable to rob the American colored emigrants in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and other such places, of their children, and bring them over in the middle passage, to the "protection" of American slavery? And if Africa should ever become fully evangelized, ought the "interchange" still to go on? If not, what would the "languishing" South do to obtain "the requisite supply" of laborers?

But this is not all. We cannot leave this subject without calling attention to slavery, and especially now to the slave trade, as a "*stupendous*" barrier in the way of the salvation of Africa and of man. Had we space we would debate the question, how much slavery in this land has impeded its evangelization since the first cargo was landed in the American colonies. Who needs to be told that an institution which denies the very doctrines that brought this nation, as such, into existence; that gives the lie to the reality of human rights; that proclaims that all men are *not* of one blood, and so takes its stand against Holy Writ; slavery, that breaks up the family relations, and abrogates marital and parental rights; that aids in the prostitution of the pure and virtuous to the most vile purposes; that denies the printed page of the Word of God to four millions of our fellow-men, and shuts them away from the ordinary and their rightful means of human knowledge; slavery, the most high-handed and extensive system of fraud and robbery ever known in a world of sinners for six thousand years, wresting alike from the weak and the strong the hard earnings of honest hands, and by violence, and all the barricaded powers of law, wrenching

away the rights of millions to themselves; who needs to be told that such an institution is a mighty barrier in the way of the Gospel, wherever it is preached or heard, and that the more the supporters of such a "sum of all villanies" profess religion, to a wide extent, the more infidels they make? The kingdom of God can never come until this system of iniquity is dead. True religion cannot foster injustice, nor prosper under it, though it may sometimes exist despite of it. Bartholomew de las Casas, a Spaniard, Bishop of Chiasssa, first brought African slavery into America. To save the Indians he much loved from their sufferings and toils in the Spanish mines, he prevailed on his monarch to substitute Africans in their place. This very inception of slavery in America was injustice, and *injustice has been its life from that hour to this.*

The missionaries in Africa testify that the greatest obstacle to the success of the Gospel in that country is the slave trade, and that the existence of slavery, as practiced in this country, conspires with the slave traffic there to hinder their work. Meassrs. Bushnell and Walker say, that so much is America joined to the commerce in slaves, in the minds of the natives of Africa, that they look with suspicion and fear upon Americans, as necessarily slave traders. Commander Foote, in connection with comments on the highly beneficial effects of the squadrons of England, France, and the United States, on the African coast, in suppressing the slave trade, remarks: "Missions and the slave trade have an inverse ratio between them as to their progress. When the one dwindleth, the other groweth."—p. 216.

Rev. Dr. Perkins, the justly distinguished Nestorian missionary, says, "I hold that American slavery is the greatest human obstacle to the spread and triumph of Christianity that exists at the present period. I hold that our beloved native country is in most imminent peril, from the fearful system of American slavery, of falling into deep national disgrace, of calling down upon itself the signal judgments of heaven, and thus of blighting for a long period the fairest and the highest hopes of a suffering world." And the recent long delayed

action of the Prudential Committee of the American Board, sanctioned by the Board itself, in dropping the Choctaw Missions for their continued adhesion to slavery, has no doubt been hastened or emphasized by the fact that the missionaries of that Board, all over the world, feel that any responsible connection with slavery, of the society sending them out, is a greater burden than they can bear, and a greater damage to the salvation of men than the cause of Christ ought one moment longer to suffer.

Further, the immense evils and desolation to Africa herself, aside from the warfare upon missions, resulting from the slave traffic, pronounce the utter condemnation of slavery ten thousand times. Senator Davis complains that the Act of Congress, making the slave trade "piracy," "has destroyed a lucrative trade for ivory, oil, and gold-dust, which our merchants had long conducted with the inhabitants of the coast, and transferred it to our commercial rivals, the British." Let Mr. Davis look to Africa, and with some love for his neighbor, as well as for himself, consider what the slave commerce has done for her trade and all other interests. Commander Foote says, that legitimate "trade (in Africa) becomes inconsistent with slavery, and hostile to it!" The gold, ivory, dye-stuffs, and pepper, were procured on the coast, and were from exhaustible sources. They were obtained in the roaming expeditions connected with slave-hunting. "The great vegetable productions of the country, constituting heavy cargoes, have but lately come into the course of commerce." These "require more industry with the hands, and a settled life." "The squadrons were necessary to protect (legitimate) commerce against the piracy of the slaver afloat, and the ravages of the slaver on shore." "The cultivation of the ground renders human labor and life of higher value. This diminishes the number of victims for the slave trade, and the number of human sacrifices made in religious worship. The cultivation and civilization of the people ensue."—pp. 217, 89, 93. Will Mr. Davis be willing to suffer, for the present, a little diminution in the profits of trade with Africa, for these most valuable ends of humanity!

Mr. Foote further says: "Wherever the slave trade or its

effects penetrated, there of course peace vanished, and prosperity became impossible. This evil affected not only the coast, but spread warfare to rob the country of its inhabitants, far into the interior regions."—p. 90. Mr. Barth quotes from the Journal of Mr. Richardson as follows:

"From all reports, there is *an immense traffic of slaves that way exchanged against American goods*, which are driving out of the markets all the merchandise of the North. Indeed, it now appears, that all this part of Africa is put under contribution to *supply the South American market with slaves*."—Barth, vol. i, p. 517.

The Rev. T. J. Bowen, after spending six years in traveling in Africa, in speaking of the apprenticeship system of the French, whereby they carry away many of the negroes to their colonies, says: "Africans will not leave their country except by force;" and adds, that in the efforts to get laborers from there, "from two to four are destroyed for every one who reaches a plantation in America. In one journey of sixty miles I counted no less than eighteen towns and villages which had been laid in ruins to supply the slave markets." He himself saw a battle made by a slave-catching army, where twelve hundred and nine were left dead on the field, and he thinks as many more were killed next day.

An American missionary, Mr. Bowman, in a recent narrative, says :

"I have counted the sites of eighteen desolated towns within a distance of sixty miles, between Badagry and Abeokuta—the legitimate result of the slave trade. The whole Yoruba country is full of depopulated towns, some of which were even larger than Abeokuta is at present. Of all the places visited by the Landers, only Ishukki, Izbobo, Ikishi, and a few villages remain. Ijenna was destroyed a few weeks after my arrival in the country. Other and still larger towns have lately fallen. At one of these, called Oke Oddan, the Dahomey army killed or captured twenty thousand people, on which occasion the King presented Domingo, the slaver, with six hundred slaves. The whole number of people destroyed in this section of country within the last fifty years, cannot be less than five hundred thousand."

We should like to ask Dr. Stiles whether he thinks the Lord has been pleased with all this, or similar "outrageous cruelty in making slaves," in order that He might "bring the heathen

to this country, sustain them in this country, and subject them to the Christian influence of this country."—p. 196. If not, why does he make any apology for it? Why ask us to give it respect, as one event in a "stupendous scheme of Providence," in a "grand missionary plan?" We would ask Mrs. Tracy, whether, in view of all these abominations, her "heart still swells with gratitude to the Great Father of all, for the institution of American slavery?"

Such then is the slave trade, as it has been and to a wide extent is now; such in all its horrors of hunting victims, and of the "Middle Passage" to the poor stolen ones, and of anarchy, and desolation, and fear to the bereaved ones left; such is the slave traffic to the work of missions and the civilization and Christianization of peeled, torn, bleeding Africa, and to the salvation of men among evangelized and unevangelized of all earth's inhabitants! And is all the bitter condemning past not enough? Shall the land of freedom [!] reopen the accursed commerce? Shall she multiply, and freight, and sail her ships away to doomed Africa for more and larger cargoes of human flesh and human souls? Shall America thus in disgust flout before Heaven the very principles which gave her standing among the nations of the earth? Shall she abolish her laws against this infernal trade, or scorn them to the death, and while barbarians, or half-civilized nations, vote the slave trade an "outrageous cruelty" and close all their commerce against it, shall America, prostitute-like, sweep out into it again, and fill up with slaves her present slave states full to the brim, and then her "New Mexico, and her future acquisitions yet to be made south of the Rio Grande?" Alas, is this America's destiny! Will she fall, and waste amid the wreck of empires, as she must, if this is to be her career of wickedness!

If the slave-trade is right and is to be reopened, then all the counter movements should be given up. Shall the slave trade, now swept from a thousand miles of the African coast through the agency of Liberia and Sierra Leone, be all restored? Where peace, the cultivation of the soil, and the beginning of

civilization have just arisen, as a shining sun upon the darkened earth, in consequence of the treaties made by England for the suppression of the slave trade with some one score and a half or more of African kings and chiefs, shall all go back again, and humanity scream for agony at the sight? Shall Liberia and Sierra Leone, that have so long, as Commander Foote and many others testify, exerted a noble redeeming influence on the surrounding tribes, and that have been to so many victims rescued from captured slavers, the opening doors to civilization and finally to their long-lost homes, shall Liberia and Sierra Leone be whelmed beneath the waves? Says the well known traveler Barth, once more: "With the abolition of the slave trade all along the northern and southern coast of Africa, slaves will cease to be brought down to the coast, and in this way a great deal of the mischief and misery necessarily resulting from this inhuman traffic will be cut off."—Vol. i, pp. 12, 13. But instead of its abolition, what if we open the sluiceways wider, even to their utmost capacity?

Speaking of the evils of domestic slavery in Africa, he says, "But the abolition of the foreign slave trade would be the beginning of a better system."—Vol. ii, p. 327. Now what system of degradation and woe will fallen human beings at last create there, if slavery and the slave trade are finally to swing forth into full and lasting career!

He says again, "The slave trade at present is, in fact, abolished on the North Coast."—p. 327. And shall the weak and half civilized powers on the north of Africa be left to point before the world the finger of scorn and shame at the United States for keeping the *western* coast open still and evermore to the horrors of the slave trade? When the English pressed the king of Dahomey to sign a treaty abolishing the slave trade, he plead to be excused, and said, "No other trade is known to my people. Who will pay my troops? Who will buy arms and clothes for them? Who will buy dresses for my wives? Who will give me supplies of cowries, rum, gunpowder, and cloth, for my annual 'customs?' . . . The slave trade has been the ruling principle of my people. It is the source of their glory

and wealth. Their songs celebrate their victories, and the mother lulls the child to sleep with notes of triumph over an enemy reduced to slavery."—Foote, pp. 82, 83. And now shall the treaties with slave kings prohibiting the slave trade, or the slave trade itself, be abolished? Shall slave commerce be fully opened once more, and the kings of Dahomey, and Ashantee, and the Gallinas, and all the rest, generation after generation, go, licensed by the civilized world, go, unbridled, to their only business, the slave trade, "and men celebrate with songs their victories over their victims, and mothers lull their babes to sleep with notes of triumph over fellow beings reduced to slavery?"

For two hundred years and more, from the beginning of the African slave trade, Africa had remained stationary or been degenerating in her barbarism, until the partial suppression of the slave commerce, and the opening of missionary labors inaugurated a more promising era. And now that the United States and Spain—amiable partners!—may have the felicitous profits of slavery, is the slave trade to be kept on its course, and Africa to be held to her heathenish doom—to her fate as the play-ground of robbers and murderers,—while millions on millions of human souls, yet unborn, shall be borne into mournful, suffering slave life and out of it, onward through generations unpredicted and unnumbered by man! God forbid!

ARTICLE V.—PROFESSOR LEWIS'S NEW WORK, "THE DIVINE HUMAN IN THE SCRIPTURES."

The Divine Human in the Scriptures. By TAYLER LEWIS,
Union College. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

THIS volume, which we are informed in the preface is introductory to a more complete and full discussion of the figurative language of the Bible, is designed to present the views of Prof. Lewis upon the inspiration and authority of the Divine Word. The author is widely known among the scholars of our country for his familiar and profound acquaintance with the languages and the philosophy of classical antiquity, and for the deep interest and the unusual success with which he has prosecuted his inquiries into the habits of thought, and the religious convictions of those early ages. His publication of "Plato against the Atheists" disclosed the depth and extent of his researches into the religious ideas of antiquity, as well as the ability with which he applied the philosophical conceptions of that era to the subsequent forms of skepticism. His comments upon the Book of Job showed how successfully he had entered into the vague but real beliefs of that remote period in regard to death and a future life. More especially, however, should we refer to his "Six Days of Creation," as elucidating the breadth of his investigations into the early conceptions of the Hebrew mind in regard to the creation, and the important ideas which in the Bible cluster round the narrative of that great event. That work, in consequence of some sharp allusions to modern science and some of its advocates, provoked opposition, and drew upon itself a severity of criticism that prevented its reaching in public estimation the position which, in our opinion, it unquestionably deserves, as a profound, useful, and satisfactory discussion of that great subject.

It affords us real pleasure to welcome him again into substantially the same field of thought and argument; and to in-

introduce to the notice of our readers his suggestive and valuable work upon the inspiration of the Scriptures.

The aim of Professor Lewis to vindicate the claims of the Bible, leads him to present his views, first, of the nature of inspiration, and next, of some evidences which may be offered for the inspired character of the sacred volume.

In respect to the nature of inspiration he maintains a position which is substantially identical with that which prevails throughout New England. The whole Bible he believes to be inspired—to possess a character of absolute truth in all that it really affirms,—through a ceaseless supervision and impulse of the Divine Spirit, guiding the writers of the Biblical books. The title of the work—*The Divine Human*—indicates the idea which he wishes to present—God speaking through the conceptions, emotions, and language of men; a true and real union of the mind of God with the human mind in the Scriptures.

This conception is strongly distinguished from both of the two theories which are current among the different classes of religious thinkers. One of these, holding a theory of plenary inspiration, seems to deny all true action of the human agents of God's revelation, and holds all their language to be directly suggested of God, for the expression of absolute truth. The peculiarities of individual writers are ignored and denied; the habits of thought of each individual pass for nothing; expressions and conceptions are not selected by the free working of the inspired mind in its own accustomed ways, as most natural and appropriate to it, but are suggested by the Infinite Wisdom as absolutely conveying the truth. All the language of the Scripture is inspired in precisely the same sense and way; and all individual peculiarities are lost in the mechanical utterance by the writer, of conceptions not his own.

The other class holds up to view the human element, and regards inspiration as the quickening and elevating of a devout soul to high views of truth, and to ennobling conceptions of duty, which it is then left to express in its own way, by its own accustomed imagery and machinery of thought.

These two views seem to possess between them the elements of a more comprehensive and complete inspiration than either

of them exclusively maintains ; and this combination of the two opposite schemes forms the system of Prof. Lewis. He regards the former as defective in some important respects. It is no true inspiration of the man. The words he utters are not his own ; the figures of speech which he employs do not express the analogies and images under which he is led to view the truth. He is no otherwise inspired than a bird might be, which should be impelled to utter, without understanding, the articulate sounds of human speech. Though defective in this respect, however, it saves the great and fundamental conception which lies at the bottom of all inspiration ; it authenticates the message as a real communication of truth from God to men. The latter view, on the other hand, while it maintains a real inspiration of the man, is no inspiration of his work ; and leaves his message to his fellow men without any attestation of its accuracy. His description of the vision in which Heaven stood open before him, and even his record of observed facts, are prejudiced by all the inaccuracies of his own defective understanding, and his own imperfect recollection.

Professor Lewis regards inspiration as embodying a concurrent agency of God and man, in the preparation of that record of truth which should be given to the world as the guide of its faith. The inspired writer is indeed lifted up to behold realities and conceive truths, to which human power could never attain ; but he is not left to his own multiplied errors in the utterance of them. A Divine supervision secures the truthfulness of all his utterances, and makes his communication to mankind a reliable and authentic transcript of the Divine wisdom and the Divine will.

Up to this point the conception of inspiration which we have described will probably receive the approval of all discriminating and devout readers. But our author carries it to even a higher point, to which all may not be quite ready to follow him. He regards the Divine agency as not terminating in such a supervision as shall secure the real accuracy of the message of God, but as itself actively selecting and guiding the expression of it. Not only are the figures of speech which are employed for the expression of emotion all of Divine suggestion, but the language in all its particulars is equally

selected and adjusted with Divine aid and care. All, therefore, carries with it the authority of a Divine sanction. Every mode of representing God through the analogy of human passions and conceptions, is itself sanctioned as embodying the very wisdom of heaven, and as conveying the truth in the highest mode in which the Infinite can express itself by finite forms, or the human mind receive intimation of the Divine.

This view Prof. Lewis defends with great vigor and beauty through several chapters of his work, maintaining that we need not fear to admit the anthropopathism of the scheme, since every manifestation of the Infinite in the finite must of necessity possess this character, and the objection, if carried out, would render a revelation impossible. While we should feel some hesitation in adopting the strong language in which he clothes his doctrine, we cannot be insensible to the vigor of his defense of it. He fearlessly carries up the argument to its highest plane, and contends very instructively for the possibility of a revelation of the Infinite to man, however such a revelation must take place through finite forms of thought and speech. The discussion is exceedingly suggestive, and brings up many points which will greatly stimulate and expand the views of his readers, impart new confidence to their faith in inspiration, and increased conviction of the radical weakness of the skeptical theory which rejects it.

From this portion of the treatise, which is presented at some length, Prof. Lewis passes to an argument in behalf of the authentic and inspired character of the Scriptures. The transition is made through several chapters of great beauty and power upon the enduring vitality of the Word of God in all ages and against all forms of assault—and upon its universal character as adapted for all nations and races of men. This he regards as the great problem of which it is necessary for every skeptical theory to give an account. It is easy to assign the origin of the Bible to fraud or to fanaticism; but this only brings up at once the greater difficulty how any local and transient impulses of this kind could have given birth to a system so marvelously enduring, so wondrously adapted to mankind, and so lofty in its moral inculcations as to satisfy all the demands, and surpass all the achieve-

ments, of man's moral nature under the most favorable circumstances. This course of argument leads to a formal consideration of the theories which have been offered to account for the origin of the Bible; and here the author enters upon what we regard as the most valuable portion of his work, a discussion of the various hypotheses of the skeptical world to account for that wondrous fact, the Bible.

These are all reducible, he observes, to three suppositions, one of which must express the truth. The sacred books must be either :

I. Wholly true, an authentic and reliable history written upon adequate data ; or,

II. Wholly false, and consciously fraudulent ; or,

III. Honestly mistaken—a compilation from legend and tradition having a certain basis of truth, but destitute of all historic accuracy.

The third of these general suppositions does not clearly distinguish the two forms of skepticism which have played the greatest part in its modern development—the rationalistic and the mythical. It is, indeed, difficult for any one to do this completely ; for the theory of mythus, which makes the biblical fact to be wholly a birth of fancy, itself implies a nucleus of fact round which the myths are to crystallize.

In order for the Hebrew fancy to shape its myths and legends, there must have been a man whose character and history awoke the conviction that he must be the Messiah ; then, around him, it is possible that many of the supposed attributes of the Messiah might cluster. The fancy of his Jewish followers might attribute to him such works and such experience as became the predicted Prince of Israel. Hence the theory which assigns a late origin, and a mythical character, to the Gospels, proceeds on the same basis of fact as that which maintains an origin contemporaneous with the events, and regards those events, when supernatural, as the mistakes and exaggerations of credulous eye witnesses. Both these theories are in fact discussed, and the falsity of their funda-

mental postulates most ably shown, in the argument which Prof. Lewis presents.

Between the first and second of the three theories above described, it is now generally conceded that there can be no question. There is no such thing as willful fraud in the Bible. The hypothesis that these books were written with any selfish or sinister aim, is no longer even pretended. This was long a favorite theory of infidelity; and its advocates wasted much labor in vain attempts to show that the Gospels were devised for the purpose of elevating the authors to power, and accomplishing thus the ambitious and covetous ends of most unscrupulous and wicked men.

The impossibility of sustaining this view has long been felt and acknowledged. That out of such low and base aims should come such wealth and profusion of the finest and most dignified forms of character which the earth ever saw—that the very authors of this hypocrisy should have borne themselves more bravely and heroically in the face of persecution, more generously in the deepest poverty, than the noblest of other men—that they should have so surpassed in their instructions the highest conceptions which philosophy could reach, insomuch that both theoretically and in practice the science of morals should have taken in their hands a form of holiness which has invested it with a loftiness and glory otherwise unknown among men—all this were inexplicable and incredible. That mere vulgar and sordid fraud should give a new impulse more powerful than any—nay, than all—that had preceded it, to the moral and spiritual life of the world, infidelity itself has not the hardihood to maintain this. The theory has, therefore, been frankly given up, and the advocates of unbelief have had recourse to one which seems at first sight far more plausible, as it is far less offensive.

In this more recent view, it is contended that the evangelical authors were not the fraudulent knaves which infidelity has reproachfully suggested. No; they were earnest and honest men who really intended to preserve a truthful record of a great and precious history. They did not invent such a conception as that of Christ; there was really such a person. A man of extraordinary dignity of character—of singular force

of will—of high and earnest enthusiasm—of rare moral discernment,—did really appear in their day. His exalted characteristics impressed themselves most powerfully on the public mind of his age. His striking sayings were observed and recorded. The remarkable incidents of his career were written and perpetuated by enthusiastic disciples, whose admiration and attachment exaggerated, multiplied, and transformed all. He saw a pretended case of lameness, a lying mendicant whose pretence of suffering and weakness he at once discerned, and with a kick of honest indignation and contempt bade him “get up and walk.” The detected impostor obeyed and shrunk away; and the astonished disciples accounted it a very miracle.

Here this theory of exaggeration and credulity seems to blend into another. The effort to explain the miracles of the Bible by such influences as supposed all the writers to be mere idiots—the shepherds to have mistaken a man with a lantern for an angel in the heavens—and the evangelist to have written the account of the changing of water into wine under the influence of a somewhat free use of the latter fluid—the serious aim to do this became labored, and at length ridiculous. Then a fresh aspect of credibility was given to unbelief by the hypothesis of a late origin of the Gospels; and the miracles were attributed to the glowing fancy of the Hebrew mind, excited by the appearance of what seemed the long expected Messiah. The early origin of the Gospels was denied; they were supposed to have originated in a poetic disposition to attribute to Jesus all that the national conception demanded that the Messiah should be. In the course of one or two generations which elapsed before the Bible was written, this ardent imagination had done its work, obscured the simple beauty of the life of Jesus, and converted a warm appreciation of his greatness and worth into a degrading superstition.

This theory, a diligent and learned criticism has recently endeavored to substitute, both for the more gross and offensive one which accounts the Bible a fraud, and for the still less defensible one which considers it a stupidity. The more re-

fined and scholarly unbelief, which shrank from these coarse imputations, found, in the reckless criticism of the Tübingen School, an effectual and satisfactory substitute. Rationalists, and skeptics, of all diverse classes, sent up their gratulations over Strauss's life of Christ, in which infidelity, divested of much of its grossness, and clothed in the garb of philosophical and critical science, was enabled to assail on new grounds the faith which had proved so impregnable upon the old.

The theory which accounts the Gospels and the Bible a late and fortuitous aggregate of legends, instead of a collection of original and authentic narratives, has been the subject of much recent debate. Even before it had formally been proposed as a complete theory, it had been in effect defeated in advance. Much of the argument which, like that of the Horæ Paulinæ, had elucidated the astonishing consistency of the biblical writings, bore with great directness and force upon the new theory. The intellectual condition, too, of the age in which the New Testament appeared, was soon shown to be as hostile as that of our own could be, to such an undiscriminating aggregation of myths and legends. It was an age of high cultivation, with models of elegance that delighted the learned, and with orderly histories and biographies which were familiar even to the common mind. The historical testimony, too, so carefully collected and digested by the great scholars of a century or two ago, to the existence of the books of the New Testament at a very early date—evidence which all our research into antiquity increasingly confirms—renders the later unbelief as indefensible as the former. On all grounds, then, of argument, the theory is fatally assailed; and nowhere is it able to maintain itself as anything more than a daring and plausible speculation.

Several, however, of these methods of argument are, by the recondite character of the inquiries involved in them, almost confined to the learned, and little likely to be appreciated by the mass of the readers to whom the theory itself appeals. For them, it is desirable that the discussion should be carried into other departments of thought than those of scholastic learning, and elaborate criticism of authorities. Some vigor-

ous appeal is requisite to the common sense of thoughtful men—to the calm and clear judgment of mankind, upon the nature of the theory itself, and the essential character of the books thus criticised. Especially does the public need argument which shall bring to view the spiritual worth of the Bible; and test this skeptical scheme by the light which the moral elevation and practical power of the Word of God cast upon it.

This want Prof. Lewis has endeavored to supply. He has constructed an argument which makes its appeal to the intelligence and the judgment of every one who is willing to think on this great subject; and has set forth one aspect of the evidence which possesses great power.

The theory of which we first spoke, which considers the Bible an imposture, he dismisses as unworthy of serious notice. No earnest and candid mind can find any plausible, much less any satisfactory ground, for adopting that. The other view remains to be examined—that which holds the Bible to be a collection of legends and mythical fancies, which the wondering credulity of later days has honestly taken for truth, and with pious reverence wrought into their present shape. This hypothesis admits not only the general honesty of the biblical writers, but their integrity of purpose in this particular work. They were indeed more than simply honest—they were devout believers in all the marvels which they recorded; and the record itself is the decisive expression and evidence of the state of mind in which it was written. They wrote, in so far as their writings involve any assertions of facts—not only with no intention of falsehood but with extreme simplicity of mind—in devout adoration of God's own presence and immediate power—with a subdued spirit of awe and wonder which magnified and exaggerated ordinary events, but which would not for the world have falsified them—and with a devotion to the spiritual interests of men unsurpassed and unequaled in any other body of men that the world ever saw. Thus much the theory concedes. The prophets and evangelists who have left us these volumes, believed, with the utmost sincerity of faith, all that they have here recorded. The very fact that they saw

the hand of God in all around them, and felt the impulse of his spirit within them—in their own conception of the matter—assures us of the simple hearted truthfulness in all that they wrote.

Now, out of this concession of the honesty of the biblical writers, Prof. Lewis draws an argument for the reality of those supernatural facts which they record. In their own view such phenomena, it is conceded, took place; *subjectively*, the supernatural was real; but if so, then the very nature of their writings shows that there must have been an *objective* supernatural also. The one is impossible without the other.

The proof of this position he finds in the remarkably exact and specific character of the language in which all these phenomena of the supernatural are habitually described in the Bible. They are detailed with the utmost minuteness of narration. The time and manner of their occurrence are distinctly marked. The attending circumstances are fully described. Now in the legendary style, to which the Bible is by this hypothesis of its late origin assigned, all this detail of events is impossible. The very nature of the theory supposes that the specific character of the events has been lost in the course of years. The legend has been floating about in the oral communications of admiring disciples till, in the frequent transmission of it from one to another, the minute features of the event have been lost. This is indeed the real and indisputable character of all the legends with which the Bible is compared. The Scandinavian legends do not give day and date for the visit of Thor to the land of the Jötuns; nor do the adventures of Heracles or Prometheus come within the definite and settled chronology of Greece. The very nature of such mythic narratives repels every attempt at historic accuracy of narrative. They are due only to the imaginations of men. They are, in all the circumstances which make them remarkable, the work of excited fancy dwelling upon and transforming utterly, facts which were not otherwise astonishing. It is essential to the honest belief of the marvel that its accompanying details of reality should be left out of view. The Argonautic expedition has none of that minute accuracy which the

chronicle of an eye witness would have possessed. It took place in no definite relation with ascertained historical events. The siege of Troy has no chronological era, nor any definite characteristics of reality in its detail. Some basis of fact there probably was for each of these legends; but the imagination which has given them their drapery, makes no pretence of clothing them with the characteristics of authentic and precise history.

We see at a glance that it were impossible that it should be otherwise. No such historical accuracy of detail is consistent with the wonder-making and imaginative fancy which has given shape to these legends. The imagination, in order to invest them with this aspect of the marvelous and supernatural, must have scope, must not be confined within the exact limits of fact. The writer could no more work within such limits of precise verity than a poet could carry on his poem if he had to describe the process, and prove the possibility, of making his hero invisible, by scientific methods. Hence in all such legendary efforts there is an entire forgetfulness, if not a deliberate avoidance, of the historical style. Such events did not take place in any precise year of a well known reign. The moment you come down to such details, the marvel, the wonder out of which the myth grows, is at an end.

Now the events of the biblical narratives are given to us in an unparalleled combination of astonishing and supernatural occurrences, with minute accuracy of detail; and in the fullest chronological sequence with ascertained historical events. Errors in chronological reckoning of time there may be, though even these do not greatly mislead us; but the whole detail of history is there. Instead of the dim and misty aspect which is characteristic of the mythical and legendary style, we have precise announcements of the period of each great event, and an evident intention in the writer to fix it to the most determinate period which the then existing methods of computation would allow. The visions which the prophet saw were in the reigns of such and such kings of Israel and of Judah. Habitually these writers refer not incidentally alone, but deliberately, and of distinct purpose, to the epochs by which their writings may be identified; and give the full detail, in historical and

chronological form, of almost every one of the miracles which they so reverently record.

These details of time and circumstance furnish to Prof. Lewis a ground of argument which has not before been suggested. He shows that they are utterly inconsistent with the theory of a late and legendary origin. Such details could never have been traditionally handed down. They are at variance irreconcilably, with any theory of such transmission that we can intelligibly form. The sacred books must either have been, therefore, the work of the writers whose names they bear, of authors contemporary with the events which they describe, and writing, with definite knowledge of these particulars, or else these seeming marks of authenticity were deliberately forged. Such specific records of events do not belong to the mythical and legendary style. No man at a period remote from the events themselves, sitting down to gather the floating rumors which his wondering fancy invests with an awful and supernatural character, could either seek, or find, the historic details which are here so abundantly given. If the narrative were then due to a period so materially subsequent to the events themselves as to allow the requisite scope for the mytho-poetic fancy to exalt and exaggerate common events into miracles, and ordinary men into prodigies of wisdom and sanctity, their whole character would of necessity be different. Everything would be vague and indefinite, and so in some keeping with the mystery and distortion of the events themselves. Hence, the only alternative lies between the authenticity of biblical narratives, and their forgery. Any honest and credulous exaggeration is out of the question, amid so many details which must either be absolutely true, or else a designed effort to simulate truth. The hypothesis of myth and legend is excluded as altogether inadmissible.

As an illustration of the method of this argument we extract one or two paragraphs upon this statistical character of the Scriptures :

"In the very beginning of Genesis, in the very frontispiece you may say of the whole Scriptures, we find this statistical character. And Adam lived a hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his own likeness, after his image, and called

his name Seth ; and all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years and he died." . . . " There is the same character, though carried to a still further degree of graphic minuteness, in the account of the Deluge. We have the exact year, the month, the day of the month, when the great rain commenced upon the earth, and Noah went into the Ark. Were ever the Pictorial and the Statistical combined in so life-like a description."

After quoting and commenting upon the whole narrative of this great event, and referring to the same peculiarity in the account of the subsiding flood, the author continues :

" And it came to pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth : and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and behold, the face of the ground was dry ; and on the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried."

" How can any serious soul fail to be struck with this strange combination of the minutely familiar and the inexpressibly sublime ? To think of a man's deliberately sitting down thus consciously to forge all this numerical exactness, and yet preserving that other awful feature, so inconsistent with the meanness and littleness of known and intended lying ! For such, if it be not strictly true, must have been the character of this account when first written, unless thus filled in by our supposed compilers. A willful forger, earlier or later, could not have so described it ; he must have betrayed the untruthfulness of his position. A mere wonder-making traditionist could not have given us the story in a manner so different from that of the early Greek logographer, or Hindoo mythopoeist ; the legendary would have manifested itself ; for that art of fictitious writing, which alone could have kept back its untruthful aspect, was not invented until ages after, and has only in the latest times arrived at perfection. Yet nothing in the most modern times, whether fictitious or real, could surpass it in this air of simple verity. We cannot avoid being struck with the unpretending calmness, the simple majesty, the utter absence of the swelling, the pretentious, the wonder-showing, in a narrative that relates such marvels."

This careful and acute examination of the supernatural events of sacred history, Prof. Lewis carries through a great portion of the Bible, appealing with conclusive force to the candid student of the word of God. He shows that these writings bear, unmistakably, an aspect of entire opposition to the demands of any such theory. While the mythopoetic fancy delights in the wonder, dwells upon and exaggerates the extraordinary fact, the biblical writers seem almost oblivious of the marvel, in their anxiety to impress the moral lesson of which it was the vehicle to them. They write to give all the prominence possible not to the grotesque workings of an unrestrained fancy, nor to the impulses of a merely superstitious

awe, but to lessons of truth, of wisdom, and of duty, of which the most astonishing miracles were but the subordinate circumstances. For this end they give all those precise details of the remarkable history which may serve to authenticate it, and thus to secure its acceptance among men ; but they avoid all idle declamation upon the physical wonders which they recount. There is no effort at labored description. Simple, natural touches there are, which are full of life, but no pomp of narration. On the contrary, it is evident that the writers of the Scriptures regarded the miracles which they narrate as of wholly inferior moment, and spend but a brief phrase of explanation, or a modest line of description, upon the most signal prodigies which it ever fell to the lot of men to record. Even the intensest sentiment of nationality, the strongest impulses of patriotic pride, are checked and rebuked into utter silence, in recounting such wonders as the plagues of Egypt, the Exodus, the journey through the wilderness, guided by that pillar of cloud and fire which was the token of God's peculiar presence, the capture of Jericho, the conquest of Canaan, and the whole series of astonishing events which have been in every subsequent age the study and the wonder of mankind. In all these narratives, the character of the description is ever the same, simple, brief, and subdued ; while all the real interest and effort of the writer are bestowed upon the spiritual truths which he has to disclose, the duties which he is to enforce, and, above all, the God of holiness and majesty, whom it is his grandest privilege and obligation to reveal to men.

The rationalistic view derives very much of its credibility—perhaps we might say with truth, the whole of its credibility—from its denial, or at least, its oversight, of this important characteristic. Reckless and superficial writers have chosen to confound the evangelists and prophets with those poets and fabulists of antiquity from whom they were separated by the widest distinctions. The superstitious imagination and the poetic fancy of the latter class, have been confounded with the profound wisdom and the literal fact of the former. Worse than this,—though this seems a difference which naught but willful blindness could overlook,—the moral purity and spiritual elevation of God's messengers have been placed on a level

with the idolatries and impurities of the most degrading superstitions. When a writer of this class has succeeded in ignoring all the characteristic and important facts of the biblical history, it is no wonder that he feels prepared to account for the production of the Bible by the ordinary agencies of superstition. Overlooking the authentic character of the biblical style, disregarding the caution, simplicity, and love of truth, which are so conspicuous in the inspired writers, it is easy for him to maintain that they were fond of seeing miracles, and expected to see them ; that miracles, when an anticipated Messiah appeared, were a thing of course. See with what easy confidence a writer of this class can approach the subject, and in all the assurance which self-esteem can entertain of the profoundness of its own insight, dispose, without investigation, of the grandest subject of human concern, and settle, by his mere dictum, a question which the noblest intellects have pondered and discussed with anxious concern. We quote from Harwood, one of the English followers and expounders of Strauss :

"Miracles in the life and work of the Messiah ! it was a thing of course. It was all settled long before any Messiah was born to them. Any Hebrew man could have sketched a life of the Christ, so far as making it miraculous went. It was all in type before ever Jesus of Nazareth came into the world. They knew he was to be a prophet—a child of promise. That meant that he would be born out of the course of nature,—pre-announced by messengers from the sky, or otherwise, miraculously before birth, like other prophets and other children of promise,—Isaac, and Samson, and Samuel. He was to be the Son of David; that meant that he would come out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was. . . . Like Moses, he would feed his people miraculously in a desert, and walk dry-shod through the sea, or on the sea. Like Elisha, he would cleanse the lepers and raise the dead : Like Elisha's master, he would ascend visibly to heaven. All these things, and many more like them, were settled points before ever Christ came."*

Now, every devout reader of the Scriptures must feel that this flippant assumption that the evangelical writers were a set of superstitious bigots, gaping after the miraculous, and finding it, of course, as a servant girl does ghosts, because she was looking for them, is at variance with all the most marked characteristics of the Divine word. The state of mind which

* Lectures on German Anti-Supernaturalism.

could offer such an explanation of the miracles of the Gospels, can be none other than the very profound of ignorance. Compare with it the simple and honest caution with which miracles were judged by the devout minds of that age. If ever there was a man in whom mere expectation and wonder could breed the easy faith of his own miraculous power, or in whose behalf such power would be likely to be claimed by admiring disciples, it was John the Baptist. Himself the object of a promise which had come down through the ages, and had incorporated itself into the life of his nation,—the child of celestial vision and divine announcement,—the very name he bore given him by an angel of God,—reared in obscurity, “in the deserts,” and nurtured upon these marvels from his youth,—of a fervid and enthusiastic disposition for such things to work upon,—impelled to declare himself to Israel as the forerunner of the Messiah,—received with solemn reverence and awe-inspiring hope, by the multitudes who crowded to his baptism,—if ever there was a man among the chosen messengers of heaven, in whom the preparation of great antecedents, and the expectation of mighty things to come, could beget the conviction of a divine authority, this were he. Yet with what a cautious exactness of fact does the Evangelist record of him the general report of the Jews who came to Jesus,—“John did no miracle, but all things that John spake of this man were true. And many believed on him there.”

Prof. Lewis's application of this method of reasoning is developed through a series of comments, upon the miraculous phenomena of the New Testament which possess very great beauty. The clearness with which he conceives the rationalistic theory, and the vividness of imagination with which he portrays it, give a charm to many of his passages. Nowhere is that theory presented with greater distinctness or with superior force, in the writings even of its advocates ; while its essential inadequacy to furnish satisfactory explanation of the facts of the Gospels becomes only the more obvious and hopeless with every new illustration of it. Take, for instance, the following argument upon the miraculous announcement of the Saviour's birth.

"There were Shepherds watching their flocks by night, and discoursing with each other about certain strange rumors that then filled the whole 'hill country of Judea.' They had heard the story of Zachariah. They knew the universal expectation in regard to the Son of David, and the universal feeling that his advent was near at hand. Their views of him may have been very erroneous, but their hearts were full of the expected glory. It is strange that they saw a light in the heavens? Call it fancy if you will, an excited imagination; we are only arguing here for the subjective truthfulness of the narrative. Is it strange that they heard voices in the air around and above them? Say if you will that their awed feelings, and their wondrously elated hopes, shaped those sounds into the glorious words that are recorded. Here is the great, the real wonder. It is the spiritual marvel that throws in the background the physical strangeness. We believe in the miracle, on the ground of the doctrine conveyed; we find it easy to give credence to an outward supernatural as attested by the sublimity of such a message. It is nothing so strange that shepherds should see lights in the heaven, that they should hear voices in the air; but such voices, such words, arranged in such a sentence that has not yet ceased, and never will cease, to vibrate on the heart of humanity—'Behold, I bring you tidings of great joy which shall be to all people,—Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace and good will toward men.' What was there in the common thought of those shepherds, in their culture, in their associations, that should have so shaped the vision, and brought out upon the airy undulations the sublimest collocation of words the world had ever heard, that message of Divine peace so far beyond what philosophy had ever conceived, or poetry had ever dreamed? It drives us to the outward supernatural as the easier explanation of the mystery. Why should there not have been a light from heaven, and a voice from heaven, when such a truth was uttered."

The appeal which this passage makes must be felt to be powerful by every thoughtful mind. Whether we regard this event as the exaggeration of a fact, as having some basis of reality more or less remarkable, or as a purely mythical and poetical conception, the same difficulty presents itself. Here was a company of shepherds watching their flocks—or it may be, only the idea of such a thing in the fancy of credulous and superstitious disciples—they heard a heavenly voice and received celestial communications—an announcement of the birth of a Prince and Saviour was made to them—they saw heaven opened, and caught a glimpse of its glories; nay, they heard its sublime worship, and caught the strain in which a multitude of the heavenly host were pouring forth their praises before the throne of God. And what was the song which in fancy they heard, or in this conception of men as ignorant as themselves, were supposed to hear? Was it an utterance of

some one of the narrow superstitions which such minds would be sure to deem appropriate to such an event? Was it some tribute to their national pride? Some sanction of their narrow and fanatical forms of thought? To such things as these their fancy, either then or later, might indeed have prompted; but anything like this it was not. On the contrary we have here a sentiment which angels might well utter, and God himself might stoop to hear; a hymn of praise and joy before which all after ages have stood in reverent wonder and awe, deeming that they too almost caught glimpses of celestial glory, and heard the very music of heaven, in the strain of unequaled loftiness and sweetness which sounds in those simple words; a strain not only above all fanaticism, but above all philosophy. And what is it that this sublime song, which not even the worship of Heaven could surpass, ushers into our world? Some trivial event exalted by the excited expectation of unreflecting minds into an unreal importance soon to pass away? Nay, it was, indeed, the very life of the world that then and there was born; that without which human history in every age since is a mere delusion, and which alone gives dignity this day to anything in human society, or the human soul. It will be long before the world can imagine that such fancies as these can give adequate account of the fact that it has now in its bosom so much of heaven.

It would afford us pleasure, did our limits allow, to present more ample illustration of the reasoning of Prof. Lewis, but these specimens must suffice. We must refer our readers to the work itself for the full presentation of his views. They will find it rich in suggestions which bear with great force upon the argument in behalf of the authentic and reliable character of the Christian Scriptures. His deep sense of the moral sublimity of the Bible, and of its immeasurable value to mankind, renders him keenly alive to the insufficiency of every attempt to account for its origin by the common agencies of delusion and error in our world. These convictions seem to be strengthened in him by his familiarity with those moral and metaphysical systems of antiquity, which, in even

their highest and noblest forms display so much of the weakness and impotence of the mind, when endeavoring by its own penetration to enter "into that within the veil." He has seized with great clearness and force that which is the only vindication of the miracles of the Bible. They do in very deed herald a communication from God to man; they authenticate the very voice of our eternal Creator and Judge. They present a moral system infinitely superior to any conception of man's highest wisdom. They import into our poor humanity the very life and power of God. The whole argument for the supernatural in the Gospels has its foundation here. If there is indeed in these writings of apostles and evangelists so much of God's own holiness and glory, so much more than man could have imagined of Divine compassion and love,—if their fundamental conception of the Gospel—God in the flesh, to suffer and sympathize with man, to restore him to blessedness by restoring him to holiness, to reconcile his pardon with the demands of a glorious and holy law,—is in sober truth at an infinite remove from man's loftiest conceptions of duty and blessedness without the Bible, and is known and felt to be so the more, with every accession to the world's intelligence and refinement,—if these things are real, then indeed there may well have been miracles. No sublime accompaniments which might authenticate such a communication could well be wanting. Our senses may indeed affirm the orderly progress of natural events on all the common occasions of life; but if heaven has indeed so stooped to earth as to impart something of its own dignity, and blessedness, and purity to man, then every argument against the credibility of miracles is at an end. Nay, miracles become the most credible of events in such a case; such as reason would expect to find, and such as philosophy must rejoice to accept. There can be no real contradiction of our knowledge, even though the senses should be confounded by a departure from all the commonly observed sequences of events. Nor need we be anxious when we are reminded of the fact that alleged miracles of similar kinds have attended the birth of all the world's systems of superstition. It is indeed so; but the analogy fails in its grandest

point,—in a point so great as to be decisive of the whole controversy. Other systems have been attended with pretended miracles, but *all* that those systems taught was a pretense also. They were false, gross, impure, superstitious; and we know, with the most assured certainty, that no voice of God could have revealed those delusions, no interposing hand of the Almighty could have given attestation of their truth. But the miracles of Christianity authenticate to man a system of profoundest wisdom, of sublimest truth, of duties and destinies which no revelation that we can imagine God to make, could by any possibility surpass. Here we reach up to the Infinite, and find even that awful glory brought into fellowship with ourselves. If we find that which these miracles attest, to be the very life of God in the soul of man, they shall not be incredible to the child which learns in them to see the hand, and hear the voice, of the Eternal Father.

There are, of course, some portions of Prof. Lewis's work by which we are less favorably impressed. Such, for example, is that in which he suggests that our Lord's walking upon the sea may have been a habitual thing,—the outward and harmonious expression of an inward state of spiritual exaltation. We love, on the contrary, to view the miracles of our Saviour as definite attestations to men of His Divine authority, and as never exerted save for purposes of the highest benevolence and wisdom. But these passages are unimportant, compared with the great body of his suggestions. The instructive character of this work will secure for the author the thanks of many, and will lead them to expect with high interest his subsequent discussions of the Bible.

ARTICLE VI.—THE MINISTER'S WOOING: FROM THE DR.
DRYASDUST POINT OF VIEW.

The Minister's Wooing. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. New York: Derby & Jackson.

WE have no occasion to make any portion of the public acquainted with this book. Already hundreds of thousands are more familiar with it than they are with *Paradise Lost* or with *Hamlet*. Already the names of the leading personages in the story are household words in each of the two great nations that speak our mother tongue.

In the Minister's Wooing Mrs. Stowe has attempted a more difficult task than in either of those former works which have made her famous. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and *Dred* are stories of to-day, dealing exclusively with the facts and problems of the passing age, and portraying only the features of American society as it now is. The scene of those two stories is, indeed, chiefly in regions known to the author less by personal observation than by the report of others; but, to a mind like hers, the distance of a thousand miles in space within the limits of our common country, is nothing in comparison with the distance of two-thirds of a century in time. Historical fiction, dealing with historic persons, and portraying manners and a state of society that have passed away, is a very different thing from the fiction, sentimental or satirical, which only holds up the mirror to the author's own contemporaries, and seeks to "catch the manners living as they rise." Both alike must have their chief interest in their representation of that human nature which is common to all ages. Both alike must charm by touching the springs of human sympathy in the reader's consciousness. Both alike must be true to nature. But the historic fiction, while true to nature and to human sentiments and sympathies, must also be true to history.

We do not propose to mark precisely the bounds of that
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poetic license which is allowed to the writers of fiction. Yet we may safely lay down two rules which every such writer should respect, and which no author can violate, deliberately or unintentionally, without incurring the imputation of ignorance, or of carelessness, or else of indolence or want of ingenuity in the construction of the story. Our rules are these,

1. The facts of history must not be contradicted.
2. The personages of history must not be misrepresented.

In both these rules it is assumed that the illustration of history is one aim of historic fiction, or at least one duty of the writer who incorporates into his fiction materials that belong to history. This is the difference between a properly historic novel or romance and one that deals with merely mythical stories and personages. What rules should restrain or guide the imagination of one who takes King Arthur and the knights of the Round Table for his theme, or who transfers himself and his readers to the reign of some fabulous British king before the days of Julius Caesar, we will not undertake to say, for such works rest on no historic basis; they borrow nothing from history and owe to history nothing in return. But when Walter Scott writes Ivanhoe, he becomes in some sort a historian as well as a writer of fiction, and he puts himself under certain obvious responsibilities in respect to historic truth and fairness. He undertakes to represent not the England of the Commonwealth, nor the England of the Reformation, nor the England of the Heptarchy, but the England of the Crusades, that romantic and half barbarous England in which the lion-hearted Richard reigned. When he writes Peveril of the Peak he undertakes to represent not England as it now is, nor the Englishmen that live in this nineteenth century, but England as it was in the years immediately following the restoration of the Stuarts, and Englishmen as they were when John Milton was an old blind traitor who owed his safety only to his obscurity.

The Minister's Wooing is a historical novel. It introduces three historical personages under their well known names, Samuel Hopkins, Ezra Stiles, and Aaron Burr. The scene, instead of being laid at some locality not found upon the map,

is laid at Newport, Rhode Island. The time or date of the story, as announced by the advertisements of the publishers, is "sixty years ago," or, as defined by internal indications, is when General Washington was at the head of the Federal Government, (from 1789 to 1797,) and more exactly when Aaron Burr was a Senator of the United States, (from 1791 to 1797.) We are compelled to assume that the events at Newport, great and small, which make up the story of the Minister's Wooing, are dated somewhere in the last ten years of the eighteenth century. The allusion in one passage (pp. 198, 199) to John Adams's being a minister at the Court of St. James, as a contemporaneous fact, is only one of the anachronisms in which the author, using her poetic license, has ventured to indulge.

Our readers will allow us to refresh their memory a little by recapitulating the essential points of the story, as connected with the facts of history. Dr. Hopkins, the coryphaeus among the New-divinity theologians of New England in his time, has been, for an indefinite number of years, the Pastor in one of the two Congregational churches of Newport. He is now a venerable bachelor, old enough to have written his "System of Divinity," which he is endeavoring to publish by subscription, and yet young enough to be not much more than forty. p. 182. His home has long been under the roof of a widow Scudder, whose daughter, Mary, has grown up under his eyes, and is the only additional inmate of the dwelling, except the "hired men" who cultivate the widow's farm. There is a tender attachment between Mary Scudder and a young man, James Marvyn, a model sailor, who has come to be the second officer of a vessel and goes upon a three years' voyage at the beginning of the story. Mrs. Scudder, observing the simple Doctor's half parental interest in her daughter, indulges an ambitious motherly hope that his growing affection for Mary may ultimately lead him to think of a nearer and tenderer relation to one so worthy of him,—which accordingly comes to pass in the progress of events. At the date of these occurrences, as the story runs, Newport was thriving by the African slave trade. Not only were the merchants of that place employing

their ships, at that late day, in carrying negroes on "the middle passage" from Guinea to the southern ports of the United States; but with a remarkable lack of mercantile shrewdness, they were bringing slaves from Africa to Newport, and there selling them to southern customers. pp. 153, 155. Just at this time the simple-minded pastor, having long meditated on the slave trade and on slavery, and having signalized himself by his endeavors to instruct and Christianize the blacks of the place, comes to the conclusion that the enslaving of those people and the trade that brings them from Africa, are wrong; and "finding in his former blindness and the comparative dumbness which he has heretofore maintained on this subject, much wherewithal to reproach himself," (p. 159,) he determines to relieve his conscience by speaking out. He makes his first experiment in a private conference with a wealthy member of his own church, a zealously Hopkinsian slave-trader, who accepts with high-flying zeal the most paradoxical deductions from the doctrine and duty of disinterested benevolence, but revolts instantaneously and violently from the proposal to give up his African trade for the sake of God's glory which consists in the highest happiness of the universe. On the same day, he makes a second experiment with better success; and at his suggestion Mr. Zebedee Marvyn, the father of James, emancipates his two African servants, Candace and her husband Cato. In the course of the same week there is a large wedding party at the house of one of the wealthiest and most aristocratic families in the place. There all the historic personages of the story meet, Hopkins, Stiles, and Burr; for Dr. Stiles is still the pastor of the Second Congregational church; and "Colonel Burr, of the United States Senate," happens to be in Newport, just at this time, busy in some political intrigue. At that gay and brilliant party it is whispered about that Dr. Hopkins has denounced the slave trade, and will preach against it on the next Sunday. Consequently his dilapidated old meeting house is filled for once with a polite and fashionable congregation, who are indignant at the strange doctrine. The story goes forward a year, and then there comes the news that the ship in which James Marvyn sailed from

Newport has been lost with all on board save the one who like one of Job's messengers was left to bring the tidings home. Again the story goes forward, and, after a few months, the broken-hearted Mary, through the mediation of her mother, has consented to become the wife of Dr. Hopkins. But just as preparations for the wedding are almost finished, James, who has been saved from the wreck of his ship by one of the many chances that are always at the service of a poet or a novelist, comes home alive and hearty, and not only so but rich. The old theologian, in the true spirit of disinterested benevolence, being informed of what in his unobservant simplicity he has never suspected, namely, that James is to Mary the object of a tenderer and more passionate affection than she could ever feel toward her revered and paternal pastor, makes, voluntarily and heroically, the sacrifice of his brightest hopes for this world, and gives Mary to her lover. Then we are informed that in time, the Doctor himself, though of course well stricken in years, "married a woman of a fair countenance, and that sons and daughters grew up around him." In time, too, his System of Divinity was published, and "proved a success not only in public acceptance and esteem, but even in a temporal view, bringing to him at last a modest competence." "To the last of a very long life," he was "ever saying and doing what he saw to be eternally right, without the slightest consultation with worldly expediency or earthly gain, nor did his words cease to work in New England till the evils he opposed were finally done away."

We have no intention of pronouncing or implying any judgment on the plot of the *Minister's Wooing*, considered merely as a story. Nor is it our purpose to inquire how far the personages of the story, considered as creations of the author's mind, are true to human nature, and to the peculiar development of human nature under the religious and social influences of Puritan New England. Indeed, we are too late for such an inquiry. On that point, the verdict of all who know anything about New England life as it was some forty years ago, is already declared. It is also our purpose to avoid entirely, at present, the question which has been raised, in some minds, about the theological relations and tendencies of

the work. That matter comes fairly within our jurisdiction, but if we should enter upon it now—undertaking to decide whether the doubts and opinions which purport to come from James Marvyn, or from his mother, or from Candace, or from Madame de Frontignac, and which deviate from the standards of Calvinism, are to be regarded as the opinions and teachings of Mrs. Stowe; and if so, whether she should not be held equally responsible for the sayings of Simeon Brown, the slave-merchant—we should find no space for anything else within the limits of the present Article. What we have in hand at present, is simply the relation of this book to the truth of history.

We begin, then, with the hero of the story, Samuel Hopkins. Undoubtedly, one leading object of the book is to present the honest and simple father of Hopkinsian Calvinism, truly and favorably, though in a picturesque and poetical way, to the million readers of this generation who have little knowledge of the man or of his doctrines, and to whom there is no charm in his “reasonings high, of fate, free-will, foreknowledge,” and the nature of virtue. Hopkins was made classical, many years ago, by the late Dr. Channing, who, in a discourse at Newport, gave his personal reminiscences of the venerable man. His autobiography, first edited and illustrated by Dr. West of Stockbridge, (1805,) was afterwards supplemented (1830) by the Rev. John Ferguson, now lately deceased in a venerable age, who was in his early youth a member of the church under the pastorate of Hopkins;—again, somewhat later, (1843,) by Dr. William Patten, who had been for seventeen years contemporary with him in the ministry at Newport;—and finally by Professor Park, in the exquisitely elaborate Memoir which he prefixed to the collected edition of Hopkins's works, issued by the Congregational Board of Publication. The pastors of the New England churches, and as many as are interested in the history of theological speculation, have it in their power to know, if they will, who Dr. Hopkins was, when he lived, and where, and what he was in all his individuality. But of all this the multitude of readers will know nothing save what Mrs. Stowe has been pleased to

tell them. To the multitude, the material facts in the life, history, and character of Dr. Hopkins, will be just those which are set down in the *Minister's Wooing*. It is a fair question, then, whether that which in this volume purports to be the history and portraiture of Hopkins, is consistent with historic facts?

By the multitude of readers it will be regarded as veritable history, or, at least, as not inconsistent with veritable history, that Hopkins lived a bachelor, with almost no thought of marriage, till he had passed the noon of life; and that then, as he was beginning to be an elderly man, he fell in love with his landlady's daughter, full twenty years younger than himself, and, having obtained her consent, was at last disappointed by the return of a younger, handsomer, and to a girl's fancy every way more interesting lover, who had been supposed to be dead. But the historic fact is that at the date of this story, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, the venerable theologian of Newport, "Old Sincerity," (for that was the *sobriquet* by which he was familiarly known among his townsmen,) had been married more than forty years. He had been the father of eight children and the grandfather of perhaps twenty. It is true that, while he was yet a young man, he was twice disappointed in affection. The first time, he appears to have been simply jilted; or, as Dr. Park tells us, "a matrimonial engagement which he had formed at Northampton, was broken off in a way honorable but afflictive to himself." The second time, not long after his settlement as pastor at Great Barrington, Mass., "he paid his addresses," says Dr. Patten, as quoted by Professor Park, "to a young woman interesting in her appearance and manners, and of a bright intellect, who was rather a belle in the place,"—that place being his own parish. "She favored his suit, and so far as appeared, there was a mutual attachment, and the time of their marriage was not far distant. But a former lover, who had been absent some time, returned, with the design of renewing his attentions, and, by indirect or explicit manifestations of it, excited in her the expectation of an offer to be his wife. These intimations engaged her affection; and when

he made known to her his disappointment and his desire, she frankly disclosed the truth to Mr. Hopkins, and assured him that ‘however much she respected and esteemed him, she could not fulfill her engagement to him from the heart.’ This, he said, was a trial, a very great trial, but as she had not designed to deceive him in the encouragement she had given him, he could part with her in friendship.” In this incident of the good man’s *youthful* days (for after both his disappointments, he was happily married to Joanna Ingersoll, one of his own parishioners, when he had not yet passed three months beyond his twenty-sixth birth-day) we have the whole ground-plan, as it were, of the Minister’s Wooing. But Mrs. Stowe has seen fit to transfer this incident, not only from a rude frontier settlement among the mountains of Berkshire to the more fashionable society of what had lately been the second city in New England—but from the youth of Hopkins to a time when the shadow on the dial had already begun to tell him that the evening was at hand. In order to this she has been under the necessity of imputing to him the eccentricity (happily rare among New England pastors) of living almost to old age without the dignity of having a home and household of his own, and without any of those domestic ties which are so strong a bond of sympathy between a pastor and the families of his flock. And not only so, but she has been constrained to put him in a position which seems to us quite inconsistent with the gravity and dignity of his character as he stands in history. It is an awkward thing, no doubt, for a young man to be disappointed in an engagement of marriage, and particularly so when the young woman who had won his affection, and who thought she loved him, has made the discovery that her heart is given irrevocably to another; but the awkwardness is much greater when a grave and studious divine, on the shady side of forty, having never before had any but the remotest thought of matrimony, falls in love with a pretty girl of half his years, and having obtained her consent to become the minister’s wife, loses her at the last moment because an earlier but younger lover, and a much more suitable match for her, steps in and carries off the prize. No

matter how beautifully the old gentleman may behave under his disappointment—no matter how exemplary may be his disinterestedness and his submission to the Divine Providence—the situation is anything but dignified. At least there will be smiles, and suppressed if not audible laughter, and some people will say to themselves, and perhaps to each other, “The old fool!” “Served him right!” “He might have known better than to think of making love to that young girl!” A young skater—“in years and knowledge young”—may naturally, at his first attempt, find his feet gliding from under him, and himself brought suddenly to a sitting position on the ice, without much loss of dignity, but when Mr. Pickwick, with his gravity and his rotund corporosity, makes the same first experiment with the same result, who can refrain from laughter?

A graver injustice to Dr. Hopkins as a historical personage, is the representation that for a long time, while he was a pastor in Newport, he was silent in regard to the wickedness of the slave trade and of enslaving Africans. He is made to confess this in the story, p. 144. “I have for a long time holden my peace,—may the Lord forgive me!—but I believe the time is coming when I must utter my voice. I cannot go down to the wharves or among the shipping, without these poor dumb creatures look at me so that I am ashamed,—as if they asked me, what I, a Christian minister, was doing, that I did not come to their help. I must testify.” The historic fact is, the good man had testified long before that time. He did not wait till Thomas Clarkson’s pamphlet against the slave trade had begun to be read by his parishioners,—as in this story (p. 173,) he is reported to have done,—before beginning to testify from the pulpit and from the press. In the very first year after his installation at Newport, (April 11, 1770,) about a quarter of a century earlier than the date given in the story, he assailed the slave trade from his pulpit. Only six years later—and it must be remembered that in those days, before the age of steam, discussion and agitation did not move as fast as they move now—he addressed the public at large, and the owners of slaves in particular, against the slavery of

the Africans, in a closely and earnestly argumentative pamphlet, which was reprinted ten years afterward (1786) by the New York Manumission Society, John Jay, at that time Secretary of State for foreign affairs, being President of the society, and such men as James Duane, Robert R. Livingston, and Alexander Hamilton being active members. His argumentation with Dr. Bellamy, resulting in the instant emancipation of Bellamy's negro man,—a historic incident which Mrs. Stowe has used legitimately and most effectively in what is perhaps the most admirable passage of her book,—was probably while the massive materials of that pamphlet had not yet been thoroughly forged and hammered into their final shape. Strange would it have been, and entirely inconsistent with the character of the man, if he had gone through those political and ethical discussions which, after agitating the whole country, summed up the conclusion in the Declaration of Independence, and had not committed himself in the most outspoken manner against African slavery. Strange, indeed, would it have been if in those days such a mind as his had not seen and testified, long before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the wrongfulness of holding in abject bondage men who have never forfeited their liberty.

The position of Dr. Stiles in the story, is, of course, much less conspicuous than that of Dr. Hopkins. Indeed Stiles is introduced only incidentally, and for the sake of setting him in contrast with his neighbor. All, whose impressions of what he was are derived from this book, must regard him as the type and forerunner—for so he is represented by the author with her inimitable skill of word painting—of our modern orthodox divines, who in the name of Christ and of the Gospel, think to vindicate slavery by maintaining that it is a fulfilling of the prophecies and “a dispensation for giving the light of the Gospel to the Africans.” Such a representation does great injustice to the memory of that venerable man. He was not only an enthusiastic scholar and a Christian patriot, but a zealous philanthropist. From a date prior to the settlement of Hopkins at Newport, his declared opinion was in opposition to the slave trade. Hopkins and Stiles were

both slaveholders in their earlier years. The former, while he was pastor at Great Barrington, owned a slave and sold him again, without perceiving that there was anything wrong in the transaction ; though afterwards he repented, and out of his poverty gave to his favorite project of a mission to Africa, the hundred dollars which he had obtained, in the days of his ignorance, by the sale of a human being. Stiles, on the other hand, never sold his slave. The story of how he bought his black servant, and of what the consequences were, still lives in tradition, though we do not remember to have seen it in print. He was settled at Newport in 1755, and was married about two years afterwards. Not long after the commencement of his housekeeping, as the story goes, one of his parishioners, who was fitting out a vessel for the Guinea trade, kindly proposed to him that he should send a "venture" in that vessel and purchase a boy at no other expense than the prime cost in Africa. The simple-hearted pastor accepted the offer with due thankfulness, and a small keg of New England rum was put on board as his "venture" in the voyage. In due time the ship returned, and in the cargo was a little black-amoor, who was taken into the minister's household in the capacity of a servant of all work, and who, his original and heathen name having been lost, received the name of "Newport," or, as he was sometimes called for shortness, "Newp." He was a naturally intelligent and tractable boy, and soon became affectionately attached to his new home, to his master, and to the family. After he had learned to express his thoughts in English, it happened one day that his kind master, passing through the kitchen, found him sitting there alone, and in tears. "What is the matter, Newport? What are you crying for?" The poor boy's answer was that he was thinking of his mother and father from whom he had been stolen. Like a shaft of lightning, that answer went through the soul of Ezra Stiles. What had he done! Thenceforward he needed no argument to convince him that the slave trade is wrong. From that moment he felt that he owed to the poor boy Newport a debt that never could be paid. Yet Newport was not at that time formally emancipated. He continued in the family for

years afterwards, a slave in law but free in fact, and the writer of this Article has heard him tell, in his old age, with honest pride, how Madam Stiles, when she was dying, committed the Doctor and the children to his faithful care. It was not till the ninth of June, 1778, after twenty-one years of service, that Newport was formally emancipated, at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire. Dr. Stiles and his family having been driven from their home in consequence of the occupation of the town of Newport by the British, had found a temporary residence in Portsmouth; and it was from that place that he was called to the presidency of Yale College. In settling his affairs for his removal to New Haven, he executed a legal emancipation of the honest African who had been to him so long "the best of servants," and who, having experienced the grace of the Gospel, had become to him "no more a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved." Newport had never asked for his freedom. His master acted only from a deep "conviction of the injustice and barbarity" of the slave trade; and the deed of manumission was, therefore, his protest against negro slavery. But the tie between Newport Freeman and the family of which he had been so long a member, was too strong to be sundered by that change in his legal condition. After a while he followed the family from Portsmouth to New Haven, and entered as a freeman into the service of his old master. The death of President Stiles, in 1795, and the consequent dissolution of the family, did not sunder the tie between him and the survivors. For more than thirty years after the family had ceased to be represented in New Haven, old Newport continued to be the object of affectionate care on the part of the children and grandchildren of Dr. Stiles. Some of them were accustomed to make him a yearly visit for the sake of attending personally to his wants and paying some little installment on the old debt that never could be fully paid. It is recorded of Dr. Stiles that not long before his death he was walking one Sabbath day, from the college chapel to his house, after celebrating the Lord's Supper, and happening to observe just before him his humble friend who was returning from the same service, he said, in his own pecu-

har way, "There is Newport—if he dies as he lives, I would rather be Newport than Anrengzebe."

When Hopkins, after having served a quarter of a century at Great Barrington, and having become the most conspicuous doctor of the new Calvinism which was already beginning to be called by his name, was installed in the First Congregational Church at Newport, Stiles, who was six years younger than he, and five years after him in college graduation, had been fifteen years pastor of the Second Church. As the two churches, though accepting the same form of government and holding the same general system of Christian doctrines, seem to have been unlike in their special relations to the religious movements and agitations of that age, so the two pastors were of different schools in theology, though both were essentially orthodox, or, as the modern word is, evangelical. They were very different in their literary tastes and their intellectual habits; very different in respect to polish of manners and familiarity with cultivated society; very different in respect to versatility of thought and breadth of view, and in respect to catholicity of religious sympathy; but it would not be easy to determine which of them was more completely without guile. Unlike as they were, they soon became friends. Stiles was, at first, and indeed, always, jealous of his new neighbor's ultra-Calvinism; but he soon learned to honor the greatness and transparent honesty and goodness of the man; and to the reader of his diary it is evident that while he never ceased to repudiate the extreme conclusions of Hopkins's inflexible logic, his own theological views, and his religious affections too, were gradually, though perhaps unconsciously, modified and improved by his familiar intercourse with the leader of the "New Divinity." The two pastors frequently exchanged pulpits, and Stiles was an almost constant attendant at the weekly lecture preached by Dr. Hopkins. It is said, no doubt truly, that Hopkins won the confidence of the negroes in Newport by his assiduous attention to them in his ministry. But it would be unjust to infer, as the reader of the Minister's Wooing might infer, that Stiles was wanting in this respect. In this, as in other

good works, he was Hopkins's co-laborer. His Literary Diary*—that invaluable repository of all sorts of things—was commenced only fifteen months before the installation of Hopkins. In the record of those fifteen months we find such entries as these. February 19, 1770. "In the evening I preached to a meeting of negroes. Jno. xvii, 3." That was a Monday evening, and the text was, "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Again, March 4, "I preached, A. M., Matt. xviii, 49, 50. [The words are, "And he stretched forth his hands toward his disciples and said, Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother and sister, and mother." How beautiful a preparation for the transaction next recorded.] "Baptized and admitted three negroes communicants: and administered the Lord's Supper to fifty-four communicants, having admitted ten since last sacrament. P. M. Isai. xxx, 11, and baptized two children, negroes." Let this suffice to show that in the matter of attention to the negroes, and sympathy with them, Hopkins was as likely to learn of Stiles, as Stiles was to learn of Hopkins. Be that as it may, there was a strong bond of union between them. It was not much to either of them that they were both natives of New Haven county, both graduates of Yale College, both Congregationalists in a colony and in a town where Congregationalism was greatly in the minority. Nor was it much that a near kinsman of one had been the colleague tutor, and the intimate friend of the other.† It was not much that both were studious men; for in their studies they had little sympathy. The one with his Hebrew and his Syriac, with his Rabbinical commentaries and his Arabic, with his researches among the Fathers and his zeal for scientific observation and discovery,—and the other, with his narrow

* The Diary, with other Stiles MSS., is preserved in the Library of Yale College.

† Samuel Hopkins, D. D., of Hadley, was the cousin of the great theologian, and letters still extant show the early friendship between him and Dr. Stiles.

range of reading, his passion for argument and controversy, his hard metaphysics, his sharp distinctions, his paradoxical conclusions,—were, intellectually, wide as the poles asunder. Their dogmatic differences on the questions between the old Divinity and the New, would have made them antagonists, had they not been men of kindred zeal for Christ, for truth, for progress, for their country, and for freedom.

Just three years after the installation of Hopkins, he communicated to Dr. Stiles his scheme for a mission to Africa. Among the negro communicants in his church, there were two whom he proposed to educate for that service, and then to send forth, if means could be provided. At first Stiles seems to have been a little suspicious of what might be a plan to propagate the New Divinity among the heathen;—though he was far enough from the opinion of his friend and correspondent, Dr. Chauncey of Boston, who thought “that the negroes had better continue in paganism than embrace Mr. Hopkins’s scheme.” But soon afterward we find the mercurial enthusiasm of Stiles, and the graver earnestness of Hopkins, united in zeal for the African mission, “like mingling flames in sacrifice.” In August, 1773, a circular subscribed by both of them was sent abroad, soliciting for their enterprise the charity and prayers of “all who are desirous to promote the kingdom of God on earth in the salvation of sinners.” That circular contained, among other arguments, a suggestion which shows, plainly enough, that “the iniquity of the slave trade,” and the “inhumanity and cruelty of enslaving our fellow men,” were already acknowledged and deeply felt not only by the authors of the circular but by those to whom they made their appeal.

“And it is humbly proposed to those who are convinced of the iniquity of the *slave trade*, and are sensible of the great inhumanity and cruelty of enslaving so many thousands of our fellow men every year, with all the dreadful and horrid attendants, and are ready to bear testimony against it in all proper ways, and do their utmost to put a stop to it, whether they have not a good opportunity of doing this by cheerfully contributing according to their ability, to promote the mission proposed, and whether this is not the best compensation we are able to make the poor Africans, for the injuries they are constantly receiving by this unrighteous practice and all its attendants.”—*Park's Memoir of Hopkins*, p. 182.

This appeal was sent forth three years prior to the Declaration of Independence. Yet the Minister's Wooing leads careless readers to believe that, twenty years after this—after the war of independence—after the establishment of the Federal Constitution—when Washington was President and Aaron Burr a Senator of the United States—Ezra Stiles had no sympathy with the honest and outspoken zeal of Samuel Hopkins, but, like some modern theologians, regarded slavery as a Divine arrangement for giving the Gospel to the Africana. At the date which the author compels us to give to her story, Dr. Stiles had ceased for twenty years to be a resident of Newport; and having been the President of the Connecticut Society for the abolition of slavery, was dead or dying at a venerable age.

If we judge correctly, the reason of the great anachronism in the story, is found in the introduction of Aaron Burr, as one of the *dramatis personæ*. "Colonel Burr, of the United States Senate"—that brilliant and fascinating man in his full blown popularity—could not, by any violence of imagination, be carried back to the days before the revolution; but Hopkins and Stiles, being less known to the million readers of light literature, might be more easily dislocated from their historical position. We do not propose to inquire whether the introduction of that particular personage is advantageous or otherwise to the story; nor whether the portraiture of Burr in this story, if it be considered as a creation of the author's genius, is true to human nature. The only question for us is whether her representation of that personage is in accordance with the truth of history. Nay, we will not enter on any critical examination even of this question. Let it suffice for us to say that in our opinion the comparatively favorable coloring in which the author has given her portraiture of that ineffably bad man, is by far, in respect to moral and religious influence, the most exceptionable thing in the whole book. She has evidently been studying Parton's Life of Burr; and not understanding that author's *naïve* unconsciousness of the distinction between good and evil, she has likewise failed to understand the hero of his melodrama. Indeed, there is the

best apology for her not understanding her material in a case like this. We doubt whether it is possible for a pure and true woman to form the conception of a wickedness so base as that of Aaron Burr.

But the violation of historic truth in the anachronism which was committed for the sake of making Burr a conspicuous figure, is not merely that Hopkins and Stiles are removed from their proper place in history. The basis of the whole story—that on which the chief interest, aside from the love adventures, rests—is the representation that at the date of the events narrated, after the establishment of the Federal Constitution, when Aaron Burr was in the Senate of the United States, no definite opposition to slavery had begun to manifest itself in the pulpits or among the religious people of New England. Ill informed and unthinking readers of the *Minister's Wooing* will of course believe that, as lately as the year 1795, there existed in New England a general indifference and insensibility to the cruelties of the slave trade, and that for a Congregational pastor to preach upon that theme was an unheard of act of moral courage—somewhat as if some pastor in Richmond, the Rev. Doctor Reed for example, should now preach against the Virginia slave trade. Such a representation is unjust to the pastors, to the churches and to the people of those states as they then were. We impute no intentional injustice to the author. We only regret that, in forming the plan of her historical fiction, she did not more adequately consider the facts of the history which she had to deal with. What are the facts?

Prior to the revolution, the slave trade between Africa and these colonies was a great interest of British commerce. The right of prohibiting the importation of slaves, or of putting any restraint upon it, was jealously denied to the colonial legislatures so far as they were under the control of the imperial government in the mother country. From about the beginning of the eighteenth century, the inhumanity of the slave trade and the injustice of slavery had been discussed from time to time, in Pennsylvania among the Quakers, and in Massachusetts by divines like Cotton Mather, and judges,

like Samuel Sewall.* In the very first year of that century, the town of Boston had instructed its representatives to propose in the colonial legislature a prospective abolition of negro slavery. But at that early period, there were no such means as in more recent times, for acting on the public mind, or for organizing and concentrating public opinion. In the then existing condition of society, the progress of thought was necessarily slow. The ancient doctrine, that captives taken in lawful war are of course slaves, the lawful property of the captor—a doctrine as old and as universal as the adjustment of international controversies by war—had been modified in the international law of Christendom by the idea that Christians ought not to enslave each other, but the law of war between Christian and heathen nations remained unchanged. As in wars among the Indians, so in wars between Indians and the English colonists, at that day, those who, by the fortune of war, fell into the hands of the enemy were not prisoners merely, but captives, and therefore slaves; for, as enemies in arms, they were supposed to have forfeited their right to life, and the slavery to which they were reduced was only a commutation of punishment, as a murderer is sometimes sent to the penitentiary for life instead of being hanged. Slaves imported from Africa were held as slaves not because they were black, but because they were presumed to have been lawfully reduced to slavery under the laws of war. But by degrees the subject came to be better understood among thoughtful and conscientious men. Especially in the discussions which preceded the separation of these colonies from Great Britain, doctrines wholly inconsistent with the practice of enslaving innocent human beings, began to be firmly established in an intelligent popular conviction. The idea that the right to life and the right to liberty are equally inalienable and equally sacred—rights of which no human being can be justly deprived except in punishment of his own crime against the

* Mather's *Essays to do good*, is one of the books from which the New York American Tract Society has expurgated the sentiment of opposition to slavery. Sewall's pamphlet was entitled "The Selling of Joseph."

state that inflicts the punishment—took a deep hold on thinking and serious minds. Years before the Declaration of Independence, the injustice of slavery and the inhumanity of the slave trade had been proclaimed in sermons from the pulpit and published in pamphlets from the press. Perhaps the majority of the New England pastors, like Hopkins and Stiles, were or had been owners of slaves, but in the progress of the discussion concerning human rights—a discussion that was felt to be ethical and religious as well as political—they did not shrink from making the obvious application of their principles to the question of negro slavery. We have seen no evidence that at any time there was anything like a controversy among the pastors or in the churches, on that question. Hopkins, indeed, says, in a letter to Granville Sharp, that when he first preached on the subject, “he was, so far as he then knew, almost alone in his opposition to the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans.” But he was always prone to think himself almost alone, like the prophet in the desert who said, “I only am left;” and yet he is constrained to acknowledge that he “had better success than he expected,” and that “most of his hearers were convinced that it was a very wrong and wicked practice.” He says that the course which he took made him enemies in the town, but he says nothing of any opposition in his own parish, and Prof. Park makes out only that “one wealthy family left his congregation in disgust” at his preaching on that subject. What pastor was there in New England five and twenty years ago, who did not lose more than that by preaching for the Temperance Reformation?

Dr. Hopkins’s first publication against slavery, the “Dialogue” printed at Norwich, early in 1776, had been preceded by the publication of a sermon which his intimate friend Dr. Hart of Preston, (now Griswold,) in Connecticut, had preached “to the corporation of freemen in Farmington,” his native town, at their autumnal town meeting in 1774. But Hart’s doctrine could not be considered altogether new or unpopular among patriotic Americans, for at the time when he preached it and published it, the Continental Congress in Philadelphia was taking the first step towards in-

dependence by framing the Articles which were to be the basis of an "American Association" pledged to a commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain; and in one of those articles the slave trade was denounced, and an entire abstinence from it and from all trade with those who were concerned in it was provided for. To this Hopkins refers, when he says to the same Congress, eighteen months afterwards, in the dedication of his Dialogue on slavery, " You have had the honor and the happiness of leading these colonies to resolve to stop the slave trade." The sentiment of Rhode Island at that time is manifest in the fact, mentioned in the same pamphlet, that the legislature of that colony had already prohibited the importation of slaves. What the popular feeling was in all the colonies from New Hampshire to North Carolina, is evident from those memorable words which Jefferson incorporated in the original draught of the Declaration of Independence, and which, as Jefferson himself testifies, were struck out by the Congress "in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves."* At the date of the Declaration of Independence, or within ten years afterwards, the importation of slaves was strictly prohibited in all the states save Georgia and the Caro-

* In these days of wide apostasy from the principles held and professed by the great men of our revolution, those words, written by Jefferson and reported to the Congress by Franklin, Sherman, John Adams, and Robert R. Livingston, cannot be too often repeated.

"He [the King of Great Britain] has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into captivity in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people on whom he has obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes against the liberties of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

linas, and even in North Carolina it was discouraged by a heavy duty laid expressly for that purpose. Yet, notwithstanding these historic facts, which have great ethical as well as political importance, the Minister's Wooing is teaching tens of thousands to believe that so lately as the year 1795, cargoes of slaves, direct from Africa, were imported into Rhode Island.*

But the greatness of the anachronism and the injustice which it does to the state of Rhode Island and to New England, are not fairly represented till we remember that long before the date of the story, not only had the importation of slaves been prohibited, but the abolition of slavery itself had been ordained by legislative power, or incorporated into the fundamental law, in all the New England States, Rhode Island not excepted. Nay, in Rhode Island, especially, the popular sentiment of opposition to slavery was, from the earliest agitation of the subject, clear and strong. Laws providing for the abolition of slavery were enacted by Connecticut and Rhode Island almost simultaneously, in 1784. But from the first national census, taken in 1790, it appears that while the black and colored persons in Rhode Island were at that time more than 6 *per cent.* of the entire population, and the same class in Connecticut were less than 3 *per cent.*, more than three-fourths of the former were already free, while of the latter almost one half were still counted as slaves. The strength of Quaker influence in Rhode Island, together with the original

* After the peace of 1783, and especially after the establishment of the Federal Constitution, the importation of slaves into South Carolina and Georgia became a great and lucrative business, and so continued until the year 1808, when the power of Congress over that importation became complete. During all that period, the slave trade was carried on by Northern men and in vessels that sailed from Northern ports. Newburyport in Massachusetts, and Bristol and Newport in Rhode Island, shared in the infamy, but Newport most of all. All that while the slave trade and slavery were under the ban of public opinion, but the states which had abolished slavery could not, by any state legislation, effectually restrain their own citizens from participation in the carrying trade between the coast of Guinea and the ports of South Carolina and Georgia. Even when the power of Congress over the slave trade had come to maturity and had been exercised in stringent prohibition, some of the same men, it is believed, continued to pursue the nefarious business, as merchants in New York now do in evasion of laws which cannot be openly defied.

genius of the colony, (inspired, from the first, more than any other New England community, with a passion for abstract and absolute liberty,) had coöperated with the early efforts of Hopkins to bring about this result.

We impute to the gifted author of the work before us no intentional injustice. Nor will we venture to say that the liberties she has taken both with the facts and with the personages of history may not be vindicated by the example of other illustrious writers in the department of historic fiction. But we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that the charmed readers of the *Minister's Wooing*, unless they happen to be fresh in their recollection of our civil and religious history, are so sure to receive erroneous impressions not only in regard to the personal character of such men as Hopkins and Stiles, but also in regard to a more important matter. The reader who assumes that Mrs. Stowe has not changed the facts of history into fable, but has only taken them as the firm material which she was to illustrate and adorn from the resources of her creative mind,—will of course believe that the same atrocious heresies about slavery, which are now current in every part of the country, and which utter themselves so insolently in high places of influence, were equally current and equally insolent seventy years ago. Such a belief is not only false but unjust and mischievous. Such a belief, whosoever may entertain it, and from whatsoe'er source it may be derived, strengthens the hands of those who, with base and wicked purposes, are continually representing that—not the modern patronage of slavery in the dishonored names of democracy and the Union, and in the profaned name of “evangelical Christianity”—but the modern opposition to slavery on political, moral, and religious principles—is a novelty. Had the author of this book attempted only to illustrate history, incorporating facts and dates into her fiction without change—as a naturalist from a few bones reconstructs the entire skeleton of an extinct animal—or as an artist from a half buried ruin and a half intelligible description, produces a “restoration” of some temple or palace that perished long ago—she might have imposed upon herself a far more arduous task, but the work, accomplished, would have been a far higher achievement.

ARTICLE VII.—SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON'S LECTURES ON METAPHYSICS.

Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic. By Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart. Edited by the Rev. HENRY L. MANSEL, B. D., Oxford, and JOHN VETCH, M. A., Edinburgh. In two Volumes. Vol. I, Metaphysics. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. pp. 718.

THE Metaphysics of Hamilton is the crowning glory of Scotch philosophy. It fills up much that was wanting, and corrects much that was wrong ; adorning it, moreover, with the refinements of scholarship. Nor do we regard this latter circumstance of small moment. Intimate acquaintance with the great masters of the world of thought, in case it does not overpower, polishes the mind, and imparts a certain grace of manner to all that it does. The precise influence of a university education upon the tone of thinking cannot be completely expressed, because language has not words to describe all the minute and insensible effects which come from the daily contact of many minds engaged in liberal studies ; yet it exists, and its presence is everywhere felt. So it is in that larger university of scholars where the great original thinkers and polishers of thought meet together. There is an inexpressible charm in the writings of such men. Hamilton was one of them ; and he was both scholar and teacher. He had mastered Aristotle and Plato without being mastered ; he had stood beside the great schoolmen as their peers ; he was at home with Descartes and Leibnitz, with Kant and Schelling and Hegel, with the whole family of the great continental thinkers, and that as one of the household. It is this kind of scholarship which gives the peculiar charm and polish to the writings before us. They abound in the best thoughts of the great masters of thought through the successive ages of men—translated, indeed, but in the footnotes often appearing in the

original choice expressions. Such thoughts have a double value; they are like notes which, though above suspicion in themselves, are endorsed by the best of names. We exclude, however, from these remarks the long passages translated from modern French and German philosophers. These were introduced on other grounds. They embrace the easier parts of particular subjects, the principles of which had been thought out and stated by Hamilton himself. It seems as if he grew weary of the drudgery of going through with the details, and as a relief took them from others, though it should be said that these extracts are characterized by great accuracy of thought, and precision of style.

Hamilton's own style is preëminently good. It expresses the most subtle distinctions and the most evanescent shades of thought with a clearness that makes one think better of the English language, and less regret the loss to philosophy of the wonderful capacities of the Greek. On the whole, we think it the best style in which Scotch philosophy has yet appeared. We acknowledge the inimitable and indescribable charm of Hume, but still his style was rather popular than philosophical, and certainly lacked precision. We acknowledge, too, the perspicuity of Reid, but then we remember those short, contracted sentences and curt clauses, which check the career of the mind, and make it halt and stumble. Besides, Dr. Reid always had an eye in writing on David Hume. It is amusing to notice at what remote distances he lays his train—how continually he shapes the expression of his propositions so as to meet some position of that philosopher. The young student finds it difficult at the first perusal to understand much that he reads, and when he does is somewhat indignant at what he considers the trick that has been played upon him. Dr. Reid was a controversialist, and this circumstance has affected, if not the structure of the sentence, the manner of statement, and style of thought, so that, while individual sentences are clear, the impression of the whole is somewhat obscure, although, we need not add that in this great controversy with the philosophical sceptic of the times, he showed a most original mind, and brought out to consciousness and enforced

many fundamental truths. Dugald Stewart was flattered in his day with the praise of having expressed the crabbed truths of philosophy in classical English. That doubtless was what he aimed at. His English came from the school of Dr. Blair, and does indeed possess all its merit. Mr. Stewart uses no vulgar words ; he will go far out of his way to avoid repeating the same thought in the same words ; and has a horror of calling things by their right names. The result is, that without being tautological, without being even overloaded with epithets, his style is cumbersome from the excess of circumlocution, and readers grow impatient of sonorous sentences which for the words employed are so empty of thought. We place Hamilton, then, with respect to philosophical language, above Stewart, or Reid, or even Hume, of course above all other Scotch philosophers, although we see in him what we would call the Scotch predilection for long words of Latin origin, and used in a Latin sense. We go further, and, taking into view the additional circumstance that its pages are adorned with the finely expressed thoughts of so many great thinkers, pronounce this work, notwithstanding its title of *Metaphysics*, one of the most interesting books of the day, even for reading, to say nothing of its value as a study.

We said above, that Hamilton had added the refinements of scholarship to Scotch philosophy. It may be thought we have not done justice in this to his predecessors. Hume was a great reader. He studied, as we learn from his biographer, the Latin and Greek classics to a considerable extent ; he was acquainted with the philosophical writings of his own and the preceding age ; yet he was not deeply versed in the philosophical works of ancient or mediæval times. Nor can it be said that Reid's *Analysis of Aristotle's Logic*, which presents the most show of learning of anything in his works, gives him a title to the name of scholar in the sense we are now using the term, if, indeed, it does not make the contrary impression. Reid had that which is far better than all scholarship—a genuine philosophical genius, but he did not have scholarship and genius both—and this is what belongs to Hamilton. It is not necessary to speak of Stewart in this

connection, for, though his acquaintance with philosophical writings was more extensive than that of Dr. Reid, still his learning was comparatively limited. The pretensions of Thomas Brown have been sufficiently exposed by Hamilton himself.

We can give no analysis of these lectures. We can only touch upon a few topics, selecting such as may be most characteristic. And the first two lectures, which are upon the utility of philosophy, present one of the most interesting points in Hamilton's views of the mind, and one which he has dwelt upon in various writings; we mean the worth of intellectual activity—of mental energy—considered in itself.

The utility of any branch of knowledge is either absolute or relative, according as the science is viewed in its direct effects upon the mind, or in its relation to other studies. The absolute utility of a study—and it is only the absolute utility of philosophy that is treated of—is either subjective or objective. It is subjective, when the study disciplines the mind, the knowing subject; it is objective, when it furnishes the mind with truths, objects of knowledge. We have thus before us intellectual culture, or discipline of the faculties, and knowledge, or the possession of truths. At this point we introduce our author speaking in his own name. He maintains that "considered as ends and relation to each other, the knowledge of truths is subordinate to the cultivation of the knowing mind."

"The question—Is Truth, or is the Mental Exercise in the pursuit of truth, the superior end?—this is perhaps the most curious theoretical, and certainly the most important practical, problem in the whole compass of philosophy. For, according to the solution at which we arrive, must we accord the higher or the lower rank to certain great departments of study; and, what is of more importance, the character of its solution, as it determines the aim, regulates from first to last the method, which an enlightened science of education must adopt.

"But, however curious and important, this question has never, in so far as I am aware, been regularly discussed. Nay, what is still more remarkable, the erroneous alternative has been very generally assumed as true. The consequence of this has been, that sciences of far inferior, have been elevated above sciences of far superior, utility; while education has been systematically distorted,—though truth and nature have occasionally burst the shackles which a perverse theory had imposed. The reason of this is sufficiently obvious. At first sight, it seems even absurd to doubt that truth is more valuable than its pursuit; for is this not to say that the end is less important than the mean?—and on this superficial view is the

prevalent misapprehension founded. A slight consideration will, however, expose the fallacy.

"Knowledge is either practical or speculative. In practical knowledge it is evident that truth is not the ultimate end ; for, in that case, knowledge is, *ex hypothesi*, for the sake of application. The knowledge of a moral, of a political, of a religious truth, is of value only as it affords the preliminary or condition of its exercise.

"In speculative knowledge, on the other hand, there may indeed, at first sight, seem greater difficulty ; but further reflection will prove that speculative truth is only pursued, and is only held of value, for the sake of intellectual activity : 'Sordet cognita veritas' is a shrewd aphorism of Seneca. A truth, once known, falls into comparative insignificance. It is now prized, less on its own account than as opening up new ways to new activity, new suspense, new hopes, new discoveries, new self-gratulation. Every votary of science is willfully ignorant of a thousand established facts,—of a thousand which he might make his own more easily than he could attempt the discovery of even one. But it is not knowledge—it is not truth—that he principally seeks ; he seeks the exercise of his faculties and feelings : and, as in following after the one he exerts a greater amount of pleasurable energy than in taking formal possession of the thousand, he despairs the certainty of the many, and prefers the chances of the one. Accordingly, the sciences always studied with keenest interest are those in a state of progress and uncertainty ; absolute certainty and absolute completion would be the paralysis of any study ; and the last worst calamity that could befall man, as he is at present constituted, would be that full and final possession of speculative truth, which he now vainly anticipates as the consummation of his intellectual happiness.

'Quæsivit celo lucem ingemuitque reperta.'

"But what is true of science is true, indeed, of all human activity. 'In life,' as the great Pascal observes, 'we always believe that we are seeking repose, while, in reality, all that we ever seek is agitation.' When Pyrrhus proposed to subdue a part of the world, and then to enjoy rest among his friends, he believed that what he sought was possession, not pursuit ; and Alexander assuredly did not foresee that the conquest of one world would only leave him to weep for another world to conquer. It is ever the contest that pleases us, and not the victory. Thus it is in play ; thus it is in hunting ; thus it is in the search of truth ; thus it is in life. The past does not interest, the present does not satisfy ; the future alone is the object which engages us.

'(Nullo votorum fine beati)
Victuros agimus semper, nec vivimus unquam.'

'Man never is, but always to be, blest.'

"The question, I said, has never been regularly discussed,—probably because it lay in too narrow a compass ; but no philosopher appears to have ever seriously proposed it to himself, who did not resolve it in contradiction to the ordinary opinion. A contradiction of this opinion is even involved in the very term Philosophy, and the man who first declared that he was not a *εօφօς*, or possessor, but a *φιλόσοφօς*, or seeker of truth, at once enounced the true end of human speculation, and em-

bodied it in a significant name. Under the same conviction Plato defines man 'the hunter of truth,' for science is a chase, and in a chase the pursuit is always of greater value than the game.

'Our hopes, like towering falcons, aim
At objects in an airy hight;
But all the pleasure of the game
Is afar off to view the flight.'

'The intellect,' says Aristotle, in one passage, 'is perfected, not by knowledge, but by activity'; and in another, 'The arts and sciences are powers, but every power exists only for the sake of action; the end of philosophy, therefore, is not knowledge, but the energy conversant about knowledge.' Descending to the schoolmen: 'The intellect,' says Aquinas, 'commences in operation, and in operation it ends;' and Scotus even declares that a man's knowledge is measured by the amount of his mental activity—'tantum scit homo, quantum operatur.' The profoundest thinkers of modern times have emphatically testified to the same great principle. 'If,' says Mallebranche, 'I held truth captive in my hand, I should open my hand and let it fly, in order that I might again pursue and capture it.' 'Did the Almighty,' says Lessing, 'holding in his right hand Truth, and in his left *Search after Truth*, deign to tender me the one I might prefer,—in all humility, but without hesitation, I should request *Search after Truth*.' 'Truth,' says Von Müller, 'is the property of God; the pursuit of truth is what belongs to man'; and Jean Paul Richter: 'It is not the goal, but the course, which makes us happy.' But there would be no end of similar quotations.

"But if speculative truth itself be only valuable as a mean of intellectual activity, those studies which determine the faculties to a more vigorous exertion, will, in every liberal sense, be better entitled, absolutely, to the name of useful, than those which, with a greater complement of more certain facts, awaken them to a less intense, and consequently to a less improving exercise. On this ground I would rest one of the preëminent utilities of mental philosophy. That it comprehends all the sublimest objects of our theoretical and moral interest;—that every (natural) conclusion concerning God, the soul, the present worth and the future destiny of man, is exclusively deduced from the philosophy of mind, will be at once admitted. But I do not at present found the importance on the paramount dignity of the pursuit. It is as the best gymnastic of the mind,—as a mean, principally, and almost exclusively, conducive to the highest education of our noblest powers, that I would vindicate to these speculations the necessity which has too frequently been denied them. By no other intellectual application is the mind thus reflected on itself, and its faculties aroused to such independent, vigorous, unwonted, and continued energy; by none therefore, are its best capacities so variously and intensely evolved. 'By turning,' says Burke, 'the soul inward on itself, its forces are concentrated, and are fitted for greater and stronger flights of science; and in this pursuit, whether we take or whether we lose our game, the chase is certainly of service.'" pp. 6-10

The above topic shadows forth a prominent doctrine of these lectures. Without going so far as Descartes, who made Activity the essence itself of the soul, Hamilton regards it as an

essential property. Essence and activity admit not of explanation: Essence, because no explanation can carry us beyond the simple conception that it is *that which acts*; Activity, because no explanation can make clearer a simple act of which we are conscious. We begin our knowledge with the consciousness of an activity, and in that consciousness recognize by a law of thought somewhat that is the subject of such activity. But not only does the soul first reveal itself to us in its activity, it continues to live in our knowledge only so far forth as we are conscious that it acts; but not only does it thus continue in activity,—as far as we know it never ceases to act. It would seem, therefore, that action especially characterizes the soul; that it is an essential property. The mind was made for action, and its life is in its activity. This doctrine, besides its practical bearings, gives us a high idea of the soul itself. For with the conception of activity, pure, incessant, and unchecked, we identify the most distinct conception we form of the Divine Mind, and just in proportion as we conceive of the soul as incessantly active, and this activity as emancipated from checks and hindrances, do we distinguish it from and elevate it above the material creation.

We said that as far as we know, the soul is incessantly active. We may state this with more precision. This unbroken consciousness of activity does not exclude the fact that there are states of passivity of which we are unconscious. We are conscious only as we act; we act only as we put forth exertion in some definite way; we put forth action in determinate ways only as we pass from one state to another. In this change from state to state, we may be conscious of diminishing activity till consciousness ceases, or we may be conscious of commencing activity, but we are not conscious of that state of passivity into which it sinks, or that from which it arises. We are never conscious of non-action or passivity, though passivity may be implied in what we are conscious of. Indeed, as Hamilton says, "there is no operation of the mind that is purely active; no affection which is purely passive. In every mental modification, action and passion are the two necessary elements or factors of which it is composed." But passivity is only known

as the concomitant of that activity which is made known through consciousness, and the question is whether under this condition of concomitant passivity, the mind is consciously active without interruption. Beginning the life of the soul with its conscious activity, finding this quality to be an essential property of its being, we have a right to assume that this activity is ever unbroken, unless we find causes adequate to interrupt the action. The only states which may furnish these causes are sleep and somnambulism. We now turn to our author for some remarks upon this topic.

"The general problem in regard to the ceaseless activity of the mind has been one agitated from very ancient times, but it has also been one on which philosophers have pronounced less on grounds of experience than of theory. Plato and the Platonists were unanimous in maintaining the continual energy of intellect. The opinion of Aristotle appears doubtful, and passages may be quoted from his works in favor of either alternative. The Aristotelians, in general, were opposed, but a considerable number were favorable, to the Platonic doctrine. This doctrine was adopted by Cicero and St. Augustin. 'Nunquam animus,' says the former, 'cogitatione et motu vacuus esse potest.' 'Ad quid menti,' says the latter, 'præceptum est, ut se ipsum cognoscat, nisi ut semper vivat, et semper sit in actu.' The question, however, obtained its principal importance in the philosophy of Descartes. That philosopher made the essence, the very existence of the soul to consist in actual thought, under which he included even the desires and feelings; and *thought* he defined all of which we are conscious. The assertion, therefore, of Descartes, that the mind always thinks, is, in his employment of language, tantamount to the assertion that the mind is always conscious." p. 218.

Hamilton also quotes a long passage from M. Jouffroy, on the same side, of which, however, we can give only a part of the conclusion; viz, that "in sleep the senses are torpid, but that the mind wakes;" that "the mind possesses the power of awakening the senses, its own activity overcoming their torpor." To this we cannot forbear to add the two remarkable cases of the postman of Halle, and of Oporinus, mentioned in the discussion. The postman was in the habit of going daily to a post town about eight miles distant from Halle.

"A considerable part of his way lay across a district of unenclosed champaign meadow-land, and in walking over this smooth surface the postman was generally asleep. But at the termination of this part of his road, there was a narrow foot bridge over a stream, and to reach this bridge it was necessary to ascend some broken steps. Now, it was ascertained as completely as any fact of the kind could be,—the observers were shrewd, and the object of observation was a man

of undoubted probity,—I say it was completely ascertained: 1st, That the postman was asleep in passing over this level course; 2d, That he held on his way in this state without deflection towards the bridge; and 3d, That before arriving at the bridge, he awoke. But this case is not only deserving of all credit from the positive testimony by which it is vouched; it is also credible as only one of a class of analogous cases which it may be adduced as representing. This case, besides showing that the mind must be active though the body is asleep, shows also that certain bodily functions may be dormant, while others are alert. The locomotive faculty was here in exercise, while the senses were in slumber. This suggests to me another example of the same phenomenon. It is found in a story told by Erasmus in one of his letters, concerning his learned friend Oporinus, the celebrated professor and printer of Basle. Oporinus was on a journey with a bookseller; and, on their road, they had fallen in with a manuscript. Tired with their day's traveling,—traveling was then almost exclusively performed on horseback,—they came at nightfall to their inn. They were, however, curious to ascertain the contents of their manuscript, and Oporinus undertook the task of reading it aloud. This he continued for some time, when the bookseller found it necessary to put a question concerning a word which he had not rightly understood. It was now discovered that Oporinus was asleep, and being awakened by his companion, he found that he had no recollection of what for a considerable time he had been reading. Most of you, I daresay, have known or heard of similar occurrences, and I do not quote the anecdote as anything remarkable. But, still, it is a case concurring with a thousand others to prove, 1st, That one bodily sense or function may be asleep while another is awake; and, 2d, That the mind may be in a certain state of activity during sleep, and no memory of that activity remain after the sleep has ceased. The first is evident; for Oporinus, while reading, must have had his eyes and the muscles of his tongue and fauces awake, though his ears and other senses were asleep; and the second is no less so, for the act of reading supposed a very complex series of mental energies. I may notice, by the way, that physiologists have observed, that our bodily senses and powers do not fall asleep simultaneously, but in a certain succession. We all know that the first symptom of slumber is the relaxation of the eyelids; whereas, hearing continues alert for a season after the power of vision has been dormant. In the case last alluded to, this order was, however, violated; and the sight was forcibly kept awake while the hearing had lapsed into torpidity.

"In the case of sleep, therefore, so far is it from being proved that the mind is at any moment unconscious, that the result of observation would incline us to the opposite conclusion." pp. 233, 234.

The mind, in this view of it, is something different in kind from the instruments it uses. The senses need rest—recruit from labor. They cannot be used without the alternation of rest and activity. But it does not appear that the mind itself has need of sleep. It is true, the mind often acts laboriously, often grows weary, often is unable to act, yet it labors and grows weary, and ceases to act, only because the organs of

sense through which it acts are weary, and need recruiting ; in itself it is unwearied and awake. Its activity is only checked and hampered, not destroyed, by its connection with the body ; it even shows its independent existence by its partial emancipation from the slavery of sense. Matter nowhere so nearly identifies itself with mind as in the bodily organism ; but even here we see the two distinguished by all the difference there is between incessant activity and a necessary alternation of action and rest.

With this view of the activity of mind should be conjoined Hamilton's view of pleasure as the concomitant of activity. This view is the same as that of Aristotle, and Aristotle's doctrine is thus stated by Hamilton : "Pleasure is maintained by Aristotle to be the concomitant of energy,—of perfect energy, whether of the functions of Sense or Intellect ; and perfect energy he describes as that which proceeds from a power in health and vigor, and exercised upon an object relatively excellent, that is, suited to call forth the power into unimpeded activity. Pleasure, though the result,—the concomitant of perfect action, he distinguishes from the perfect action itself. It is not the action, it is not the perfection, though it be consequent on action, and a necessary efflorescence of its perfection. Pleasure is thus defined by Aristotle to be the concomitant of the unimpeded energy of a natural power, faculty, or acquired habit." Activity is pleasure. This doctrine our author states at the very opening of his lectures, and we can do no better than to give his summary of it. "Human perfection and human happiness coincide, and thus constitute, in reality, but a single end. For as, on the one hand, the perfection of full development of a power is in proportion to its capacity of free, vigorous, and continued action, so, on the other, all pleasure is the concomitant of activity ; its degree being in proportion as that activity is spontaneously intense, its prolongation in proportion as that activity is spontaneously continued ; whereas, pain arises either from a faculty being restrained in its spontaneous tendency to action, or from being urged to a degree, or to a continuance, of energy beyond the limit to which it of itself freely tends.

"To promote our perfection is thus to promote our happiness ; for to cultivate fully and harmoniously our various faculties, is simply to enable them by exercise, to energize longer and stronger without painful effort ; that is, to afford us a larger amount of a higher quality of enjoyment."

This view of the incessant and pleasurable activity of mind, meeting us at the beginning of our inquiries, awakens expectation, and spreads a charm over the whole of philosophy. Let us conceive of the mind, endowed as it is by the act of creation with the attribute of unfailing activity, putting forth its energies in all directions, intellectual, moral, religious, of which it is capable ; let us conceive of it, though checked and hindered by sense, yet maintaining the mastery, and by its energies controlling the body and converting its organs into obedient instruments of service ; let us follow these activities as they ripen into habits, and pursue them in their now steady and pleasurable courses through all the objects of knowledge ; let us represent to ourselves the enjoyment which accompanies the mind through its higher and now easier flights, in the consciousness of new and growing power ; and, moreover, add to all this that the perfection of the mind in activity and happiness lies in the ultimate emancipation of the soul from sense, and thence pass, in imagination, to its unimpeded life and action in its state of immortal vigor ;—we shall then have some proper idea, though still inadequate, of the exalted sphere of the human mind, and of the worth of that science which has this mind for the object of its investigations.

We turn now to the objects proposed for consideration in the Science of Mind. These objects are threefold : 1, PHENOMENA ; 2, LAWS ; and, 3, INFERENCES, or RESULTS. Hamilton remarks that "the whole of philosophy is the answer to these three questions: What are the *facts* or *phenomena* to be observed ? What are the *laws* which regulate these facts, or under which these phenomena appear ? What are the real *results*, not immediately manifested, which these facts or phenomena warrant us in drawing ?" We subjoin a tabular view of the distribution of philosophy proposed by Hamilton :

Mind or Consciousness affords	Facts—Phenomenology, Empirical Psychology.	Cognitions. Feelings. Conative Powers, (Will and Desire.)
	Laws—Nomology, Rational Psychology.	Cognitions—Logic. Feelings—Aesthetic. Conative Powers—{ Moral Philosophy, Political Philosophy.
	Results—Ontology, Inferential Psychology.	{ Being of God. Immortality of the Soul, &c.

Of this scheme of philosophy, however, Hamilton discusses only a part. There is no formal discussion of nomology, or ontology, and of phenomenology, or psychology, as we will hereafter call it, there is nothing on the conative powers, and very little on the feelings, although what there is is valuable. It is only the cognitive faculties that are fully discussed.

The most important topic in this department of philosophy is consciousness, for it lies at the basis of all certainty in knowledge: and here Hamilton has performed a good service. He has not only corrected errors in the views of Reid and Stewart, but has given to the whole subject a precise, philosophical investigation which has brought new truth to light.

We know, and we know—are certain—that we know. The mind is of such a nature that in putting forth an energy, whether a cognition, or feeling, or act of will, it knows itself as thus energizing, and that not by a new act but in the energizing itself. This is an ultimate fact. We can resolve it into nothing of which we are more certain, and all attempts at explanation end in an accumulation of various expressions for the same thing. Indeed, we cannot even *doubt* the assertion, for unless we know our mental acts,—are certain in each case that we act—we do not know that we doubt. We content ourselves then with simply saying that the mind is self-knowing; unlike a machine that moves without knowing that it moves, the mind both knows, and in the act of knowledge is conscious that it knows.

But it is all important to observe that the self-knowledge is the same with the act of knowledge;—knowing, and knowing that we know are comprehended in the self-same

act. For this assertion we have no other proof than the act itself. It is possible, however, to demonstrate the absurdity of the alternative. The expression in language for this ultimate and simple act is, "I know that I know," and the alternative just referred to, is, that these expressions denote two distinct acts; that first in the order of nature, we know, feel, desire, and will, and then by a distinct act of cognition come to the knowledge, that we know, feel, desire, and will. But this is absurd. For, suppose that we put forth, say, an act cognizant of an external object. Now, by supposition we know not this act as existent, till we put forth a second act cognizant of it as an object of knowledge lying in the mind. Suppose we put forth this second act. This, too, is an act of cognition as really as the first, differing only in this that the object of it is a mental state instead of something external. This, however, is an immaterial difference. We are accounting for *the knowledge of the existence* of cognitions, not for the distinctions of cognitions as made by different objects. The second act, therefore, is a cognition as well as the first. This being so, we know not that we have put forth this second act of cognition—and therefore do not as yet know of the existence of the first act—until we put forth a third act, cognizant of the second as its object, nor do we know this third till we have put forth a fourth, and so on forever. Indeed, it is self-evident that the mind cannot *begin to know*, unless the first act of knowledge can be known in itself. Hence, the supposition of a faculty, through which we know our cognitions, feelings, desires, and volitions, and without which we could not know them, excludes the very possibility of knowledge.

We said above that knowing and knowing that we know are comprehended in one and the same indivisible act. But it may be asked whether the propositions, "I know," and "I know that I know," are not distinct, and express mental acts which are distinct? This is a fair question, and the answer will show more clearly the precise nature of an act of consciousness.

What, then, is knowledge? In order to knowledge, there must be that which knows, and that which is knowable—a subject and an object of knowledge. These are the necessary

conditions of knowledge. But more is needed,—the mind must bring the objects of knowledge within its own sphere, and it is only by this means that things knowable become things known. The act by which the mind brings any object within its sphere, is knowledge. And this is as far as explanation can go. What it is to bring an object within the sphere of the mind, or into relation to the mind, must be left to every one to learn for himself, as he finds it in his own experience. Knowledge, in this view of it, has two characteristics which pertain to the present discussion. First, it is a simple, indivisible act. We have already said that the proposition, "I know that I know," is a simple act. So, also, is the proposition, "I know." We will illustrate both by an example. Thus, the proposition, "I see the inkstand," although it is composed of three parts, "I — see — the inkstand," and although the mind can attend to each one of these apart from the others, expresses still only one mental energy. For the act of seeing is not a general act; it occurs only as it occurs on some individual occasion, and with relation to an individual object, so that the seeing is the seeing the object, in this case, the inkstand. The proposition, "I see the inkstand," *in thought* resolves into parts that which *in the reality* is indivisible—in this case, the person seeing the inkstand, the person and the act he is performing being of course inseparable. Indeed, the office of thinking is to separate in thought the unities, the objects, which become known to the mind. The act of seeing the inkstand, then—the knowledge—is a single indivisible act. What is true in this case is universally true. Secondly, knowledge is a relation. It is related to the mind which puts forth the act, and to the object which the act cognizes—it is the intermediating act between subject and object. Relation is incapable of definition, not, however, because it is difficult to be understood, but because it is so easy to be understood that there is nothing clearer by which to elucidate it. It always implies that which is referred, and that to which reference is made, and that which is referred may stand in relation to two or more objects of reference at the same time. In the present case, we can conceive of a

mind as existing without action, and of an object as existing without being known by the mind. If now we conceive of the mind as putting forth an act cognizing that object—the knowledge stands in a two-fold relation to the mind that knows, and to the object that is known. Now these two relations of the same act may be of very unequal importance at different times and on different occasions. If we question whether the act of seeing the object has been actually put forth, we ask—are you sure that you *see* the inkstand, and the reply is, "I know that I see it—I am conscious of seeing it." But, on the other hand, we may ask what is it you see—our minds may dwell on the object of sight—and the reply is, "I see the *inkstand*." And what is true in this case is true universally. Hence, we see that the propositions, "I know," and "I know that I know," while referring to the same act of knowledge, express different *relations* of that act.

Now the doubt which draws attention to the point—are you sure that you are thinking, knowing, exerting energies—as well as the doubt which suggests the inquiry—are you sure that the act which you put forth actually cognizes an object and what that object is—these doubts are both philosophical. They have arisen from the process of investigation, and in the progress of inquiry it has been found convenient to have a name for knowledge in these relations of it. Every act of knowledge in respect to the certainty of the act, or the reality of that which is known—is an act of consciousness, and every act of consciousness is an act of knowledge. Hence, consciousness is co-extensive with the totality of mental states and acts. Or, if we choose to regard it as a faculty, it is the mind itself asserting the certainty of its own acts, and the reality of its own knowledge.

It is well known that Hamilton's doctrine of consciousness differs, at least in one important respect, from the doctrine of Reid and Stewart. Reid's view may be thus stated. We may discriminate in thought an act or state of mind from the object about which it is concerned. Now, Reid assigns to consciousness the office of knowing these acts and states, and to other faculties the office of knowing the objects of these states

and acts. Thus, he says, "I am conscious of perception, but not of the object I perceive ; I am conscious of memory, but not of the object I remember." This raises the important question, Can the mind be conscious of an act cognizant of an object, without being conscious of the object cognized ? Can it be conscious of knowing, without knowing what it knows ? We have answered this in general in previous remarks. Knowledge is a simple, indivisible act. It exists only as it grasps an object. We cannot, therefore, be conscious of an act of knowledge, without at the same time knowing the object with respect to which that knowledge exists. Knowledge is a relation, the two terms of which are,—the mind that knows, and the object known ; and we cannot know one term of a relation, without at the same time knowing the other. Hamilton examines Reid's views as applied to the several faculties. Reid says, "We are conscious of the imagination of a Centaur but not of the Centaur imagined." "But," says Hamilton, "nothing can be more evident than that the object and the act of imagination are identical. Thus, the Centaur imagined and the act imagining it are one and indivisible. What is the act of imagining a Centaur but the Centaur imaged, or the image of the Centaur ? What is the image of the Centaur, but the act of imagining it ? The Centaur is both the object and the act of imagination ; it is the same thing viewed in different relations." So, too, with regard to memory, Reid says that we are conscious of the act of remembering, but not of the thing remembered. Memory, according to him, is an immediate knowledge of the past, while consciousness is an immediate knowledge of the present. Here there is immediate knowledge of which we are not conscious. Hamilton's reply brings out one of the most prominent distinctions in his philosophy,—the distinction between *immediate* knowledge and *mediate* knowledge, or belief and inference. He first shows what immediate knowledge is, and then demonstrates that an immediate knowledge of the past is impossible. What, then, is immediate knowledge ? For a thing to be known immediately, it must be known apart from the intervention or medium of anything else,—must, therefore, be known in itself, in those qualities through which

it manifests its existence. But if it can be known immediately only as it is known in itself, then must it be "actually in existence and actually in immediate relation to our faculties of knowledge." It follows, of course, that there can be no immediate knowledge of the past, the idea of which itself excludes the possibility of actual existence. Such is immediate knowledge in relation to the object known. How is it with respect to the cognitive act? "Every act, and consequently every act of knowledge exists only as it now exists; and as it exists only in the *now*, it can be cognizant only of a now existent object." The author then applies these remarks to the memory; and here we quote at length for the sake of the valuable truths which the quotation will set forth.

"Memory is an act,—an act of knowledge; it can, therefore, be cognizant only of a now-existent object. But the object known in memory is, *ex hypothesi*, past; consequently, we are reduced to the dilemma, either of refusing a past object to be known in memory at all, or of admitting it to be only mediately known, in and through a present object. That the latter alternative is the true, it will require a very few explanatory words to convince you. What are the contents of an act of memory? An act of memory is merely a present state of mind, which we are conscious of, not as absolute, but as relative to, and representing, another state of mind, and accompanied with the belief that the state of mind, as now represented, has actually been. I remember an event I saw,—the landing of George IV at Leith. This remembrance is only a consciousness of certain imaginations, involving the conviction that these imaginations now represent ideally what I formerly really experienced. All that is immediately known in the act of memory is the present mental modification; that is, the representation and concomitant belief. Beyond this mental modification, we know nothing: and this mental modification is not only known to consciousness, but only exists in and by consciousness. Of any past object, real or ideal, the mind knows and can know nothing, for *ex hypothesi*, no such object now exists; or if it be said to know such an object, it can only be said to know it mediately, as represented in the present mental modification. Properly speaking, however, we know only the actual and present, and all real knowledge is an immediate knowledge. What is said to be mediately known, is, in truth, not known to be, but only believed to be; for its existence is only an inference resting on the belief, that the mental modification truly represents what is in itself beyond the sphere of knowledge. What is immediately known must be; for what is immediately known is supposed to be known as existing. The denial of the existence, and of the existence within the sphere of consciousness, involves, therefore, a denial of the immediate knowledge of an object. We may, accordingly, doubt the reality of any object of mediate knowledge, without denying the reality of the immediate knowledge on which the mediate knowledge rests. In memory, for instance, we cannot deny the existence

of the present representation and belief, for their existence is the consciousness of their existence itself. To doubt their existence, therefore, is for us to doubt the existence of our consciousness. But as this doubt itself exists only through consciousness, it would, consequently, annihilate itself. But, though in memory we must admit the reality of the representation and belief, as facts of consciousness, we may doubt, we may deny, that the representation and belief are true. We may assert that they represent what never was, and that all beyond their present mental existence is a delusion. This, however, could not be the case if our knowledge of the past were immediate. So far, therefore, is memory from being an immediate knowledge of the past, that it is at best only a mediate knowledge of the past; while, in philosophical propriety, it is *not a knowledge of the past at all, but a knowledge of the present and a belief of the past.* But in whatever terms we may choose to designate the contents of memory, it is manifest that these contents are all within the sphere of consciousness." pp. 152, 153.

Hamilton next considers Reid's position, that in perception we are conscious of the act of perception, but not of the thing perceived; and following the same strain of remark as just mentioned, comes to the conclusion that the consciousness of the act necessitates the consciousness of the object. But we cannot follow the discussion further.

We sum up the whole case. Dr. Reid, in separating the acts of cognition from the objects of cognition, and assigning our knowledge of the former to consciousness, and of the latter to other faculties, such as perception, memory, and imagination, has, in the first place, disjoined in philosophy what is one and inseparable in nature. For, in being conscious of an act, we are necessarily conscious of the object known in the act. Still, since we can separate in *thought* what is inseparable in *reality*, there could be no objection to such separation, provided the necessities of philosophical inquiry required it. But, in the second place, not only is there no necessity for thus sundering the unity of our cognitions, but the procedure works great harm to the interests of a true philosophy. Questions as to the certainty of our knowledge could only arise from philosophical inquiry, and it was philosophy that, in answering these questions, brought out and marked the distinction between "I know," and "I know that I know." It did this to point out distinctly the certainty of our knowledge, and for this purpose fixed upon the word the most expressive of certainty—consciousness. When we say we are conscious of knowing, we

mean we are sure of it. Now Reid, in signalizing the certainty of our acts of cognition, viewed merely as modifications of mind, by appropriating to them alone the faculty of consciousness, has thrown some doubt on the reality of the objects of knowledge. On the contrary, the doctrine of Hamilton gives assurance of the certainty of all our immediate knowledge, and that in accordance with the facts in the case.

Let philosophy, then, start with this:—The mind knows, has knowledge, and knows that it knows. *The mind knows*, and it is this knowledge, and this knowledge alone, which constitutes the materials of philosophy. It knows *that it knows*: it is sure of the reality of what it knows. The knowledge of which it is the author, is a real thing. Philosophy, in order to have an existence, must take its materials from the mind, and must rely upon the sole authority of the mind for the reality of that which it takes. Let consciousness stand for the mind viewed as putting forth acts of knowledge, and as authenticating those acts. Consciousness, then, in this sense, furnishes the facts with which philosophy has to do, and authenticates their reality, and it would be self-destruction in philosophy to deny or doubt the testimony of consciousness.

Having illustrated the nature and office of consciousness, our author proceeds to lay down “the laws which regulate the legitimacy of its applications.” This is a new field of inquiry, and here, in our opinion, Hamilton has won some of his greatest triumphs. But, though the lectures containing these investigations (the 15th and 16th) are among the most interesting in the volume, we are obliged to waive any further attention to them.

Having shown the laws and authority of consciousness, our author illustrates the whole topic by examining three of the most general facts of consciousness. The first is “the duality of consciousness,” by which is meant the fact that in the simplest act of perception, “I am conscious of myself as the perceiving subject, and of an external reality as the object perceived;” (Lecture 16.) The second general fact is implied in the question, “Are we always consciously active?” (Lect. 17,) and the third, in the question, “Is the mind ever unconsciously

modified?" (Lectures 18 and 19,) and with this our author concludes the general discussion of consciousness,—a discussion, we venture to say, the most profound the subject has ever received—and here we are obliged to end our criticism.

It so happened that we did not read the Article on Hamilton in the North British, till just as we had finished our own. We are led by some things in that Article to dwell for a moment upon a distinction which Hamilton makes in knowledge,—a distinction, the neglect of which alone gives plausibility to the charge of inconsistency which the critic brings against him.

The distinction which we refer to, is the distinction between *immediate* and *mediate* knowledge. An object, in order to be known immediately, must be known, as we have already said, in the phenomena by which its existence is manifested; but in order to be thus known, it must be in actual existence and must stand in immediate relation to the knowing mind. Opposed to objects in actual existence and in immediate relation to the mind, are such objects as are removed in time or space from the sphere of the mind's present activity. Now, it is of the objects of the former class alone that we have immediate knowledge. It is of these objects alone that we are conscious. It is the consciousness of that which is in actual and immediate relation to the mind, which constitutes immediate knowledge, and which alone, perhaps, should be called knowledge. But we may *believe* in the past; we may *infer* the absent and remote, though we are *unconscious* of them. We may know, using the word *know* in a lower sense, that of which we are not conscious, through that of which we are conscious. Now, Hamilton inclines to hold, or perhaps we should say, does hold, that "we know only the actual and present, and all real knowledge is an immediate knowledge. What is said to be mediately known is, in truth, not *known* to be, but only *believed* to be." We cannot forbear adding an illustration. "I call up an image of the *High Church*. Now, it is manifest that I am *conscious*, or immediately cognizant of all that is known as an act or modification of my mind, and, consequently, of the modification or act which constitutes the mental image of the

cathedral. But, as in this operation it is evident that I am *conscious*, or immediately cognizant of the cathedral, as imaged in my mind ; so it is equally manifest that I am *not conscious*, or immediately cognizant, of the cathedral, as existing. But still, I am said to know it ; it is even called the object of my thought. I can, however, only know it meditately—only through the mental image which represents it to consciousness ; and it can only be styled the object of thought, inasmuch as a reference to it is necessarily involved in the act of representation." (See pp. 313-317.) Hence, in his view, we are conscious, not of all that we may be said to know, but of that only of which we have immediate knowledge. The distinction between what we *know*, and what we *believe* and *infer*, is fundamental in Hamilton's philosophy, and, as we think, must be in all true philosophy ; and he has carried it through his lectures with rigid accuracy of thought. It is a pity that the English language has no single words to distinguish knowledge in the highest sense from beliefs and inferences, but we have to use the combination of "immediate" and "mediate" "knowledge." Of course the qualifying words are frequently omitted, but in general, Hamilton uses the words "knowledge," and "to know," in their highest sense. It is, also, to be regretted that Hamilton has not taken pains to express more decisively his opinion as to the trustworthiness and value of beliefs and inferences. It does not follow that because we have not *immediate* knowledge of objects, that the knowledge we do have is not to be trusted to and acted upon. And, it should be remembered, that while the distinction between knowledge, and belief or inference, is all-important in philosophy, it is not of course of equal importance in practice. Hamilton himself, in a letter to Mr. Henry Calderwood, written in 1854, has pointed out this distinction. We quote : "In general, I do not think you have taken sufficiently into account the following circumstances : 1st, that the Infinite which I contemplate is considered only as *in thought*; the Infinite beyond thought being, it may be, an object of belief, but not of knowledge.

"2d, That the sphere of our *belief* is much more extensive

than the sphere of our *knowledge*; and therefore, when I deny that the Infinite can by us be *known*, I am far from denying that by us it is, must, and ought to be, *believed*."

We turn now to the writer in the North British Review.

In examining the question, "whether we are always consciously active," Hamilton refers to somnambulism, in which state there must be, he says, "consciousness, and an exalted consciousness," and yet, on coming out of this condition, we have no remembrance of anything that occurred in it. We do not remember that of which we were conscious. Hence, says the critic, "consciousness is possible without memory;" yet, Hamilton's doctrine is, that "memory itself presupposes consciousness." But it is not denied that the act of consciousness in the state of somnambulism is accompanied by memory as really as in the state of wakefulness. The assertion is, that the whole process, the act of consciousness with every thing connected with it, is forgotten.

Following upon this doctrine of the unbroken conscious activity of mind, is the apparently contradictory doctrine, that mind "exerts energies, and is the subject of modifications of neither of which is it conscious." But mental activity, of which we are conscious, does not exclude the possibility of energies and activities of which we are not conscious. But if not thus contradictory, the doctrine, according to the critic, is inconsistent with another and leading principle of Hamilton's philosophy; namely, "that consciousness comprehends all the modifications—all the phenomena, of the thinking subject." This inconsistency on the surface of it is so patent that we may be sure a solution of the difficulty is not far to be sought. We are conscious of mental states viewed as mere phenomena. In case these states are about objects standing in immediate relation to the mind and in actual existence, we are also conscious of these objects. In case they are about objects removed in any way from the sphere of consciousness, we cannot be conscious of the objects themselves, but only of the belief that they exist. Now, in regard to mental energies and states which do not come into consciousness, but which for any reason we may believe to exist, we may use the same language;

we are not conscious of them as objects of belief, though we are of the belief itself. In other words, there are mental states out of the sphere of consciousness as really as within it, and we have only to suppose that in referring to the phenomena of consciousness, Hamilton did not think it necessary to point out this very obvious distinction. Whether his doctrine of latent states and agencies is true or not, is another question; it certainly is not inconsistent with his other teachings.

We have only a remark more. The writer in the North British Review says, "Were his pages adorned with the eloquence of Cousin, or even the brilliancy of inferior philosophers, there would be little to desire,"—that is, in point of style. The admirable precision of the French philosophical style may perhaps endure the eloquence of Cousin, and brilliancy may make up for an inferior philosophy in the view of those who care little for philosophy, but how any one who is capable of being benefited by such a philosophy as Hamilton has unfolded, should be dissatisfied with the absence of "eloquence and brilliancy" from these lectures, is, to us, very remarkable. When we consider the vigorous and manly style in which they are written, and the choice passages which a varied scholarship has brought together from the greatest thinkers and writers of the world, we have hardly patience with the suggestion that they need to be adorned with the ornaments of a brilliant rhetoric.

ARTICLE VIII.—PROFESSOR HUNTINGTON'S NEW VOLUME OF SERMONS.

Christian Believing and Living. SERMONS by F. D. HUNTINGTON, D. D. Boston : Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1860. pp. 528.

THE Christian public have already heard with pleasure of this second volume of Sermons from the pen of the University Preacher in Harvard College. Our readers, whether they have seen it as yet or not, are prepared to welcome it, and anticipate our commendations. It is a book which, as it falls from the press, falls into hands outstretched to receive it, and which will be sought for with avidity by diverse classes, and through communions the most unlike. It has a two-fold claim upon our attention. It belongs to that class of Sermons, which have done so much to redeem this department of literature from the contempt into which it had fallen, and we are constrained to add, deservedly. Instead of being abstract discussions, the outgrowth of artificial modes of thinking, addressed to tastes as artificial, sermons bearing no marks of human authorship, and as suited to the ninth as to the nineteenth century, "without father, without mother, without descent," they are, what all popular sermons are, and what we hold a Christian sermon ought to be, earnest utterances of the thought of the time, phases of life, discourses inseparable from the man who speaks, the people who hear, and the epoch in the unfolding kingdom of Christian truth, when just such thoughts and experiences mark the stage of human progress. A true sermon is a fact, not a speculation ; the preacher himself believes and therefore speaks, and speaks what other men need and wait for, or in their blindness deny ; and the sermon consequently has an historic meaning and place. The *History of the Christian Religion and Church* might be traced back to the Apostles and the person of our Lord himself, by means of such facts, had they been preserved to us ; not an event, essential to an understanding of the development of the kingdom

of God on earth, but would have a witness for itself in these utterances ; they are the breathings of that life, which the Spirit of God has conducted through human hearts, and they have grown emphatic and eloquent by the attempt to suppress or control them. There is little matter of surprise, therefore, in the present popularity and permanent value of a good sermon ; not that all popular sermons are good, any more than all notoriety is fame, not that we reverence the maxim "*vox populi, vox dei,*" as vulgarly interpreted ; still we are disposed to acquiesce in the fate of sermons that fell still-born from the press ; they did not so much die, as failed to be. The type of many an old fashioned New England sermon, is an abstract and often metaphysical discussion of some universal proposition, prefaced by just enough of exegesis to connect it with the text by way of inference or suggestion, similitude or contrast, and followed by applications so generic and vague, as to suggest the suspicion that the preacher spoke before duelists watching for personalities, or in fear of being served with process for libel. Whoever will take the pains to look through the old Election Sermons, in which the clergy of New England discoursed before the law makers, will observe in regard to most of them how little they contain of historic matter, or even allusion, how, with some marked exceptions, the preachers touched their hearers, or their times, at scarcely a single point of sensibility, even though they were speaking at the most interesting and important junctures of our colonial history, when were sown the seeds which are still bearing fruit in church and state, when legislatures and the people were alike occupied with discussing some organic principle of civil right or ecclesiastical order, and a living utterance from the pulpit would have been to us in our times, if not to them in theirs, like "a light shining in a dark place." South's sermons are not less interesting and full of life to-day, than they were when spoken two centuries ago ; and as historical monuments they are increasingly valuable. The contrast between them and many sermons of that date, preached in New England, is most striking, even more so in respect of matter, than of style, and in the last respect it is hard to realize that the men spoke the

same mother English, and were formed by the same authors. We are far from holding up South as a model in temper, or impartiality; we believe that our Puritan fathers, on both sides of the waters, were infinitely his superiors in Christian integrity and self-denying faithfulness to God and posterity. But as a sermonizer, he is to be honored even by those whom he misrepresented and who differ from him the most, for he preached as a living man to living men; his sermons need no prefixes of date, for they are inseparable from the times, with whose history they are identified. While South was preaching thus, and therefore preaches still, the New England minister was busying himself about Israel of old, and Egypt and the Wilderness of Sin, and applying the lessons of God's eternal truth so obscurely to the Israel whom he led forth out of another house of bondage, and settled in a new land of promise, that for us at this distance it is impossible to glean from those discourses when, or for what the preacher spoke, and dead as they are now in their antiquarian sleep, we can scarcely believe they are any more so than when spoken. It was not so with the first generation of Puritan preachers; they were practical and home-thrusting men, history-makers, studying the word of God and proclaiming it for the express purpose of laying foundations in church and state. When Cotton, in the First Church, Boston, established any great truth out of the word of God, so earnest was his ministry, and so earnest the founders of that Christian commonwealth, that the truth, thus established, at once made its appearance in the legislation of the infant colony. But the intense life, in which New England began, was quickly followed by formalism and death; no one can study our early annals without being struck with the differences between the *first planters* and the second generation, in culture, liberality, freedom from prejudice, and thorough sincerity; the difference to say the least was equally great between the ministers. A dead scholasticism came in the place of a living ministry, and it has had a long reign; but it is, we trust, passing away, although we are not ignorant of the hold it still has upon our pulpits. There are many *barrels* of sermons now, well filled, nay, and turned over, from all of which it would be impossible to learn

whether the preacher were a married man, or bachelor, and preached to a sea-faring or agricultural people. We have heard of a venerable pastor, along the Sound, who met his people after one of those terrible steamboat disasters, which thrilled the country with horror, and although his own congregation came together bowed down in participation with the general distress, he neither alluded to it in sermon or prayer. But such cases are rare now, and will be still rarer hereafter; we have indeed other besetments: we sometimes fear lest the pulpit be perverted from its sacred uses, and while degrading the public taste, be itself degraded and lose the respect which it retained notwithstanding its comparative powerlessness; our pulpits have come down architecturally nearer the pews, and sometimes morally below them, but we do not expect to see them, though made of marble, occupied again by a petrified minister.

These remarks, however, have drawn us aside from our intended track of thought. Dr. Huntington's sermons are vital and vitalizing, and like Bushnell's and Robertson's, will elevate the character and increase the usefulness of the pulpit; and they have another attraction,—to literary they add a theological interest. Nay, and more than this, it is still theology in the concrete, historical and personal; it is the portraying of the process by which he has been led out of the Unitarianism of his early ministry into a distinct and positive Trinitarianism. His previous publication, *Sermons to the People*, was indeed Evangelical in the strict sense of the term, and contained an emphatic declaration of belief in the Deity of Christ, and by its whole spirit commended itself to general confidence and acceptance. But the present volume witnesses to a progress in the author's mind, by the freeness with which he adopts the phraseology of our orthodox standards and symbols. The word "Trinity" has not the merit of being a Scriptural one, and for a time Dr. Huntington refrained from using it, while he taught the doctrine substantially for which the word stood as a representative. He seems to have found himself constrained to accept the term out of loyalty to the truth it expressed.

"The term *Trinity*," he writes, "is not applied to the doctrine in the Bible; but is a definite and just description of what the Bible teaches; and there is no reason why it should not be adopted and used. It is sanctioned by the venerable and hallowed custom of Christian centuries, and of innumerable hosts of confessors, sages, and saints. There is an especial reason for using it, if from its omission the inference should be anywhere drawn that the truth itself, which the term conveys, is denied. Calvin said he was willing that the name 'Trinity' should be 'buried and forgot,' if only this could be the accepted faith of all,—that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, each distinguished by a peculiar property, are one God. Equally willing ought we to be to take and assert that name, if thereby we may render to this 'acceptance of faith' any more unambiguous or unreserved honor."—p. 357.

The above is an extract from the twentieth sermon, around which the chief interest of the volume, theologically at least, gathers. It is founded upon our Lord's words, Matt. xxviii, 19, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost;" and is entitled, "Life, Salvation and Comfort for Man in the Divine Trinity." It is a precise statement of the orthodox and church doctrine of the Holy Trinity; we know not where we can find a better; and it cannot fail to be acceptable and strengthening to all classes of believers in this central doctrine of the Evangelical system. We should hope it will also be considered with candor and kindness by those from whose faith he has separated himself and which he opposes, for the sermon is not more distinguished by the explicitness and emphasis of its Trinitarianism, than by the justice and charity it breathes toward the advocates of Unitarianism. We cite the following passage, as beautifully blending the affirmation of this cherished doctrine of the Christian Catholic Church, with an affectionate and tender spirit toward those who deny it.

"Let the solemn and tender spirit of that parting scene where the doctrine was announced with such august authority be given to our unworthy attempt to reaffirm it! It ought to be the last of all subjects to be handled in a hard, technical, jejune, or merely dogmatic treatment. Still less should the sharp, fierce temper of dialectical ambition or partisan controversy intrude to embitter the

discussion. How different might have been the result, for the interests of a true theology and an undefiled religion, if, in their arguments and expostulations for their Master's divinity, believers had always remembered the gentleness of his example! May that Lord of perfect love breathe a better influence over the studies, reasonings, and persuasions of those who seek to behold and publish his glory! No apprehension, however clear or deep, of the great reality of the Three-in-one can justify a defense with the unhallowed weapons of pride, denunciation, or dogmatism. We must remember there is also a threefold unity of the complete human goodness, as of the being of our God, and that of this charity is the perfect bond. If we break it, earnestness may plead in extenuation for us, but it never expunges the wrong. And with charity let us try to keep humility;—try to keep it the more, since one of the plainest offices of the special mystery of faith before us is to require and preserve this lowliness of the Christian mind. Where the arrogant, self-asserting intellect has to veil its face, presumption in judgment may well lie still. If in all the circle of sacred themes there is one where both the dryness of scholastic speculation and the acerbity of polemics should be laid aside, where the method should be spiritual, the tone devout, and all the thoughts penetrated and tempered with the fragancy of holy affections, it surely is this.*

"It may furnish an aid to this catholicity, as it certainly is an impressive testimony to the doctrine itself, that the Christian world has been so generally agreed in it. Truth is not determined by majorities; and yet it would be contrary to the laws of our constitution not to be affected by a testimony so vast, uniform, and sacred as that which is rendered by the common belief of Christian history and the Christian countries to the truth of the Trinity. There is something extremely painful, not to say irreverent, towards the Providence which has watched and led the true Christian Israel, in presuming that a tenet so emphatically and gladly received in all the ages and regions of Christendom as almost literally to meet the terms of the test of Vincentius,—believed always, everywhere, and by all,†—is unfounded in revelation and truth. Such a conclusion puts an aspect of uncertainty over the mind of the Church scarcely consistent with any tolerable confidence in that great promise of the Master, that he would be with his own all days. We travel abroad through these converted lands, over the round world. We enter, at the call of the Sabbath morning light, the place of assembled worshipers: let it be the newly-planted conventicle on the edge of the Western forest, or the missionary station at the extremity of the Eastern continent; let it be the collection of northern mountaineers, or the dwellers in southern valleys; let it be in the plain village meeting-house, or in the magnificent cathedrals of the old cities; let it be the crowded congregation of the metropolis, or the 'two or three' that meet in faith in upper chambers, or in log-huts, or under palm-trees; let it be groups in dark and by-way alleys, companies of rescued vagrants, victims of persecution in caves of the rocks and hiding-places of the hills; let it be regenerate bands gathered to pray in any of the islands of the ocean, or thankful circles of believers confessing their dependence

* "So that we may rather experience the power of these mysteries of the Trinity in the heart than speak about them in lofty words." TWENTE.

† "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus."

and beseeching pardon on ship's decks in the midst of the ocean. So we pass over the outstretched countries of both hemispheres:—it is well-nigh certain,—so certain that the rare and scattered exceptions drop out of the broad and general conclusion,—that the lowly petitions, the fervent supplications, the hearty confessions, the eager thanksgivings, or the grand peals of choral adoration, which our ears shall hear will end in the uplifting ascription to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the one ever-living and almighty God of all the earth. This is the voice of the unhesitating praise that embraces and hallows the globe. Or we stand still, and look backward, to see what teaching it has been that has achieved all the great results that we glory in, as constituting our Christian civilization; and we find that in simple, historical fact, this very doctrine appears in immediate and significant connection with nearly all. It is this or at least that system of which this is a characteristic and inseparable element, which has reverently reared the majestic and humbler temples, has piled up the vast cruciform structures by the hands of generations which crumbled one after another as the slow toil proceeded, has written the ancient creeds and modern confessions, has prayed the earlier and later litanies, has sung the *glorias* and *misereres* of exultant or penitent millions, has lifted the sweet hymns of East and West, has organized missions and sent forth their messengers, has called councils and subdued nations to the cross, has conserved the order and reformed the abuses of imperfect administrations, and has presided over the learning, the philosophy, and the poetry in the literature of the Christian centuries. Throughout all these diversities of sacred operation, this old and vital truth, reaffirmed, hardly questioned, if omitted soon resumed again, kept clear and confident, has wrought, has builded, has preserved. And then, if we enter into the private experiences, the griefs, and strifes, and sorrows of the unnumbered multitudes that have been born in pain, and died in the midst of tears, it is this truth which has kept its vigils by the weary processions of sufferers, and consoled them. All this is the undeniable report of facts. That there have been some, in different places, limited communities, or scattered individuals, avowing belief in the religion, and honorable in character, who have rejected the doctrine, is evident. Yet it keeps its place,—never more firmly established, or widely welcomed, with its related and attendant truths, than to-day. Grateful for a support so comforting, and a sympathy so large, its advocates can afford to leave all impatience and intolerance to less privileged men."* pp. 357-361.

"* Hardly anything respecting the history of the Trinity is more remarkable than the substantial agreement amidst the large variety of forms and shades under which the doctrine has been theologically presented. In the face of the libraries of close controversy, and the number of schools,—all of them signs of the intense vitality and power hidden in the innermost spiritual economy of the article,—the strong thinkers upon it are, after all, essentially and persistently at one: the early and medieval Fathers, the Continental and English reformers, the Anglican scholars, the Puritan and American divines,—Athanasius and Tholuck, Fenelon and Knox, Augustine and Anselm, Calvin and Taylor, Luther and Bossuet, Bull and Baxter, Horsley and Howe, Pearson, Newman, Pascal, Cudworth, Wolf, Butler, Tauler and Hopkins, Waterland and Edwards, Sherlock and Dwight, Stuart, Neander. Nice, Trent, Augsburg, Westminster, Princeton, Andover, New Haven, with their symbols, notwithstanding their differences, are Trinitarian."

The sermon consists of two parts; first, a discriminating and vindictory statement of the doctrine, as held by the author, and we are happy to believe that he will be accepted as a careful and competent assertor of the universally received doctrine; and secondly, a defense of the doctrine, in its practical relations, as involving "life, salvation and comfort for man." With both parts of the discourse we are highly pleased; and, we think, he places the truth upon its proper foundations, when he makes the practical uses of the Trinity the argument to commend it to human acceptance, and relies upon a clear statement of the Scriptural teaching to avoid or to meet objections.

The Trinity is purely a truth of Divine Revelation; and must stand or fall with Revelation itself. Coming to us from above the sphere of reason, it is not subject to its jurisdiction; —neither discovered nor discoverable by reason, it cannot be assailed by it nor abolished. Revealed everywhere in practical relations, made use of as the working-power of human redemption, its proper test is its use, it appeals to experience, and it will continue to maintain its hold, as it ever has done, by being vitally connected with the apprehension of God, and the method of restoration to Him. Prove to a man sensible of his sin and the need of redemption, that for him *life, salvation, and comfort* are involved in the Divine Trinity, and he will infallibly receive the doctrine. It never was rejected simply because the Scriptures did not fairly teach it; but because the *doctrines of grace*, so called, had been first rejected, for the sake of which the Trinity was discarded, and without which it stood alone as a barren speculation. And this history, as well as the very nature of the doctrine, teaches the method in which the truth is to be re-affirmed and brought back into the confidence of those who have discarded it. Its vital connections with practical religion must be shown. But as preliminary to this, a statement must be made, which shall take up all the facts of Divine Revelation, and eliminate the conjectures intruded by man; and to this statement are subsidiary the best lights of modern exegesis, and not less the dialectical skill by which the Church for ages has been exercised, and

through which the simple faith of the first age has been made to pass. So important is this just statement of the doctrine, in the lights of history, philosophy, and biblical criticism, that it is by itself sufficient to meet all the objections which disbelievers bring, and thus clears the field of controversy, and leaves the doctrine to be received or rejected, according to its adaptation to the felt necessities of the soul. Dr. Huntington holds with equal positiveness to the unity and the threeness of God ; and knows of no priority to that threefold distinction, no epoch when it was not, no Deity independent of it. "We conceive of God always, not as absolute Being, but as in relation, in process, in act. And in such relations, process, act, we behold him only as Three :—the Son eternally begotten of the Father, not subordinate in nature or essence, nor created, nor beginning, but consubstantial with the Father :—the Holy Ghost ever proceeding from the Father and the Son, not in time, nor made out of nothing, but one in power and glory and eternity with them both." He finds a satisfactory solution of the language of dependence employed by Christ in the voluntary condescension of the Son ; and when he says he does nothing "of himself" he finds in the language a "way of referring up the springs of his personal action into the God-head." In regard to the contested conception of personality, and the method of harmonizing its individuality with the unity of the Divine essence, Dr. Huntington agrees with, and borrows aid from Mr. Mansel in his late important work upon the Limits of Religious Thought, and makes the broad affirmation that "every attribute and act of the self-existent one is exactly as inexplicable to us as his Threeness."

But we hasten from this abstract and scholastic part of the discourse to that which constitutes its pith and marrow, viz, the uses of the Tri-unity of God. Of these he specifies three : the support it furnishes to faith in the true personality of God ; the groundwork it lays for the whole Scripture doctrine of the atonement ; and lastly, the power it has exerted in the historic development and practical piety of the church. Each of these thoughts is developed with force and eloquence ; and some of his statements are deserving of special attention, as revealing

the workings of those denials which make up the Unitarian defection. The connection which history has revealed between faith in the Trinity and the Personality of God, and the spiritual interdependence between these two great doctrines, is a subject of peculiar interest, and invites study. That the claim of such a connection is not due to the heat of controversy, nor the result of a partial and one-sided induction of facts, is sufficiently proved by the singularly pertinent words of the Apostle John, in his first Epistle: "Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father: but he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also." Neander, in commenting upon these words,—and he surely is a witness as impartial as he is competent,—declares that they have been verified by the history of error in Germany, which, in departing from the true Christ, has led on to a denial of God, whom Christianity has revealed to us as the Father. "It was a tendency," he says, "which at first, while thus limiting and mutilating the doctrine of Christ, yet sought to maintain its hold of the doctrine of God as the Father, to whom it ascribed the influence of Christianity. But, as we have seen, it was continually impelled by its own nature to overstep these boundaries. First, that intimate filial relation to God as Father was lost; only the general relation to God as the Unknown, the God afar off, remained. Then was the God of heaven, the living, personal God, also lost. The deification of the world, opposing itself to everything supernatural in the Divine, to everything which can be perceived only by faith, and cannot be apprehended by the senses, or by the natural reason, confined as it is within the limits of the world, widened its grasp continually, and developed more and more in denial and destruction its anti-Christian power." Dr. Huntington, who from the first has exercised his ministry in the heart of Unitarian dissent in this country, writes in the same vein as Neander, who brings his testimony from the heart of Germany, where these opinions first struck root, and ripened their fruits. Dr. Huntington makes Pantheism, or Idolatry, the alternatives, if the Trinity be rejected; the infinity of God will be sacrificed to His personality, or the personality to the infinity. "Despairing to conceive of personal-

ity without limitation, some men rush over to pantheism ; others, despairing of retaining a Deity near enough for love and sympathy who is literally infinite, stop short with a Deity who is not God." The tendencies of nature, which issue in these opposite extremes of error, are both met and wonderfully satisfied in the Divine Trinity.

" If they only would," he writes, " the reverent Pantheist, humanitarian, naturalist might here, in the beauty and symmetry and fullness of the Gospel doctrine, obtain the true and grand interpretation of their several yearnings, see their partial and fragmentary views of the Divine filled out, and their mistakes corrected. For the dangers of the separate systems are here forestalled. If in the ardent attachment to the historical Christ, the ' Word made flesh,' the disciple is tempted to deny the Unseen and Ineffable, to forget that no man hath in a complete sense, ' seen God at any time,' this doctrine holds ever up before him the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour, from whom the Son comes eternally forth. If, again, we incline to let our speculations wander in the cold and rare atmosphere of a purely deistic energy, joining the deistic multitude so easily misled by the audacities and flatteries of a false philosophy, we are forthwith brought back to the warm and cheerful household of Faith by beholding the face of the Gracious Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls, and being assured that whoso hath seen Him hath seen the Father. Or if thus fixing our inward gaze either on the Infinite above, or on the Jesus of Nazareth and of history, we come to locate our Lord only in the heights, or in the limited enclosures and events of a visible Messiahship, then we are taken again into the juster thought of the New Testament; the Holy Ghost is witnessed in His everlasting and blessed goings forth into the world of men to regenerate and comfort it, the Paraclete proceedeth ever from the Father and the Son, thus taking up and including the powers of the Incarnation,—not an impalpable essence or airy influence, but the third and living person of the ever-blessed and glorious Trinity. The adorable mystery becomes a practical and precious fact to the toiling and praying soul. The baffled intellect rests from the aimless beating of its wings, and while it discovers fields of boundless contemplation for the expansion of all its powers, abides in the peace of that holy benediction,—'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with us all evermore.'" pp. 383-385.

The *suspense of faith*, of which Dr. Bellows has spoken lately with so much feeling and eloquence, and which he confesses for his communion, while he charges it upon the age, is the subject of a passage in this sermon which we cannot avoid quoting, for it is the summing up of the results of a great religious experiment, which was begun in the days of our fathers, and seems to be reaching its end in ours. We do not think that the advocates of Unitarian opinions could have asked for a trial on a better field, or under more promising

auspices of success. The leaven had worked silently in the churches of Eastern New England, beneath the cover of charity and toleration, until with the publication of Dr. Channing's discourse, the ancient fellowship of our evangelical churches was broken up, and in the disruption the Unitarians found themselves possessors of Harvard College, of all the pulpits in Boston with but a single exception, and that for a time doubtful, of the leading influence in all the large towns, and a great number of the most venerable and thriving country parishes. The prestige of wealth was theirs, the controlling influences of education, the seductions of fashion, the blandishments of power in the secure possession of the offices of State, and in all the chief centers of population, the preponderance of numbers: indeed, it would be difficult to say what they did not possess at the outset, the younger son dispossessing the elder, and appropriating the fairest parts of the heritage of the Pilgrim Fathers. Besides this, they had the advantage of developing the new theology under the freest of all church polities, so that the issue was not complicated, as must be the case when disruptions take place in the bosom of national and consolidated establishments; the change was everywhere discussed upon its merits; the revolution was one of creed, mingled in rare instances with litigation in civil or ecclesiastical courts. The history of Unitarianism in this country has been simply a trial of its inherent power, of its adaptation to the wants of a people. What has been the result? We do not choose to dwell upon the evidences of its waning life; it would wear the aspect of partisanship,—and we would neither indulge the spirit nor wear the aspect. The facts are patent, and frankly confessed by the able and honest leaders of the Unitarian body. The college is still, in form, in their hands, for the corporation is with them; but it is a divided inheritance: the Board of Overseers is evangelical, and a large number of the undergraduates from Trinitarian families. Country parishes have dwindled, and not a few in both town and country have become extinct, or censed to be self-supporting. The ministry have become divided, and between some of them is all the difference between rationalism and supernaturalism. Some leading minds

have gone off, and are followed by not a few, into blank infidelity ; and others have retraced their steps back to the faith of their fathers. We do not claim that what Unitarianism has lost has been the gain of Orthodox Congregationalism. It has been a contest of Christian doctrine ; Unitarianism has been confronted by nearly all Protestant sects, and even by Roman Catholicism. The issue, it will not be doubted, is a triumph of Trinitarianism ; and this not so much because the Unitarians have lost in numbers, as in heart. Their hopes have not been realized ; their prophecies have been mocked ; in place of making aggressions upon the great body of Christian believers, they have suffered from such aggressions, and in the honest discovery of weakness have either proclaimed their mission ended, or that they must form a new platform for the future. But we will detain our readers no longer from the description which Dr. Huntington gives of the inertness of a religious system, the heart of which is the denial of the Divine Trinity. His words are entitled to weight, because he speaks of what he has seen and felt, and all the more because he speaks the truth in charity, loving and honoring the very men whose religious system he firmly opposes. We say again, nothing can be more beautiful than the blending in Dr. Huntington of those virtues, so often found apart as to be considered opposite—fidelity to truth, and Christian affection to the persons of men.

"On the other hand, when this view is denied,—if one may offer such a criticism with no affront to Christ's own charity, the bond of Christian perfectness,—it appears that, besides the direct loss of positive evangelical resources, there is also a general decline of Christian efficiency. There is a diminished attachment to the person of the Saviour, a cooler loyalty to him, a feebler sense of indebtedness to him, with a corresponding abatement of all those inspiring and grateful emotions toward him which the thought of God, 'found in fashion as a man and humbling himself to become obedient unto death, even the death of the cross,' is calculated to sustain. Moral obedience takes on a prudential, calculating aspect. The exultant thankfulness at release by the cross from a deserved misery is gone. Even the belief in Christ's personal presence with his people often becomes an abstract notion, and the joy of it fades away. In not a few instances, a living faith in any divine personality gives place to a frigid intellectual nature-worship, and God either subsides into a philosophical abstraction, or is tied up in the changeless and fatal continuity of his own physical laws. The supernatural grows unreal ; its glories vanish from the scenery of the soul, and all the tangible com-

munications it opens between heaven and earth are shut. Deism is followed by naturalism, naturalism by materialism,—a materialism not a whit the less Pagan because adorned with taste, learning, and a liberal application of those terms of Christian phraseology, and those external habits of decorum, which are the inestimable boon and heritage transmitted from the disowned creed of the Gospels. The doctrine of the Holy Ghost dwindles into an attenuated, æsthetic impression of a regular, natural Providence. The special act of that Person, regeneration, is dwarfed into a self-improvement by the human will. The liberty of genuine prayer is shortened—if prayer survives in articulate forms at all—into a dull and barren process of self-stimulation which yields effects like dropping new or multiplied buckets into empty wells;—for a fixed order of events cannot hear supplication, praise, or thanksgiving. The life dies out of both private and public devotion. Man's part of the business usurps the interest that belongs to God's part;—the professed worshiper is more anxious to be enlightened or entertained or electrified by figures of rhetoric, or bursts of declamation or ethical lecturing, than to be pardoned for his sins, or to have his soul borne up in self-forgetful homage. Through a sentimental fear of charging God with severity, a cruel blow is struck at his equity,—and his majestic attribute of mercy is construed to mean a fond indulgence of all sorts of people in all sorts of things. The very possibility of mercy or forgiveness is taken away, for where there is no penalty there is no clemency; indifferentism has nothing to forgive. A general infirmity creeps into religious action. A taste grows up for that sort of instruction which leaves all consciences equally at ease, substituting descriptions of a desirable goodness for the Apostle's abrupt and searching rebuke, 'Repent, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out'; or the Saviour's own, 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.' Other themes than those which lie close to the heart of the Gospel are the popular subjects of the pulpit, till Paul's magnifying of his office is exchanged for an effectual obscuration of it in a wonderful variety of offices. Of course the distinctive ecclesiastical honors are lowered. Missions are languid or unknown. Enthusiasm is chilled. Not replenished by the reactionary strength of an aggressive and progressive zeal, the parishes are deadened at home. Discussions or diversions occupy the empty room of the prayer meeting. The Sunday school fails to supply its pupils with an answer to those that ask them what they believe. 'The world' reaps an easy harvest. And of course, where these tendencies predominate, the question whether anything which can properly be called a Church of Christ will continue is only a question of time.*

"Were it to be affirmed that these tendencies always work themselves out immediately, or in all individuals who reject the Triune declaration, the insult to common sense would be as gross as the breach of catholic amity. Devout men and

"* That the term 'Trinity' is not Scriptural furnishes no argument against the Scriptural authority for the doctrine, so long as the truth is asserted and reasserted in the Scriptures. So the terms 'Divinity,' 'Deity,' 'Humanity,' 'Incarnation,' 'Missions,' even 'Christianity,' and many more, are not less used as true because not found in the Bible. The veneration for the letter of Scripture which thus insists on a mere name, if consistent, would involve other conclusions for which the supposed objector would hardly be prepared."

women who turn a revering and affectionate heart to Christ, and yet persist in that dogmatic rejection, are found in our day, as they have been in other days. To us they seem exceptional cases, standing somewhat apart from the vigorous currents of Christian life in the Church, indebted after all to hereditary influences which they do not acknowledge, not very successful in handing down their piety from one generation to another, and denied some opportunities and privileges which, in a clearer doctrinal agreement with the ancient standards, would enlarge their usefulness along with their satisfactions. They also seem to us,—if the remark may be allowed,—to suffer soon or late under a degree of theological inconsistency, exalting Christ in their reverent affections to a place which they refuse him in a deliberate and express confession. But it must be a narrow construction of the substance of faith which does not cheerfully and gratefully recognize in them a sincere and beautiful imitation of much in the Master's example. We are aware that there are those who fail to connect the evils we have just enumerated with the cause to which we have ascribed them. But when we consider how marvelously God binds causes and effects together, and how at last he blends all revealed truth with righteous practice and accepted institutions, it does not seem very strange that an error respecting so supreme a reality as the nature of God, Christ, and the Spirit, should entail damaging consequences not readily traced in all the links of their succession, by the eye, on all the interests of personal and social religion. Undoubtedly, too, there are faults enough in those branches of the Church where the truth we are advocating is fully held. But the common imperfections of human nature are not to blind us to the existence of real contrasts, nor justify us in ignoring conclusions equally enforced by the interior nature and the exterior history of the Christian system." pp. 399-408.

We had intended to present some extracts from other sermons in this volume, all of which breathe the same evangelical and affectionate spirit, and some of which invest with great beauty and freshness the cardinal truths of the Gospel, affording happy illustrations of the householder's art, "who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old." We have spent so much space, however, upon the twentieth sermon, which is indeed by far the longest, and will attract most attention, that we must pass over other discourses we had marked, to say a word in conclusion upon the *accomplished fact*, which now ranks Dr. Huntington among the supporters of Trinitarian Christianity. It was a gradual history, and no one could have anticipated any more rapid development under such circumstances; and it is an event illustrating at once the wisdom of the polity and the strength of the faith we have inherited from our Fathers. That polity has been brought into suspicion, and many who have been nurtured under it have assailed and re-

jected it because the chief development of Unitarianism in this country has taken place beneath its wings. They have been ignorant or uncandid enough to deny that in England the same defection took place in the Presbyterian fold, and that, unlike the course of events in New England, the whole body lapsed from the faith, and in place of exile churches rising up beside the defected ones, and gradually supplanting them, the very name itself changed its import, and was as commonly associated with Socinianism in the popular mind, as it had been with Calvinism. The Presbyterianism that once fenced error *out*, acted as well to fence it *in*. But with us this is no argument against the polity, and we cite it only as an offset to the reproach which is sometimes cast upon the *way* of Congregational churches. The truth is, church polity never was intended, and never can be relied on, to protect the church from false doctrine; we might as well attempt to exclude the pestilence from our houses by bars and bolts. The laws which govern the thoughts and sympathies of men, which determine the course of speculation, and raise successive tides of opinion, act independently of church organization, and must be met in their own sphere by corresponding and appropriate influences, or they cannot be met at all, and all outward hindrances will act rather as helps; the fire will find fuel in such attempts to smother it. We claim, therefore, *a priori*, from the very nature of the case, that the freedom of our polity, which imposes no restraint upon the life of the spiritual body within, but yields as readily to error, when it has intrenched itself in the conviction of men, is an excellence, for it does not assume to be a conservator of the truth, which it never can be, but warns the ministry and the church alike, that nothing can effectually keep heresy out, but that which keeps the faith in the hearts of the people. The first and most essential thing to be done, in protecting a city from invasion, is to expose the insufficiency of its trusted defenses. If the maintenance of spiritual life be the only safeguard against death, and eternal vigilance the price of security, it is vital that the church should know it; and that polity is best which attracts least confidence to itself, gives freest motion to the life within, and concentrates

attention upon the only conserving power. We may add now to these theoretical reasonings the corroborations of facts. The movement of mind which brought in Unitarianism, and introduced it into our churches, because they were free, has been followed by another movement which finds equally free access to restore the faith that was cast out, and which, coming back after such an experience, is entrenched in the pulpit and at the communion table as it never could be by canons and subscriptions. It is now just half a century since Trinitarianism was taught in the pulpit of Harvard College Chapel; and under the free workings of the Congregational polity, it has come back again; not by *imposition*, which could only dishonor the truth, but by *invitation*, because, in the state of the college, an *evangelical*—we do not say *Trinitarian*—ministry was desired. We are constrained to add, however, that in striking contrast with the freedom of our principles, has been the narrowness of some among us in working them. When it was first announced, several years ago, that some of the prominent ministers of Unitarian churches in the city of Boston were evangelical in their tendencies, and had actually embraced some of the formative elements of Trinitarianism, the announcement, in place of awakening sympathy and aid, aroused an inveterate spirit of suspicion, started investigation as to what they did *not* believe, rather than what they *did*, and because thinking and cultured men, coming out of the bosom of Unitarian fellowship, and working their way carefully but manfully through spiritual and intellectual battles, of which the inheritors of a traditional theology have no comprehension,—because these men could not at once pronounce all the shibboleths of provincialism, they were denounced, and their good was evil spoken of. When one of their number, Dr. Huntington, was called to Harvard, instead of making it a subject of congratulation, they warned the friends of truth the more against the institution; and when he published a sermon on the Deity of Christ, in which any sympathetic and candid mind would have discovered the seeds of his later and matured Trinitarianism, these heresy hunters saw, or affected to see, only a treacherous Sabellianism; and when, on the basis of

this substantial agreement of faith, the pastor of the North Church, New Haven, gave him the right hand of fellowship, and invited him to preach, it was the occasion of a renewed assault alike upon the Harvard professor and the New Haven divines. And when another pastor of a Unitarian Church in Boston, Rev. Mr. Coolidge, had passed through all intermediate phases of belief, had planted himself broadly and unmistakably upon Orthodox Christianity, carrying his congregation with him, at least in personal attachment to himself, and the Unitarian proprietors were willing that the church should fall into line, as an Orthodox Congregational Church, had the Orthodox community accepted and sustained it; through suspicion in some, and indifference in more, Mr. Coolidge was permitted to stand alone, his tie to the church to be dissolved, the congregation to disband, the house to be sold, and we are glad to learn, as the last item in this strange history, that it has passed into the hands of a Presbyterian society. Under such an administration of Orthodoxy in the old Puritan metropolis, it is no matter of surprise that the decadence of Unitarianism should not strengthen and dignify our Orthodox Congregationalism. Mr. Coolidge has entered into the Episcopal Church, and should Dr. Huntington be led, from any considerations, to resign the ministry in Harvard College, which he exercises so much to his own credit, the good of the institution, and the benefit of Christ's church at large, and should he find himself, by such resignation, a preacher of Trinitarian Christianity, but disconnected by any formal ties with any Trinitarian communion, it is more to be hoped than expected, that he would seek a union with Orthodox Congregationalists. But the facts to which we have alluded, however much they are to be lamented, and all the more so because of the contrast they form to our principles, we need hardly add, do not represent our churches or ministry; they are to be traced to a small number, and the only thing to be wondered at is, that they should have been suffered to represent and misrepresent a communion which we believe to be the freest of all Protestant denominations from sectarianism, and the most catholic in sympathies and adaptations.

ARTICLE IX.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THEOLOGY.

THE CONCORD OF AGES.*—This work is a pendant to the “Conflict of Ages,” and, as such, completes the exposition of the views of the author, which, in that work, were given to the public in part only. In the dedication he gives a brief exposition of the origin and relations of the work thus :

“ I have ever felt the assurance that the greatest and most comprehensive principles are always of necessity most simple, intelligible, and sublime. The all-pervading law of gravitation, which holds not only our solar system, but also the universe together, is as simple and intelligible as it is sublime. I felt assured that the great organic law of benevolent sympathetic attraction, by which the moral universe is to be organized and held together around God, is equally simple and intelligible, and still more sublime and glorious.

“ Yet, when I came to examine the Christian system as now taught, I found that, although such a law was proclaimed in words, it was denied in fact, and a law of repulsion substituted in its place, and that God was virtually represented as holding this universe together by naked power, in opposition to the great law of repulsion, which by false doctrine has been made to pervade all things.

“ This repulsion exists in two respects,—between God as represented in his dealings with our race through Adam, and the moral affinities of the mind, as sensitive to honor and right; and no less between God represented as an unsympathizing God, and the benevolent sympathies of the mind as sensitive to reciprocal affection.

“ It was my great aim, in the Conflict of Ages, to convince the church of the real existence of the first great cause of repulsion, although I also indicated the second.

“ It is my purpose in this work to prove the existence of the second, and in opposition to it to develop and apply the true law of benevolent sympathy between God and his creatures, without which the organization of a vital and concordant universe would be impossible.” pp. iii, iv.

It would seem, from this announcement, that the central theme of this volume was to be “God, a suffering or sympathizing God.” In examining the volume, however, we find that this is by no means the

* *The Concord of Ages: or the Individual and Organic Harmony of God and Man.* By EDWARD BEECHER, D. D. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860. 12mo. pp. 581.

central topic that the author discusses and enforces. It is true he resorts to it often, and discusses it in various relations, and applies it to the most important and far-reaching consequences. But there are manifold other truths to which he seems to attach equal importance in bringing to pass "the Concord of Ages," and the discussion of which extends over very large portions of the volume. We can find no better statement of these topics in the language of the author than in the following exposition of the system of those revealed truths which in his view are most nearly related to the consummation of the work of redemption.

"In the first place, it is distinctly asserted that by the redemption of the church the universe is to be reorganized, under one head, composed of God and the church.

"In the second place, this reorganization is called the restitution of all things, implying that by it the universe was brought back to its original plan of organization.

"In the third place, it is distinctly declared that this original organization of the universe was broken up by Satan, and the universe thrown into two great contending parties, leaving no neutrals in the great warfare.

"In the fourth place, it teaches that Christ became incarnate to destroy the works of the devil, and that he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet.

"In the fifth place, it is revealed that the triumph of Christ over these principalities and powers is effected by his cross. Also that it was by his death that he destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil.

"In the sixth place, it is no less clearly revealed that the redemption and sanctification of his church were effected by the same instrumentality.

"In the seventh place, it is revealed that of the increase and of the peace of God's kingdom, thus reorganized, there shall be no end.

"In the eighth place, it is revealed that the church of the redeemed shall be joint heirs with Christ, of God and of his kingdom, in an eminent and peculiar sense, sitting down with him on his throne, as he overcame and is set down with the Father on his throne, and reigning with him as kings and priests forever.

"In the ninth place, the analogy of husband and wife, father and mother, by which the relation of God and the church is designated in eternity as well as in time, carries with it into eternity the same clearly defined sense which it has received in this world, in the word of God. The birth, nurture, education, and government of children, are the primary duties of a wife and a mother, in the family. The duty of the church in this world has been analogous. A similar duty will be therefore assigned to the church in the reorganized family of God; that is, to educate and train the future generations whom God shall create.

"In the tenth place, not only does the restored system reflect back light upon the system that Satan disorganized, but the process of restoration throws back light on the principles of the original disorganization. Christ conquered Satan, and was perfected by suffering, according to the will of God. The main discipline of the church has been, in all ages, by suffering, like that of Christ. Thus God

produces faith, patience, obedience, energy, heroism, in union with all that is mild, tender, and gentle, as in himself.

"What Satan revolted from and endeavored to break down must have been this discipline of suffering and obedience, which Christ made it his main end to build up again, and to fortify; and the immemorial principles of Satan's kingdom in all ages show that such was the fact. Here, then, we have the deep root of the great revolt, and of that origin of evil which Satan would have us regard as so profound a mystery. I have shown, in its place, that God's power of infinite and benevolent suffering, without irritation, bitterness, or corruption, is in his own judgment his highest glory and perfection; and that he desired, and that for the best of all reasons, to form in his own image, in this respect, those who were to be united with himself in founding an eternal kingdom, and training its coming millions. How he formed Christ and the church by suffering, we know in fact. That Satan and his fellows needed in some way an equivalent discipline of suffering, and were called to it, and also that they revolted from it, renouncing faith, obedience, and patience, and enthroning self-will and self-indulgence, the very nature of the case, and their spirit and policy in all ages since, most clearly evince.

In the eleventh place, the very nature of God, and of created minds, shows that the reorganization of the system of the universe must be simple, and easily understood. Such is God, and such are the relations of creatures to him and to each other, that a proper organization of the universe around and in God must be simple, just as in the solar system the organization of the planets and their satellites around the sun is simple. So, too, the idea of a division and disorganization of the universe, by a great leading spirit and his associates, is simple, and the ruin to which it leads is obvious. No less simple is the idea of a reorganization and a restitution of the original system of the universe, and of the defeat and destruction of the disorganizers. It is no less plain what must have been the need of Christ when he undertook the great work of reorganization. It must have been to destroy the power of disorganizing principles, and to give intensity to the true organic principles of the system, and to establish and perfect the universal system on its original plan; and so to effect the restitution of all things to their true and primitive order.

"Not only is the conception of the spiritual system of the universe simple and intelligible, but God has taken special pains to make it popular by incorporating the idea of it in the form of an analogy, in the fundamental organic element of social life—the family. In man, as the head of the system, we see the image and glory of God; in woman, the image of the church, in the peculiar and intense reciprocal affection on which the union is founded, the peculiar reciprocal love of God and the church.

"Now, what can be more popular, what more simple, what more intensely affecting, than the system of the universe presented under this analogy?

"It is the reorganization of the universe by the prostration of Satan, and the marriage of God to his redeemed and sanctified bride, through whom he may train all coming generations to love and obey himself." pp. 251-255

These positions are enforced and illustrated with more or less interest; some of them occupying much attention, and others being passed

over more lightly. Besides these, there are other questions fundamental to all our knowledge,—questions of logic and metaphysics, criticisms of all antecedent theologies and theodicies, and replies to the critics of his former volume. These various subjects are handled with the author's well known ability, and in his well known manner, and under the influence of an earnest love of truth, a glowing zeal for Christ, with a spirit which at times seems transfigured with light freshly caught from communion with the Master. There are many grand and glorious truths concerning God and man, and the principles by which God governs, and the methods by which He is redeeming and will finally restore humanity,—many just, forcible, scorching, and yet much needed, criticisms of the falsehoods or half truths which underlie many of those pretentious theologies and sanctimonious church organizations by which the simplicity of Christianity has been corrupted and its efficiency has been greatly hindered.

Withal there are certain infelicities of phraseology which will offend many sensitive Christian minds, because of the tendency to degrade sublime and awful themes—irreverent because colloquial phrases, which, though they help the logical apprehension, are strangely out of keeping with the author's higher estimate of direct spiritual impression. There is also not a little ponderous and cumbrous phraseology, by which simple truths are made complex, and familiar principles are obscured. An air of confidence, almost amounting to pretension, certainly bordering on egotism, is rather out of place in a book which makes its especial object to magnify humility, to abase arrogance, and extol the modest virtues. But the book was written by a great and good man, and will repay for the reading any one who has the capacity to comprehend its import, and separate the wheat from the chaff.

We do not review this work at length for the following reasons: The positions taken in it are none of them new. Consequently, there are no novelties to be attacked or defended. Some of them are expressed in peculiar language, which is occasionally open to criticism, but when translated into more familiar and appropriate phraseology these will be easily recognized as having been propounded before, and earnestly vindicated by able and fervent theologians. Others, though true, are made quite too much of in their relative importance as parts of the scheme of Theology. But the good sense and good feeling of the author's friends will readily assign to these their lawful place and importance. The minor defects of the work to which we have already alluded, will be overlooked without the intervention of apologetic or

friendly criticism. Finding no occasion either to criticise or to defend the work, we dispense with the necessarily somewhat difficult task of following it in detail, and leave it to the judgment of our readers.

GRAHAM LECTURES. DIVINE ASPECTS OF HUMAN SOCIETY.*—Messrs. Robert Carter & Brothers send us one of the most beautifully printed volumes of the season, containing the second series of “The Graham Lectures.” This course of Lectures was founded by the bequest of the late Mr. Graham, and inaugurated by the eloquent series of Dr. Storrs on the Constitution of the Soul. These have been given to the public in a volume uniform with the one before us. Professor Huntington follows Dr. Storrs in a course of Lectures on Society as a Manifestation of the Divine Wisdom and Goodness. The subject is discussed under the following order of topics: Society as a Divine Appointment; as a living Instrument of Divine Thought; as a Discipline of Individual Character; as a School of Mutual Assistance; in its Relation to Social Theories; as a Motive and Incentive to the Intellect; as holding in itself Laws of its own Progression; as the Sphere of the Earthly Kingdom of Christ.

The theme is a noble one, opening as it does the widest range for philosophical and ethical discussion, and admitting also the enforcement of important practical truth. Into the philosophical discussions appropriate to his theme Dr. Huntington does not enter as profoundly as was to be desired. We would not insist that all the metaphysical questions involved in a truly religious theory of society should be raised before a popular audience; still less would we absurdly require that they should be discussed with the technical language and abstract refinements that are appropriate to the schools. But in times when the faith of men is so extensively disturbed in regard to society, and the designs of nature and of God as revealed in it, it seems almost a duty that those who have the opportunity should clearly and sternly enforce those great truths which the light of nature clearly reveals, and which the mirror within the human heart most distinctly reflects. Dr. Huntington does not indeed neglect this duty, but it seems to us that he has not made his lectures as instructive on these points as he might and ought to have done. We doubt not that these lectures served to pass the hour for his

* *Graham Lectures. Human Society: Its Providential Structure, Relations, and Offices.* Eight Lectures delivered at the Brooklyn Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. By F. D. HUNTINGTON, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860. 8vo pp. 307.

hearers most agreeably, and that they received from them elevating and useful impressions. It were better had they also taken home clear and well settled opinions concerning much questioned truths that would have remained with them as principles never afterwards to be disturbed or denied. The defect of clear and distinct impressions is still more obvious to the reader of these pages than it was to the hearer of the lectures. We naturally look to a printed series of lectures for the reassertion of familiar principles in forms fitted to impart fresh energy of conviction, or for new arguments that tend to settle disputed truths.

But though there is little or nothing which may be properly said to be a contribution to the scientific or reflective thought of our times, there are many important illustrations of our practical relations to society, and of the duties which grow out of them. Some of the pictures with which these pages are enriched are of charming beauty. Many of the illustrations are felicitously selected from a mind abounding in intellectual wealth. Through the whole work there is breathed that natural yet elevated Christian spirit for which all the writings of the author are so happily distinguished. As an example of his manner, we quote the following :

" To appreciate this mental stimulus from social wants, we have only to look round first upon the furnishing and the walls of our own dwellings. Here are the results of mechanical industry, guided in every manufacture by intellectual faculty. Here are fabrics that comfort the body, save and measure time, light the rooms at nightfall, set the windows that let the sunrise beckon to us in the morning, pour the pond that mirrors the mountains into our chambers, dig and forge the metals that form the implements and the coin and the plate that social necessity uses, bring the coal mine and the forest to soften the winter, spread carpets under our feet, or hang the pictured scenery of countries we never saw before our eyes.

" Or else, for a more vivid and magnificent illustration yet, enter one of our annual exhibition rooms of industry and invention,—a County Fair, or the Crystal Palace of a continent. Every such collection of workmen and their works is a social jubilee of mental victory. It is Society celebrating the Brain's Independence. The whole scene is a vital institute of intellectual instruction. It is an educator. It is an argument. It is an encyclopædia. It is a poem. It is a manual of learning. It is one of the people's quick-witted, extemporized universities. It is a school of design. It puts new illumination into old task work ; it raises the tone of life ; it brightens the observer's senses. It reaches back its quickening touch into all the workshops and factories of the land, and rouses the mind there. It helps finish and edify Society. For still the laborer is greater than the labor ; the engineer is superior to the engine ; the operative is of more significance than the loom ; the woman is finer than her embroidery. There are the trophies of peaceful battles, which the mind, like a loyal general, having wrestled with the obstinacy of nature, brings home to its commonwealth and sovereign, Society." pp. 202, 3.

DR. BELLOWS'S *RESTATEMENTS OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE*.*—Dr. Bellows tells us in his preface that the recent evidences of public interest in his religious opinions have emboldened him to publish a volume of sermons. This volume is entitled Restatements of Christian Doctrine—with the running title of The Readjustment of Faith. We have shared somewhat in the general interest of the public, and on reading the announcement that the book was designed to gratify it, were emboldened to the confident belief that we should find in this volume what Dr. Bellows *does* believe. But on looking through it with aroused attention we are enabled to find but few, if any, statements of doctrine at all. We have found statements enough, and in that graceful and most felicitous diction of which the author is so dexterous a master, concerning the character which the true Christian doctrine is fitted to form. To the most of these we take little exception, indeed to nearly all we give our heartiest assent. We find also certain speculations about Human Nature, Sin and Moral Evil, which, with much that is well and wisely said there is blended now and then a vague speculation that is given at random, with little precision of doctrine and with scarcely any attempt at proof. We find a catholicity of spirit and disposition to find truth even in the hardest statements of orthodoxy, which does honor to the author's broad and generous nature, and is quite refreshing among the so-called Liberal Christians. We find a distinct recognition of the power and need of the Holy Spirit and of the corruption and power of Sin that would have been called mystic cant by the clear and precise Unitarians of another day. We find the most distinct avowals of the necessity of positive faith, of formal observances and of "a Christian year" of Holy Days and Holy Rites. We find the most decided refutation of the rejectors of a supernatural Christianity and the most just and earnest reproof of the temper and the wisdom of godless philanthropists. In short, we find almost everything but that which we seek for, viz., "Statements of Doctrine."

We do not find clearly defined nor earnestly proved what Paul or John teach concerning Christ or man or the kingdom of God, but only discourses mostly practical founded on the assumption that a certain form of Liberal Doctrine supposed to be held by the author, but not declared, is to be taken as the true. The defect of the author seems to be similar to that

* *Restatements of Christian Doctrine*, in Twenty-five Sermons. By HENRY W. BELLOWS, minister of all Soul's Church, New York. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 484.

noticed by Lord Bacon of the schoolmen. "For the wit and mind of man if it work upon matter"—(the matter of the theologian being the Scriptures)—"worketh according to the stuff, and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless and bringeth forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit."

The author has a strong faith, indeed, that something might be done by somebody in the right direction, as appears from the following words :

" For my own part, I believe that the sober, historic Unitarianism of five-and-twenty years ago needs only to be rigidly examined, Scripture in hand, experience in full view, to prove the basis of a much nearer approach to a statement of doctrine in which universal Christendom can agree, than anything else which has been presented for ages. What has gone beyond it, has fallen into Deism ; what has kept behind it, is still in motion ; what has gone one side of it, is compelled, sooner or later, to fall into its track. It needs, I doubt not, some finer and more generous statement, to win the ear and heart of Christendom ; but I feel a mighty confidence that, the first time now that Christian theology clears her trumpet and utters a not uncertain note, the voice of Channing will be the dominant of the strain. If, as a body, we could distinctly affirm, with a good conscience, the positive historic faith—leaving the frigidness of rationalism and the indefiniteness of sentimentalism aside—I think we should start the Christian world from its theological dreaminess, and *articulate*, in wholesome, credible, inspiring words, the truth that now sticks and sputters in the throat of Christendom.

" God grant us the utterance which our languid organs refuse, and give us the blessed privilege of speaking the word which would set chaos in order, and for an ecclesiastical ruin furnish Christendom with a Church !" p. 18.

We have looked for such an utterance in this volume, but alas, we are sorry to find in it from beginning to end little more than the same mournful refrain.

FERNALD ON DIVINE PROVIDENCE.*—This is a delightful book for the most part, written by a man of faith in God, who is not a blind and bigoted disciple of Swedenborg, but who receives him as a man divinely ordained to give men extraordinary insight into spiritual truth. He quotes too largely from his favorite author, and uses too many of his fantastic notions, but there is withal an independence of thought and illustration which makes the book soothe the reader like a quiet, peaceful walk in " green pastures, and by the side of still waters."

* *God in his Providence*: a comprehensive view of the principles and particulars of an active Divine Providence over man—his fortunes, changes, trials, entire discipline as a spiritual being, from birth to eternity. By WOODBURY M. FERNALD. Second Edition. Boston : Otis Clapp. 1859. 12mo. pp. 487.

PROFESSOR SMITH'S ECCLESIASTICAL TABLES.*—This is an admirable work, and cannot be recommended too highly to clergymen and students in Theology. It will be scarcely less useful to all literary men, and should be found in every library, in connection with the Atlas and Encyclopedia. The convenient arrangement, the comprehensive plan, the extent of research, the fullness of detail which characterize it, entitle it to the highest praise.

To give our readers a view of the arrangement and contents of the work, we open at Table III, A. D. 313 to 440. The history of this period is given in four pages, with a general heading at the top. The first page is ruled for three wide columns. The first of these, the widest, gives the General Characteristics of the church during the period. The second column, the contemporaneous history, on the setting of Secular events in which the church is developing an independent and yet connected growth. The third column gives the principal events that mark the advance in Culture and Literature. The second folio page is devoted to the External history of the church, which is given in three separate columns, headed respectively, The Church and the Roman Empire, Growth of the Church, Ecclesiastical Personages. The two next pages are occupied with the Internal History of the Church, under six headings, to each of which is assigned a column,—viz, Church Literature, in this instance Greek and Roman writers, in two parallel rows; Church Polity, Worship and Ritual, Discipline and Monasticism, Doctrines and Controversy, Heresies and Schisms.

Thus, wherever we open the book, we have a picture of the times, in the great events, principal personages, &c., which made it what it was, spread out in chronological relations distinctly before the eye. Indeed, the eye cannot glance over it in the most careless manner without alighting upon some fact or name worthy to be noticed, and which, seen in its place, will not be likely to be forgotten or lost. If we refer to a page to fix a date or verify an impression, we shall scarcely fail to notice some new name or event which will be worth remembering in such a connection. The occasional, and preëminently the frequent use of these tables, will contribute greatly to preserve and renew our knowledge.

* *History of the Church of Christ, in Chronological tables*: a synchronistic view of the events, characteristics, and culture of each period, including the history of Polity, Worship, Literature, and Doctrines; together with two supplementary Tables upon the Church in America, and Appendix, containing the series of Councils, Popes, Patriarchs, and Bishops, and a full Index. By HENRY B. SMITH, D. D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary of the City of New York. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859. folio. pp. 93.

The history of the church in America is original with the author, and shows faithful and laborious research, with great skill in the arrangement of his materials. Some inadvertencies quite inexcusable in respect to the theological opinions of the late Dr. Taylor, have already been noticed in the newspapers, and the following sentence reads very oddly at New Haven : "The polity of New England was Congregational, and not an Independency : pastors, teachers, ruling elders, and deacons were the recognized officers, (*seven pillars* at New Haven.)"!! The "seven pillars" at New Haven were in no sense officers of the church ; but by their mutual covenant first constituted themselves into a church, which, when thus organized, proceeded to the election of its officers. See "Bacon's Historical Discourses."

These blemishes are slight and inconsiderable when weighed against the general truthfulness and exactness of the volume.

PROFESSOR HODGE'S EXPOSITION OF II CORINTHIANS.*—This commentary is so like those volumes which have preceded it in its excellencies and defects, that we need not criticise it at length. We give an extract or two, as some of our readers may not have the opportunity to judge of the author's manner. The passage which we quote also is instructive as showing that much Theology can be foisted into an exegetical commentary. The passage commented on is 2 Corinthians v, 21.

"*He was made sin*, may mean either, he was made a sin-offering, or, the abstract being used for the concrete, he was made a sinner. Many of the older commentators prefer the former explanation; Calvin, and almost all the moderns, adopt the latter. The meaning in either case is the same; for the only sense in which Christ was made sin, is that he bore the guilt of sin; and in this sense every sin-offering was made sin. The only sense in which we are made the righteousness of God is that we are in Christ regarded and treated as righteous, and therefore the sense in which he was made sin, is that he was regarded and treated as a sinner. His being made sin is consistent with his being in himself free from sin; and our being made righteous is consistent with our being in ourselves ungodly. In other words, our sins were imputed to Christ, and his righteousness is imputed to us. His sufferings and death were penal, because inflicted and endured in satisfaction of justice. And in virtue of the infinite dignity of his person they were a perfect satisfaction; that is, a full equivalent for all the law's demands."

"The very idea of substitution is that what is done by one in the place of another, avails as though that other had done it himself. The victim was the

* *An Exposition of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.* By CHARLES HODGE, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 814.

substitute of the offerer, because its death took the place of his death. If both died there was no substitution. So if Christ's being made sin does not secure our being made righteousness, he was not our substitute. Righteousness does not here mean inward rectitude, or moral excellence. It is true that the word often has this sense; and it is true that the work of Christ does secure the holiness of his people, and was designed to produce that effect, as is often asserted in Scripture. But this was neither its only, nor its proximate design. Its immediate end was to reconcile us to God; to propitiate him, by the satisfaction of justice, so that he can be just and yet justify the ungodly. As the apostle is here speaking of the sacrificial effect of Christ's death, that is, of the proximate effect of his being made sin for us, the word righteousness must be understood in its forensic sense. It expresses our relation to the law, not our inward moral state. It is that which justifies, or satisfies the demands of the law. Those who have this *discourson* are *destituti*, just in the sight of the law, in the sense that the law or justice is satisfied as concerns them. It is called the *righteousness of God*, either because it is from him as its author; or, because it renders us righteous in his sight."

"There is probably no passage in the Scriptures in which the doctrine of justification is more concisely or clearly stated than in this. Our sins were imputed to Christ, and his righteousness is imputed to us. He bore our sins; we are clothed in his righteousness. Imputation conveys neither pollution nor holiness. Christ's bearing our sins did not make him morally a sinner, any more than the victim was morally defiled which bore the sins of the people; nor does Christ's righteousness become subjectively ours, it is not the moral quality of our souls. This is what is not meant. What is meant is equally plain. Our sins were the judicial ground of the sufferings of Christ, so that they were a satisfaction of justice; and his righteousness is the judicial ground of our acceptance with God, so that our pardon is an act of justice." pp. 148, 149, 150, 151.

PAUL THE PREACHER.*—It was a happy thought of Professor Eadie to treat the discourses of Paul in a half expository, half popular way, and thus to make the Acts of the Apostles a living history fraught with fresh interest to modern Christians. No method is so well fitted to accomplish this object as to fix the interest upon the striking discourses of the noble apostle. As expanded and illustrated by the author, these discourses are made to comprehend the chief points of Christian truth, as it was proclaimed in the earliest days of the church, and also to bring in a series of striking pictures, the chief incidents of persecution and trial, of travel and flight, of imprisonment and arraignment, which make the book of the Acts so fraught with stirring interest. The historic

* *Paul the Preacher; or, a popular and practical Exposition of his Discourses and Speeches, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.* By JOHN EADIE, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Synod. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 453.

sense of Professor Eadie, and his power to transport himself into the life of other times, comes here constantly into service. Besides the sermons of Paul bring up some of the toughest questions that test and task the modern critic and interpreter; as, for example, the interpretation of the Messianic psalms and prophecies, and the use of the Old Testament in the New. These are all thoroughly, yet not scholastically handled. The style of the book is abundant,—sometimes too diffuse and exuberant,—but is never diluted and watery. We would that this volume might be circulated by thousands and myriads of copies, and take the place of much of the stupid and deadening stuff that is called excellent religious reading. For the instructors of Sunday schools and Bible classes, the book is admirable, and as a kind of First book in Church History, it has the double merit of explaining the rise of the Church and of imparting a fresh interest to the New Testament.

THE STILL HOUR.*—We are confident that this little volume upon "Communion with God," which goes out from Andover Hill, will speedily find its way to thousands of Christian homes in all parts of the country, where it will be read and re-read, and prized as it deserves. We give the titles of its fourteen short chapters: "Absence of God in Prayer.—Unhallowed Prayer.—Romance in Prayer.—Distrust in Prayer.—Faith in Prayer.—Specific and Intense Prayer,—Temperament of Prayer.—Indolence in Prayer.—Idolatry in Prayer.—Continuance in Prayer.—Fragmentary Prayer.—Aid of the Holy Spirit in Prayer.—Reality of Christ in Prayer.—Modern habits of Prayer."

We do not know of any work upon the subject of prayer which seems so fitted to do good as this. The book of Dr. Hamilton, of London,—"The Mount of Olives,"—has had great popularity, and deservedly. The aptness, and beauty, and abundance of its illustrations cannot but attract attention and excite admiration. But this book of Professor Phelps pleases us better. There is no new theory of prayer offered; there is only a plain presentation of "standard" thoughts upon the subject, and there is no attempt to invest it with the charms of novelty. But there is a directness and quiet simplicity about the book that turns the thought of the reader from the style to the *subject*, and invests it with an importance and an intense reality that we have never

* *The Still Hour*; or Communion with God. By AUSTIN PHELPS, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. 18mo. pp. 136.

seen equaled. We cannot refrain from giving one or two short paragraphs.

"The Scriptural idea of prayer is that of one of the most downright, sturdy realities in the universe. Right in the heart of God's plan of government, it is lodged as a power. Amidst the conflicts which are going on in the evolution of that plan, it stands as a power. Into all the intricacies of Divine working, and the mysteries of Divine decree, it reaches out silently as a power. In the mind of God, we may be assured, the conception of prayer is no fiction, whatever man may think of it.

"It has, and God has determined that it should have, a positive and an appreciable influence in directing the course of a human life. It is, and God has purposed that it should be, a link of connection between human mind and Divine mind, by which, through His infinite condescension, we may actually move His will. It is, and God has decreed that it should be, a power in the universe, as distinct, as real, as natural, and as uniform, as the power of gravitation, or of light, or of electricity. A man may use it as trustingly and as soberly as he would use either of these. It is as truly the dictate of good sense that a man should expect to achieve something by praying as it is that he should expect to achieve something by a telescope, or the mariner's compass, or the electric telegraph. * * * * The feeling which will become spontaneous with a Christian under the influence of such a trust, is this: 'I come to my devotions this morning on an errand of real life. This is no romance and no farce. I do not come here to go through a form of words. I have no hopeless desires to express. I have an object to gain. I have an end to accomplish. This is a business in which I am about to engage. An astronomer does not turn his telescope to the skies with a more reasonable hope of penetrating those distant heavens, than I have of reaching the mind of God by lifting up my heart at the throne of Grace. This is the privilege of my calling of God in Christ Jesus. Even my faltering voice is now to be heard in heaven, and it is to put forth a power there, the results of which only God can know, and only eternity can develop. Therefore, O Lord! Thy servant findeth it in his heart to pray this prayer unto Thee.' "

GOTTHOLD'S EMBLEMS.*—This is a charming addition to our devotional literature. It is a translation of a volume which nearly two hundred years ago had a popularity in Germany not inferior to that of the works of Luther. As long as the evangelical Church had living members it was read wherever the German language was known. But with the decay of true religious feeling, and the ascendancy gained by infidelity, it fell into temporary oblivion. It is a sign that there is

* *Gotthold's Emblems*, or Invisible things understood by things that are made. By CHRISTIAN SCRIVER, minister of Magdeburg in 1671. Translated from the twenty-eighth German edition, by the Rev. Robert Menzies, Hoddam, England. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. 12mo. pp. 316.

another change for the better in Germany, that this ancient book seems to have regained something of its former popularity, and that its admirers are vieing with those of bygone years in praising and applauding the author.

The book consists of over two hundred short "meditations" upon the most familiar objects which daily present themselves to the eye, in the family and in the outdoor world. The design of the author is to draw from each some lesson of practical piety and to teach us how to make every familiar object illustrate to us God's dealings with man or man's obligations to God. There are those whose minds are so eminently practical, that they can feel no interest in tracing such analogies for themselves, and such will doubtless see no beauty in this work of the old "court preacher," Christian Scriver, of Magdeburg. But by those who have the true poetic sense, we are confident that these prose "meditations" will be received as the gems of one who really deserves the name of a Christian poet.

WORKS OF DR. EMMONS.*—We have before us the second volume of the Works of Dr. Emmons, issued by the Congregational Board of Publication. Why the second volume has been published before the first, does not appear. We suppose, however, it must be because that, consisting wholly of sermons, it could be made ready for the press earlier than the first volume, which will contain a memoir of Dr. Emmons's life, and perhaps other preliminary matter. It does not appear, either, of how many volumes this edition is to consist. The present volume, which has 838 large octavo pages, begins with Systematic Theology, but has not completed it, carrying it only through the Work of Christ and as far as the subject of Justification. It contains that part of Dr. Emmons's Systematic Theology which is given in the fourth and a small portion of that which is given in the fifth of the six volume edition of his Works which was published by Crocker & Brewster in 1842, under the editorial supervision of Dr. Ide. We are pleased to see, on comparing this volume with those, that this is enriched by the addition of ten sermons not contained in them. So that this edition is not a mere republication of the former one, but is made more full by a selection from Dr. Emmons's manuscripts. The volume is pub-

* *The Works of Nathaniel Emmons, D. D., Third Pastor of the Church in Franklin, Mass. With a Memoir of his Life. Edited by JACOB IDE, D. D. Vol. II. Boston: Congregational Board of Publication, 23 Chauncy Street. 1860.* Sent prepaid by mail for \$2 a volume.

lished in handsome style, on excellent paper, and in large clear type, which it is a pleasure to read. Of course this more full publication of the Works of one of the most independent thinkers and able theologians of New England, as Dr. Emmons unquestionably was, we regard as a valuable contribution to theological literature. Our object now, however, is simply to inform our readers of the general character of this volume, reserving our criticism till the appearance of the whole work.

REV. CHARLES KINGSLEY'S SERMONS. THE GOOD NEWS OF GOD.*— The sermons contained in Mr. Kingsley's lately published volume are much superior to his former publications,—the "Village Sermons" and the "Sermons for the Times." They are superior, both in style and in contents. The style is a model of condensation and of perspicuity in teaching abstract truth. Everything is made plain, and that without circumlocution or loss of force. In this feature, these thirty-nine sermons might be profitably studied by all ministers. The word of God, as far as the author inculcates it, is made a fire and a hammer. We regret that he is not more sound and scriptural in his theological opinions. While many of these discourses are, in respect of doctrine, admirable and edifying, others introduce serious errors. It is no secret to the readers of Mr. Kingsley's former work, that he believes in the termination of future punishment and rejects the expiatory atonement of Christ,—a doctrine which he fails to understand and does not fairly state. We have felt that his passionate opposition to this truth and others congruous with it, indicated a want of repose in his own views of the Gospel and a yet unfinished struggle in his own mind.

GUINNESS'S SERMONS.†— The fifteen sermons of this popular preacher are fine examples of what has been called the Sunflower style of pulpit eloquence. It does not always happen, however, that the exaggerated rhetoric and gaudy word-painting of sensation preachers is redeemed by so much earnestness of purpose and warmth of Christian feeling as Mr. Guinness seems to possess. But it does no good to find fault with the tastes of preachers or hearers, as we know; for the world will have its own way of thinking on such matters.

* *The Good News of God.*—Sermons. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Rector of Eversley, etc. New York: Burt, Hutchinson & Abbey. 1869.

† *Sermons:* By the Rev. GRATTON GUINNESS. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 363.

SPURGEON'S SERMONS. SIXTH SERIES.*—Messrs. Sheldon & Co., the authorized publishers of Mr. Spurgeon in America, have presented the public with still another volume of his sermons, the sixth in the series. It will be gratifying to his numerous admirers in this country to be informed, on the authority of the publishers, that these sermons appear “precisely as they came from the hand of the author, with the revisions marked by his own pen, and without a passage or word being omitted or added.” The discourses in this volume are addressed particularly to Christians.

EARNEST THOUGHTS.†—This is a book of select extracts from the sermons of the Rev. Dr. James Hamilton, the eminent Pastor of the Free Church, Regent's Square, London. The aptness and beauty of his illustrations, “so adorned with the drapery of a gorgeous eloquence,” are well known to the religious world, and we doubt not that this little volume, whose title we have given, will find many admirers.

PREACHERS AND PREACHING.‡—This does not profess to be a very profound discussion of the subject announced in the title, but it is full of lively and pertinent illustrations drawn from real life, and we think will be regarded by the public as quite a readable book. It is from the pen of Rev. Dr. Murray, of Elizabethtown, the well known and popular author of “Kirwan's Letters.” His object is to set forth, in a way that will attract general attention, the causes of the success and of the failure of ministers, and of the good and bad conduct of parishes and people towards them. It will serve for the reading of parishioners as well as of preachers; but of the two classes we should prefer it should have a wide circulation among the former.

THE PRECIOUS THINGS OF GOD.§—The themes here presented for our consideration are of the most noble and inspiring character, and the views are all well calculated to lead the Christian to prize more highly the “precious things” which God has provided for those who love Him.

* *Sermons*: Preached and revised by the Rev. C. H. SPURGEON. Sixth series, New York. 12mo. pp. 450. 1860. Sheldon & Co.

† *Earnest Thoughts*. From Discourses by James Hamilton, D. D., of London. American Tract Society. New York. 24mo. pp. 190.

‡ *Preachers and Preaching*. By Rev. NICHOLAS MURRAY, D. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 808.

§ *The Precious Things of God*. By OCTAVIUS WINSLOW, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 424.

PHILOLOGY.

PROPOSED NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY.—We have already directed the attention of our readers to the project of the London Philological Society for a comprehensive dictionary of the English language. The design, it will be remembered, is nothing less than to produce a complete lexicographic history of every word which has ever held a place in English literature,—to note the time of its introduction, or, rather, that of its first literary appearance, and if it has gone out of use, the time of its last appearance also,—to define its various meanings, supporting them by full illustrative quotations, and to show the changes of meaning which it may have undergone from time to time. The first thing to be done toward the practical realization of this great scheme, is, of course, to collect the raw material,—to find the words which are to be included, and to bring together the passages of English writers which shall exhibit all their varieties of use. It is necessary then, at the outset, to make a minute and wide-ranging lexical examination of English literature. This task, which obviously transcends the powers of any man, or any society acting through a single generation, it is proposed to accomplish by a great system of coöperative effort, in which scholars and literary men are invited to participate. Each one of those who are disposed to render assistance, is to select for himself some one or more works, according to his time and inclination—of course, avoiding those which may have been already selected—and to read them carefully through with reference to the objects of the Dictionary. The literature of the language, since the year 1300, is divided into three periods, which have been determined with great good judgment, the first ending at 1525, the second at 1675, and the third coming down to our own day. For each of these periods, a separate standard of comparison is presented to the contributors. The standard for the first period is a list, published by the Society, containing all the words found in English works prior to 1300. The Concordances to the Bible and to Shakspeare furnish a standard for the second period. That of the third period will be a list, to be published by the Society, of all the words which appear in the works of Edmund Burke. What is expected of each contributor is, that when he meets with any word, or any use of a word, which is not to be found in his standard, he will write the word upon a separate half sheet of paper, and transcribe below it the sentence to which it belongs, at the same time indicating carefully the place where that sen-

tence occurs. The half sheets thus prepared are to be forwarded to the agents of the Society, who will arrange them in due order for their destined purpose,—for the great and trying work of constructing from this precious but chaotic mass of material the well ordered fabric of a standard English Dictionary. Whether the hands that are to execute this most important task will be fully adequate to its accomplishment, remains to be proved; and we must frankly confess that our own minds are not wholly free from misgivings. But we are bound to hope for the best, and, whatever may be the character of the Dictionary itself, the proposed collection of materials for the Dictionary can hardly fail to be of inestimable value. It is with pleasure, therefore, that we hear of special efforts made by the authors of this undertaking to awaken interest and to secure coöperation on our side of the Atlantic. The entire literature of the eighteenth century has been reserved for American contributors, though no one is precluded from choosing, if he prefers it, elsewhere. It has been supposed, however, that all the important works of the last century are accessible in this country, while among those of earlier date, many are only to be found in England. To enlist the services and give direction to the labors of contributors here, the Society have appointed an agent for this country, the Hon. George P. Marsh, of Burlington, Vt. They are fortunate in having as their representative a gentleman so distinguished not only for his talents and influence, but also for his great attainments as a scholar, and especially his familiar acquaintance with the languages of northern Europe which are kindred to the English. Mr. Marsh's own qualifications to assist the progress of English lexicography have been abundantly proved by his course of philological lectures, delivered a few months since in Columbia College. We are glad to learn that this valuable course is now in press, and will soon be given to the public. In his efforts on behalf of the Philological Society, we trust that Mr. Marsh will find a general and active interest among scholars and literary people in our country. One great advantage in the plan proposed, is this—that one who cannot do much for it, can at least do something; every one can cast his mite into the treasury. He who has not the leisure for examining a large book, can undertake a small one. The contributors, it will be observed, are not obliged to give definitions, but only to write out the words with the passages that contain them. This requires intelligence and carefulness;—carefulness in comparing the book with the proposed standard; and intelligence to recognize what is peculiar in the former. But one need not be deterred from undertaking such labor by a con-

scious want of lexicographic ability or experience. For the services of contributors, whether English or American, the Society, we understand, can offer no pecuniary compensation. But the minute lexical study of a well-written book, especially if it be a work of genius, cannot fail to be in a high degree interesting and profitable. Nor is it a slight reward for studious exertion, to earn the consciousness of having borne a part, though it be only a humble one, in a work of great, general, and permanent value.

Hints on Lexicography.—Lexicography, in its leading branch, namely, the development of the meaning of words, belongs to a department of the study of language, which is passed over in our common grammars. It may be called *semasiology*, or the doctrine concerning the signification of words.

Notwithstanding there is much discussion arising from the “war of the dictionaries,” yet we rarely see any definite statement of the general principles which should guide the lexicographer in deducing and defining the different meanings of words.

The transitions from one meaning of a word to another correspond, for the most part, to the *tropes*, or what Dr. Becker calls the *figures of the logical thought*. These figures are the *synecdoche*, *metonymy*, *metaphor*, and *personification*. Indeed these transitions, as exhibited in the dictionary of a language, may be regarded as *faded* or *dormant* figures.

In synonymous, on the contrary, two distinct words approach very near in signification, and do not stand even in a tropical relation to each other; hence they must be permitted to run into each other, or be separated by refined and sometimes artificial distinctions.

Words often pass synecdochically from the species to the genus, as *bread* for *food* in general; from the subordinate part or member to the whole, as *a hand* for *a workman* or agent; or from the constituent part to the whole, as *soul* for *a person*.

Words often pass metonymically from the abstract to the concrete, as *government* for *persons exercising the government*; from the instrument to the thing produced, as *the tongue* for *speech*; from the container to the thing contained, as *a cup* for *the contents of the cup*; from the sign to the thing signified, as *a scepter* for *royal authority*; from parts of the human body to powers seated there, as *the heart* for *the affections*; from the place where an article is made to the article itself, as *Champagne* for *wine of Champagne*; or from the material of which the thing is made to the thing itself, as *irons* for *fetters*.

Words pass metaphorically from one meaning to another, wherever there is a resemblance or analogy, real or supposed; as, *paradise* for *heaven*; *uprightness* for *righteousness*; *transgression* for *sin*.

Words are often used by way of personification, or acquire more or less the attributes or powers of persons; as, *wisdom* teaches; *prudence* guards.

More particularly we have in notional words the following changes of meaning.

The names of physical objects are often transferred to constellations, on account of their supposed resemblance; as, *the ram*, *the balance*.

The names of animals are often transferred to machines or instruments or parts of them, on account of their resemblance in form or use; as, *a horse*, for sawing wood; *a ram*, an engine of war.

The names of the parts of animals are often transferred to plants, on account of a supposed resemblance; as, *foxtail*, *buckshorn*.

The names of animal members are often transferred to inanimate objects, on account of a similarity of use or relation; as, *a tooth* of a saw or comb; *the foot* of a mountain or column.

Activities and attributes of living objects are often ascribed to inanimate objects, on account of their analogy; as, a *dead* color; a *dead* coal; *living* water; *quicksilver*.

Words belonging to the vegetable kingdom are often transferred to the animal; as, *a branch* of a family; *stock* of cattle.

The name of an external action is often used by an association of ideas to denote the internal feeling; as, *inclination*, *aversion*.

Many words, originally of a good sense, acquire by association and usage a bad sense; as, *boor*, vi *etymologiae*, "a husbandman," and in *malo sensu*, "a person of rude manners;" *clown*, vi *originis*, "a husbandman," and in *malo sensu*, "a person of rude manners."

Words are often transferred from one of the five senses to another; as, *bitter* cold; *smooth* notes; *rough* tones. These transitions rest on a perceived analogy.

Intellectual and moral ideas are expressed by physical terms, on account of a perceived analogy; as, *to conceive*, *to comprehend*, *to deduce*, *to infer*. This is a very productive source of new significations.

There is a strong disposition in man, arising perhaps from his social feelings, to give to the birds and quadrupeds, with which he is most conversant, the proper names of human beings; and these names have occasionally passed, by a synecdoche, from the individual to the species or genus; as, *guillemot*, (a French diminutive of the proper name *William*.)

applied to a species of water-fowl; *colin*, (a French form of the proper name *Nicolas*,) applied to a species of partridge or quail; *martin*, (a proper name derived from the god *Mars*,) applied to a species of swallow; *renard*, (Germ. *Reinhard*, a Christian name,) a name applied to the fox in poetry and fable; *reineke*, (another form of *Renard*,) applied first in German to the fox, and then in German and English to a celebrated ancient Flemish poem. This usage is more common in other dialects; comp. Scottish *Lourie*, (as if *little Laurence*,) applied to the fox; Germ. *pätz*, (as if *little Peter*,) applied to the bear; and French *bertrand*, applied in poetry to the ape.

These different senses, as they fall in different spheres, are easily distinguished from each other in actual usage.

Form-words suffer frequent transitions of meaning, either by passing from one column to another; or by passing from one row or series to another; see the Table of Correlative Particles, as given in grammatical works.

Demonstratives sometimes become relatives; as, *that*, demonst. and relat.; *as*, demonst. and relat. Interrogatives are often used as relatives; as, *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*. Interrogatives are sometimes used as indefinites; as, *what*, *where*, *how*. The construction, and especially the intonation, makes the meaning clear. These different meanings should constitute distinct articles in a dictionary.

Adverbs of manner are employed to express intensity; as, *so*, *how*, *as*.

Prepositions, originally denoting place, pass to the notation of *time*, *condition*, *causality*, etc. as, *from*, *for*. In these different uses of prepositions, there is a great economy of language.

When words are transferred from one part of speech to another, without internal change of vowel, and without suffixes or prefixes, the change of meaning should be succinctly stated, and the words should appear as distinct articles.

Derivative verbs in English are sometimes formed from substantives, and adopt that meaning which most readily presents itself.

1. Signifying *to be the thing denoted by the noun of subject*; as, *to barber*, to be a barber; *to tailor*, to be a tailor.

2. Signifying *to do the action denoted by the noun*; as, *to dream*, *to hunger*, *to thirst*, from the nouns, *dream*, *hunger*, *thirst*.

3. Signifying *to act upon the thing denoted by the noun* in some obvious manner; as, *to fish*, to catch fish; *to glaze*, to set glass; *to graze*, to eat grass.

4. Signifying *to use the thing denoted by the noun* in some obvious

manner; as, *to butter, to fire, to fodder, to house, to ship*, from the nouns, *butter, fire, fodder, house, ship*.

5. Signifying *to use the instrument denoted by the noun*; as, *to hammer, to mouth, to plow*, from the nouns, *hammer, mouth, plow*.

Note 1. In this derivation the final consonant of the stem is sometimes softened, or the accent is transferred to the final syllable. Thus (1.) *f* is changed into *v*; as, *to calve* from *calf*; *to halve* from *half*; (2.) *s* is changed into *z*; as, *to glaze* from *glass*; *to graze* from *grass*; *to house* from *house*; *to prize* from *prise*; (3.) *th* is changed into *dh*; as, *to breathe* from *breath*; *to mouth* from *mouth*; and (4.) the accent is transferred to the final syllable; as, *to aug-men't* from *aug'ment*; *to col-league'* from *col'league*; *to con-fine'* from *con'fine*; *to con-sort'* from *con'sort*; *to fer-men't* from *fer'ment*; *to tor-men't* from *tor'ment*.

Note 2. The same derivative may be taken in two or more of the acceptations given above; as, *to graze*, to eat grass, see No. (3.) and to supply with grass, see No. (4.).

Derivative verbs are formed also from adjectives, and have a transitive signification; as, *to blue*, to make blue; *to dull*, to make dull; *to even*, to make even; *to warm*, to make warm; from adverbs; as, *to out*, to cast out; and from interjections; as, *to husza* or *hurrah*, to cry *husza* or *hurrah*.

When the same English word belongs to different parts of speech, and of course forms as many distinct articles in the dictionary, these articles should be arranged genealogically, that is, according to the order of their development. For example, the five or six different uses of the term *right* may be adjusted thus.

RIGHT, adj. (from root of Eng. *reach*,—Lat. *✓ reg*, Gr. *✓ ὅρπη*; with participial suffix *t*, comp. Lat. *rectus*, which is formed in an analogous manner;) properly strained, stretched, *straight*, whence many secondary or derived significations.

RIGHT, subst. (the neuter adjective, used substantively,) *what is right or just, rightness, justice*.

RIGHT, adv. (with loss of adverbial termination, comp. Anglo-Sax. *rihte*, adv. from *riht*, adj.) as if *rightly, with rightness*.

RIGHT, verb trans. (from adjective *right*,) *to make right*, as, for example, an injured person.

RIGHT, verb intrans. (from adjective *right*,) *to become right*, as a ship rising with her masts erect.

RIGHT, interj. (from adjective *right*,) as if, by an ellipsis, for *it is right*.

TWELVE YEARS OF A SOLDIER'S LIFE IN INDIA.*—This is a book of stirring adventure. We remember nothing in veritable biography that so much resembles romance. It is the story of the brief but brilliant career in India of one of Dr. Arnold's Rugby boys, a contemporary and friend of "Tom Brown," at that well known school, where he is still remembered, and where his feats of activity still live in the traditions of the place. From Rugby, Hodson went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and after taking his degree in 1844, entered the service of the East India Company. His first campaign took him to the Sutlej, and gave him a "rough baptism of war;" but it served to give him also experience, to make him friends, and to bring him to notice as a bold, intelligent, and reliable officer, who was never weary, and never dispirited; who was equal to any service, and always ready for duty. For such there is never wanting work to do. So, in the interval between the first and second Sikh war, he was employed in every kind of responsible service. First he was sent to superintend the building of a great asylum for the children of English soldiers, among the hills, with a *carte blanche* to do whatever he pleased, and to draw for whatever funds he wished. Appointed to the command there, we find him with "upwards of a thousand most unwilling laborers," that he had collected and got into working order, surveying and making a military road through desert and forest, to Ferozepore. Then he was appointed to an important "civil" position, as "Assistant" to the Resident at Lahore, and was set to administer justice in all manner of cases, civil, criminal, and revenue, in the Lahore courts. In all these positions he was gaining a knowledge of Indian character, and an experience in managing the natives, which fitted him to be the famous partisan leader that he afterwards proved himself to be on the breaking out again of hostilities. There he found his fit place! He was second in command of the "Guides," a body of irregular cavalry, whose business it is to scour the country backwards and forwards, to be everywhere, and know everything that is going on among the wild tribes upon the frontier. Soon, by a series of brilliant exploits, "by successful stratagem, and midnight surprise, and many a desperate contest," he made his name a terror to

* *Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India.* Being extracts from the letters of the late Major W. S. R. Hodson, B. A. Including a personal narrative of the siege of Delhi, and capture of the King and Princes. Edited by his brother, the Rev. GEORGE H. HODSON, M. A. Boston: 1859. Ticknor & Fields. 12mo. pp. 444. For sale by T. H. Pease.

the enemy, while his soldiers idolized him as a leader. But the war was at last ended, and the Punjab was annexed. Then came his next step in promotion, which was to the command of the "Guides," and a wild frontier district was handed over to him, of which he was made military and civil chief. There he settled down, with his newly married wife, in his own words, "the happiest and most fortunate man in the service." It was, however, no life of ease that was before him. He was to rule a whole province, and "do justice and judgment among a people that had never known what justice and judgment were." And so years were spent in the discharge of most responsible duties, which required ceaseless activity and unremitting toil.

Our space has not allowed us to follow the fortunes of Hodson, or portray his character with any degree of particularity. It must suffice to say with his biographer, "though his lot was cast in camps, he was not a mere soldier; though he spent his life as a hanger-on on the outskirts of civilization, he had a keen appreciation of the refinements and elegancies of civilized life; though in India, he remembered that he was an Englishman; and, though living among the heathen, he did not forget that he was a Christian."

We pass on to the terrible days of the "Sepoy Mutiny," in 1857, when the time came for such men as Hodson to show to the world their real value. He was attached to the army before Delhi, and then as the commander of the "Irregular Horse," and as the responsible head of the Intelligence Department he displayed a heroism, and rendered services, with "his invincible and almost ubiquitous body of cavalry," which have made his name prominent among the heroes of that little band who struggled so valiantly for the maintenance of the British rule in India. According to the London Times, he "fought everywhere and against any odds, with all the spirit of a Paladin of old."

We hasten to the two most remarkable exploits of his career,—the capture of the old King, and the capture of the Princes.

"The siege of Delhi was ended. A mere handful of Englishmen, for half the time numbering less than three thousand, set themselves down in the open field, in the worst days of an Indian summer, without regular communications, without proper artillery, and last and worst of all, without able leading, and had taken a city larger than Glasgow, garrisoned by an army trained by Englishmen, and numbering at first 20,000, in another ten days 37,000, and at last 75,000 men, supplied with all but exhaustless munitions of war, and in the midst of a nation in arms. * * * The very day after possession was taken of Delhi, Captain Hodson received information that the King and his family had taken refuge with a large force only a few miles from the gates of the city, in the tomb of Huma-

yoom. He immediately reported it to the general commanding, and asked whether he might lead a detachment in pursuit; as with the King at liberty, and heading so large a force, their victory was next to useless, and they might themselves be besieged instead of besiegers. General Wilson replied that he could not spare a single European. He then volunteered to lead a party of the Irregulars, but this offer was also refused. Meanwhile, messengers had come in from the favorite Begum, who offered to use her influence with the King to surrender, on condition that *he and his family should be restored to their palace and their honors*, with several other equally modest demands. The message was treated, of course, with contemptuous denial. General Wilson, however, allowed Captain Hodson to go to the King, and offer him his life and freedom from personal indignity, and make what other terms he could. He immediately started with but fifty of his own Irregulars,—he the only European of the party. The risk was such as no one can judge of who has not seen the road. It led through the ruins of the old city of Delhi, and the whole country about swarmed with rebels who still had arms in their hands. Hodson reached the Tomb, sent in a peremptory demand to the King to come out, offering him only his own life and the lives of two or three of his family. To his astonishment, the King came out, and surrendered to him his arms, doubtless impressed with the idea that there was a large force at hand. Hodson immediately assured him that if any attempt at rescue was made, he would shoot him down like a dog, and surrounding him with his men, immediately took the road to Delhi. The march was necessarily at a foot pace, and Hodson, with his handful of men, was followed and surrounded by thousands during the return march, any one of whom could have shot him in a moment. But as his orderly said, the influence of his calm and undaunted look upon the crowd was wonderful, and they seemed paralyzed at the fact of one white man (for they thought nothing of his fifty black sowars) carrying off their King alone."

Wonderful as this adventure was, it was surpassed by his seizure of the three Princes, a few days after. He had learned where was their retreat, and with a hundred of his Irregulars, accompanied by but one European, his lieutenant, he left Delhi. Six miles from the city he found them surrounded by 6,000 of their Mussulman armed followers. He demanded an *unconditional surrender*. Strange to tell, they gave up their arms to him, fancying, undoubtedly, as the King's life had been spared, theirs would be. Hodson immediately closed up his men about them, and began to move towards Delhi, the thousands of their followers thronging after, with arms in their hands. Hodson called to them to lay down their arms. There was a murmur. He reiterated his command, and pointing his carbine, said, "The first man that moves is a dead man." The effect was instantaneous, and wonderful as it seems, they commenced doing so.

Says Mr. Dowell, his lieutenant :

"There we stayed for two hours, collecting their arms, and I assure you, I

thought every moment they would rush upon us. I said nothing, but smoked all the time, to show I was unconcerned; but at last, when it was all done, and all the arms collected, put in a cart, and started, Hodson turned to me and said, 'We'll go now.' Very slowly we mounted, formed up the troop, and cautiously departed, followed by the crowd. We rode along quietly. You will say, why did we not charge them? I merely say, we were one hundred men, and they were fully six thousand. As we got about a mile off, Hodson turned to me and said, 'Well, Mac, we've got them at last!' and we both gave a sigh of relief. Never in my life, under the heaviest fire, have I been in such imminent danger."

We give, as nearly as possible in the words of Mac Dowell, the substance of the rest of the story of this adventure, conscious that we are shamefully mutilating it. On the troop marched in silence, till the increasing crowd pressed close on the horses of the sowars, and assumed every moment a more hostile aspect. At last it seemed impossible to keep them longer at bay. Hodson felt that it would never answer to allow his captives to escape, and as a last resort determined to shoot them. There was no time to be lost. He halted his men, put five troopers across the road, behind and in front, ordered the princes to strip, to get again into their carts, and then shot them himself, with his own hand. So ended the career of the chiefs of the revolt—some of the greatest villains that ever shamed humanity. They were the fiends who were known to have perpetrated those enormities upon English women and children, the report of which sent such a shudder of horror through the civilized world. Hodson shot them himself, because a single moment's hesitation on the part of his black sowara, or appearance of hesitation before that vast crowd, and all would have been lost.

Our readers may be interested to know how such services were acknowledged at the time by the commander-in-chief. All the notice taken of them by Major General Wilson, in his despatches, was—

"The King gave himself up to a party of Irregular cavalry, whom I sent out in the direction of the fugitives, and he is now a prisoner under a guard of European soldiers."

The grateful acknowledgments of his countrymen came too late for Hodson. At the taking of Lucknow, March 11th, 1858, six months after, he received a mortal wound, and one of the most brilliant soldiers that England has had in India, one "whose name was known, either in love or fear, by every native from Calcutta to Cabul," died without having ever received "one mark of his sovereign's approbation," (with the exception of a brevet Majority, to which he was entitled for services eight years before,) "without any recognition having ever been made of gallant deeds of daring, which would have covered many of fortune's

favorites with decorations." "*Id maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli.*"

MEMOIR OF CAPT. BATE.*—The subject of this memoir, a captain in the British navy, was killed during the attack upon Canton, in December, 1857, while attempting to set the ladder for the escalade.

According to the correspondent of the 'London Times,' he had volunteered on a service "of imminent danger," at a time when "a storm of balls and rockets" was coming from the wall. "He was in the act of taking the distance from the ground to the top of the wall, with his sextant, when a shot from a gingall struck him in the right breast. He fell straight on the ground, and never moved afterwards." Such was the untimely end, at the age of thirty-seven years, of one of the most manly and courageous men in the British navy, who was loved by every one in the fleet, "from the admiral down to the youngest boy."

But it is something higher than personal valor, and professional capacity, and the stirring details of a British sailor's life, that gives an interest to this memoir. Besides all these, there is the exhibition of a noble Christian character in one who daily sought, in all that he did, to act in a way that would be pleasing to God. The story of his persevering faithfulness in the discharge of duties which took him for years "out of the pale of civilization," and of the cheerful spirit with which he met repeated disappointments and trials, and of the triumph of his faith in all, cannot fail to encourage and strengthen every reader who sympathizes with him in the great object of life.

PARTON'S LIFE OF ANDREW JACKSON.†—Mr. Parton gained a not very enviable reputation by his last literary work in which he attempted to white-wash the character of Aaron Burr, and to hold up that bad man as a study and a model for the imitation of the young men of America. We confess that that book has disposed us to receive with considerable hesitation any estimate which he may hereafter give of the moral character of any man. However, he has undertaken a new work of greater magnitude and importance than any he has ever attempted before; and the first volume of what is to be an

* *A Memoir of Capt. W. T. Bate, R. N.;* by Rev. JOHN BAILLIE. Gonv. and Caius College, Cambridge. 12mo. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1859. pp. 278.

† *Life of Andrew Jackson.* In three volumes. By JAMES PARTON. Vol. I. New York: Mason & Brothers. 1860. Large octavo. pp. 636.

extended life of Gen. Jackson, is now before the public. We are willing, as far as the new book is concerned, to let by-gones be by-gones, and to judge it on its own merits.

A biographer could hardly find among our political men of this century, another man around whom gathers more popular interest than around the "old hero" whose name has been a watchword during half the existence of our nation in its military and political history, and a tower of strength to the political party to which we have been ever opposed. We will give Mr. Parton credit for seeming to be duly impressed with the magnitude of his work, and for indefatigable labor in procuring and digesting the materials of his history. We will let him speak for himself and describe some of the difficulties he has experienced:

"For many months I was immersed in this unique, bewildering, collection, reading endless newspapers, pamphlets, books, without arriving at any conclusion whatever. If any one, at the end of a year even, had asked what I had yet discovered respecting General Jackson, I might have answered thus, 'Andrew Jackson, I am given to understand, was a patriot and a traitor. He was one of the greatest of generals, and wholly ignorant of the art of war. A writer brilliant, elegant, eloquent, without being able to compose a correct sentence, or spell words of four syllables. The first of statesmen, he never devised, he never framed a measure. He was the most candid of men, and was capable of the profoundest dissimulation. A most law-defying, law-obeying citizen. A stickler for discipline, he never hesitated to disobey his superior. A democratic autocrat. An urbane savage. An atrocious saint.' So difficult is it to attain information respecting a man whom two-thirds of his fellow-citizens deified, and the other third vilified for the space of twelve years or more.

"In this condition of doubt, I set out on a tour of the southern and southwestern states, in search of knowledge. At Washington I conversed with politicians of the last generation who have now no longer an interest in concealing the truth. I visited North Carolina, where General Jackson was born, and where he studied law and was admitted to the bar; South Carolina, where he grew from infancy into manhood; Tennessee, where he lived so long and so happily; Alabama, the scene of his early exploits; and other States, a third of the Union in all; receiving in each the recollections of men and women, bond and free, who knew him well, knew him at all periods of his life, lived near him and with him, served him and were served by him. One woman still

lingers in extreme old age, who thinks she remembers him an infant in his mother's arms. With her I conversed; as also with the gentleman who caught the hero's head when it fell forward in death. I listened also, to many who were always opposed to the man, and still like him not. Manuscript letters of the General's in great numbers were freely given me to copy, and other manuscripts, only less valuable than these. Old files of Tennessee newspapers came to light, that were full of Jackson and his early wild career. It seemed sometimes in Nashville as if the city had formed itself into a Committee of the Whole, for the purpose of overwhelming the stranger with papers, reminiscences, and hospitality.

"And thus it was that contradictions were reconciled, that mysteries were revealed, and that the truth was made apparent." pp. vii-viii.

From this first volume, the history is only brought down to about the close of 1814, just before the battle of New Orleans. We shall, therefore, reserve our comments and criticisms until we have more of the work before us. The volume is a beautiful specimen of typography, and its appearance is very creditable to the publishers.

REMINISCENCES OF RUFUS CHOATE.*—Mr. Parker has already been favorably known to the public and to some of our readers by his "Golden Age of American Oratory." He had unusual opportunities of intimate acquaintance with the splendid New England orator, such opportunities as were granted to no person beside. He knew him as a lawyer, having been an inmate of his office for years. He knew him as a friend, having been admitted often to his house and to his most familiar friendship. He began to know him when he was in the full meridian of his glory and in the unabated freshness of his powers, and when he himself was in the first flush of that ardor which attends the beginning of a promising professional life. He admired and loved Mr. Choate, and yet he studied him in all the peculiarities of his most wonderful genius and in the secret of his wonderful power. He made it his practice to record sketches of conversations with him from time to time, and to watch his memorable deeds. Besides his personal reminiscences, he has availed himself of those of other members of the Boston bar, and by their aid and his own minutes he has sketched several of his leading arguments. As the product of these opportunities he has given us a fascinating volume,—a volume which brings before us the man as he acted, and stud-

* *Reminiscences of Rufus Choate, the great American Advocate.* By EDWARD G. PARKER. New York: Mason & Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 522.

ied, and thought, and as he was,—literally a prodigy of energy, and of fine and splendid achievements.

We do not blame Mr. Parker for treating the subject of his volume with enthusiasm. How could he do otherwise? But his enthusiasm is not servile, nor does his high estimate of Mr. Choate's powers blind him to the exaggerations of his intellect and of his eloquence. It is with eminent propriety that he calls him the great American advocate; for in being a successful advocate all his energies were absorbed, and to attain success in his case the whole splendor and power of his intellectual wealth and force were profusely lavished. We cannot give to his ideal our highest praise. We cannot approve even his intellectual standard of greatness. He had been far greater as a scholar, as a citizen, as a thinker, and as a man, and we venture to add, as an advocate also, had he devoted himself with less passionate—we had almost said with a less frantic—energy, to the single aim of being an advocate. But notwithstanding this defect of judgment in his aim and standard of intellectual life, he was a magnificent man.

MEMOIR OF REV. HENRY LOBDELL, M. D.*—If all religious biography were as frank and free from the charge of being over-colored by the partiality of friendship or partisanship, as the work above named, one would have less reason to find fault with the great multiplication of such publications. After turning over the leaves of this volume, we cannot doubt that the life of Dr. Lobdell presented an example of single-hearted consecration of the whole being to Christ, and of true Christian heroism too valuable to be entirely lost to the world by his early transition to a higher sphere, or to be circumscribed in its influence within the narrow bounds of personal recollection; and it is a happy circumstance that it fell to the lot of so discriminating and honest, yet appreciating and sympathizing a biographer, to tell its story. Our object in this brief notice forbids us to give even an outline of Dr. Lobdell's career, short as it was, scarcely ten years from the very commencement of his collegiate education, of which less than three years were spent in active service as a missionary—for every day of his missionary life seems to have been full of incident, and the forces

* *Memoir of Rev. Henry Lobdell, M. D., late Missionary of the American Board at Mosul, including the Early History of the Assyrian Mission.* By Rev. W. S. TYLER, D. D., Graves Professor of Greek in Amherst College. Published by the American Tract Society, No. 28 Cornhill, Boston. 12mo. pp. 414.

of his character were continually developing themselves. We cannot, therefore, do better than to extract from the volume before us a few paragraphs in which the author himself sums up what he has so well exhibited. Our readers will thus learn most satisfactorily what they may expect to gain by a perusal of the memoir.

"Of the character of Dr. Lobdell, it is hoped, little need be said at the close of this extended memoir. He has spoken it out and acted it out on every page, till it is as perspicuous to the reader as it was transparent in itself. Unless we are quite mistaken, the readers of these pages have been, all the while, not only observing the conduct, but looking into the heart, of a *man*, a *scholar*, and a *Christian*:—a real and true man without any sham, or show, or cant, or false pretence whatsoever—a whole and (to use a favorite word of the Doctor himself) live man, many-sided, and alive on all sides to everything above, beneath, and around him—a self-made and self-controlled man, (so far as one can be in human society and under the divine government,) content, nay, resolved, to be himself, and not a mere duplicate of somebody else, conscientiously determined to be what God intended him to be, ambitiously aspiring to become all that God made him capable of becoming, governed by his own reason, and conscience, and will, with a sovereignty as absolute in himself as it was exclusive of the dictation of others;—a scholar, enthusiastic and comprehensive rather than accurate or profound, loving knowledge for its own sake, and at the same time seeking it in the full persuasion that all knowledge is useful; fond of philological and antiquarian researches, but exploring the dusty past chiefly in search of wisdom for the living present, and rejoicing in all the discoveries of science, as not only consistent with, but parts of, the science of God;—a Christian, not by creed and profession only, but in the deepest convictions of his heart, and in the whole spirit and tenor of his life, taught not by the schools, or even by the church, but by the Word and Spirit of God, and making it his daily business to do the will of Christ; a Christian physician, liking his profession well enough in itself, and laboring in it with much success, but valuing it chiefly as a means of alleviating the distresses and saving the souls of men; a Christian minister of the Pauline stamp, reasoning with Jews and Gentiles, in the synagogues and in the market-places, week-days as well as Sundays, out of the Scriptures and from the light of nature; becoming all things to all men, passionately desirous to know everything, yet in everything knowing nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified; a Christian missionary, who really believed and acted as if he believed that Pagans and Mohammedans, and mere nominal Christians, were traveling the broad road to destruction, and that nothing could save them but a living faith in Christ;—a Christian patriot, glorying in his birthright as an American, and looking to his country as, under God, the hope of the world, and, for that very reason, longing to see his country's sin and shame wiped away;—a young American, with all the virtues, and not altogether free from the faults, which pertain to that fast age and race;—a Christian philanthropist, fully convinced that the Gospel of Christ is the remedy, and the only remedy, for all the ills that flesh is heir to, and therefore rallying all his own powers, and summoning the best energies of the best minds in Christendom, to determined, unwearied, and self-sacrificing efforts for its universal application." pp. 401-402.

But our notice of this work would be very incomplete, were we to regard it simply as a memorial of individual traits of character, molded and inspired by the inner life of a Christian. Besides being that, it is a valuable and highly interesting chapter in the history of the diffusion of true Christianity, showing how the foundations have been laid for the establishment of the reign of the Redeemer, destined one day to be universal and absolute, at the same time that it involves the truest freedom, and the greatest diversity of manifestation of the "one spirit," in that seat of ancient despotism, that center of primeval civilization, brought into so strangely new associations by the name of the "Assyrian Mission." It will be found, also, that Dr. Lobdell was fully alive to the historical interest of the late researches of Layard, Rawlinson, and others, on the sites of Assyrian and Babylonian empire, as, indeed, he proved by interesting communications to the Oriental Society, some of which have been published in its Journal. With his ardent zeal for knowledge, his inquisitiveness, his quickness of eye and mind, and his courage and buoyancy of spirit, added to ripening scholarship, could he have reconciled the indulgence of his inclinations in this direction with fidelity to his peculiar work as a missionary of the Cross, he might have become, himself, a distinguished explorer.

LIFE OF KNILL.*—This memoir introduces us to a field of missionary labor which is undoubtedly new to most of our readers. Mr. Knill, for thirteen years, (from 1820 to 1833,) acted as chaplain for the English residents at St. Petersburg. He was there, of course, at a time which will be remembered by Christians in this country, with special interest. Prince Galitzin was President of the Bible Society, and the Emperor Alexander was encouraging the circulation of the Scriptures throughout the empire. The prospect of some great religious movement in Russia were very encouraging. But in 1826, all this was changed. Nicholas, on coming to the throne, placed the Bible Society under the control of the "Holy Synod," and an effectual stop was soon put to its operations. The memoir gives us many glimpses of the state of things in Russia during the residence of Mr. Knill in St. Petersburg, which are very instructive and interesting. An estimate of his character, with a noble tribute to his worth as a Christian and as a preacher,

* *The Life of the Rev. Richard Knill.* By CHARLES M. BIRRELL. With a review of his character by the late Rev. JOHN ANGELL JAMES. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 358.

is appended to the book, written by his personal friend, the lamented John Angell James, which proved to be the last literary work that he ever attempted.

LIFE OF VITTORIA COLONNA.*—This is a new volume, the *seventeenth*, of the very valuable series of biographies which Mr. O. W. Wight is now editing. Vittoria Colonna, one of the most beautiful and gifted women of Italy, the daughter of one of the most celebrated of its great feudal families, the wife of one of the greatest captains of the age, the companion of popes and princes, the friend of Michael Angelo, herself a poetess of no inconsiderable fame, furnishes a theme for the biographer of no ordinary interest. But it is her religious character, and her intimacy and sympathy with those eminent men of her country, who in the sixteenth century strove to bring about a reformation in the Roman Catholic Church in Italy, which will ever make the history of her life peculiarly attractive to all Protestants.

The author of this "Life" is Mr. T. Adolphus Trollope, son of the Mrs. Trollope who, years ago, made herself so famous by her abuse of this country. His style is remarkably clear, and one that cannot fail to keep up the interest of his readers throughout, even when he is unravelling the intricacies of Italian politics. Almost every page has a dash of quiet humor, and occasionally, when least expected, there is a bit of sarcasm thrown in, that is all the more biting from its being half concealed by an air of the most engaging candor. As an instance of what we mean, we quote a single sentence in which the author explains most satisfactorily how it was that Ferdinand of Spain was induced by Louis XII of France to allow him to possess himself of the crown of Naples, when he had acknowledged that he was bound by every tie of honor as a kinsman and as an ally, to protect the rights of Frederick, the reigning king at Naples.

"The Most Christian King thought that the Most Catholic King might very probably find it consistent with kingly honor to take a different view of the case, if it were proposed to him to go shares in the plunder. And the Most Christian King's estimate of royal nature was so just, that the Most Catholic King acceded in the frankest manner to his royal brother's proposal."

* *Life of Vittoria Colonna*; by T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859. 24mo. pp. 247.

LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR.*—We are glad to find in the *eighteenth* volume of Mr. Wight's "Household Library," the sketch of the life of Julius Cæsar, by Dean Liddell, taken from his large Roman History. It will bring within the reach of multitudes, to whom it would not otherwise be easily accessible, this admirable biography of one of the greatest generals, orators, and writers of antiquity.

WOMEN ARTISTS IN ALL AGES AND COUNTRIES.†—This book furnishes a mass of information which it is not easy to procure elsewhere, and which will be deemed very valuable by all who are interested in the history of art. There is no work in any language which covers precisely the same ground. The first chapter is devoted to an account of what is known of the practice of the arts by women in ancient times. Then follow several chapters which are taken up with short sketches of the lives of the female artists who lived during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. These are succeeded by more full and elaborate biographies of those who are best known in more modern times. Among the sketches of living artists, those of Mdlle. Rosa Bonheur, and of our countrywoman, Miss Hosmer, are particularly full and interesting.

BIOGRAPHY OF SELF-TAUGHT MEN.‡—There are here between forty and fifty short biographical sketches of men who have made themselves useful, and gained distinction and a high position in the world's history, by their own exertions. The book is an admirable one for boys who are beginning to think. Parents who are able to give their children the advantages of the best education, cannot teach them too early that there is one thing which is absolutely essential to success in life that they cannot give to them, and which each person must acquire for himself. The education of the common school, and even that of the college and the professional school is not enough. Besides all these, and equally important—perhaps more important than any of them—is the education which each man must give himself. Parents who wish their children to learn this lesson, will do well to make them familiar with such biographies of "self-taught" men as this book contains.

* *Life of Julius Cæsar.* By HENRY G. LIDDELL, D. D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. New York: Sheldon & Co. 18mo. 1860. pp. 247.

† *Women Artists in all Ages and Countries.* By Mrs. ELLETT. Harper & Brothers. New York: 1859. pp. 377. 12mo.

‡ *Biography of Self-taught Men; with an Introductory Essay,* by B. B. EDWARD. 1859. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 18mo. pp. 642.

THE DIARY OF A SAMARITAN.*—This is a singular book, and we hardly know what to make of much of its contents. The Howard Association, of which the author represents himself to be a member, has done a noble work in the care of the sick, and a reliable narration of the experience of any of its members would of course be very interesting and valuable. But the book does not seem to us to be reliable. The author speaks of himself as a sinner after the flippant manner of one who does not think such an acknowledgment amounts to much. He says he writes *currente calamo*, and his pen is evidently not merely a running, but an erratic one, narrating some things which never could have occurred, and making his patients die in modes which are never seen except in those who die in novels with yellow covers. Undoubtedly much of this book is true, but how much we know not. We hardly think that it will accomplish much for the object for which the author says he wrote it, namely, "to uphold the virtue of charity in its fullest sense." Those who will be thrilled or amused by its details, will not be apt to be incited by the perusal to any deeds of charity. Neither the virtue nor the taste of the author is of the refined sort, for he speaks of drinking wine with the inmates of a house of prostitution, as if it were a matter of course, on coming down from a chamber of sickness into the common parlor of the establishment; and many other things might be mentioned of a similar character. True virtuous charity enters, indeed, the abodes of vice, and faithfully performs its kind services to sinning humanity; but it comes out uncontaminated, which can hardly be said of the Samaritan that here gives us his diary. Such familiarity with vice as he indulges in, certainly indicates no just appreciation of either the preciousness or the majesty of virtue.

THREE SISTERS.†—Our readers are aware that the American Tract Society of Boston have commenced their "volume" publications. We have noticed, above, Prof. Tyler's memoir of the lamented Lobdell, who yielded up his life among the Nestorians. The book before us, another volume published by the Society, carries us into one of our smaller inland Connecticut villages, and shows us the development of Christian character in the more ordinary walks of life. The biography of three young sisters

* *The Diary of a Samaritan.* By a Member of the Howard Association, of New Orleans. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.

† *The Sisters: A Memoir of Elisabeth H., Abbie A., and Sarah F. Dickerman.* By REV. ISRAEL P. WARREN. American Tract Society, Boston. 18mo. pp. 283.

is given, who seem to have been eminent for their personal piety, and to have learned well the secret of doing good. The story of their lives may be read with profit by all young people.

HISTORY.

THE NORWICH JUBILEE.*—All who were present on the occasion of the Norwich Jubilee, will bear us out in saying that there are few places in the whole country, which, on the two hundredth anniversary of its settlement, could gather up so many and so varied reminiscences to swell the tide of its joy. Most fully did the inhabitants enter into the spirit of the occasion. Every one seemed to be thoroughly impressed with the fact that Norwich had, during the whole two hundred years of its existence, been a power in the earth. The addresses, the speeches, the songs, and the decorations everywhere telling of the rich past—all helped to deepen the feeling in the hearts of those who were assembled, so that when the second day was ended there was danger, that in the minds of the vast multitude about to separate, the rest of this round ball would be held at altogether too large a discount, and that Norwich would be considered ever after the Jerusalem of the whole earth. We have great sympathy for the feeling that pervaded that multitude, and as we have read the history of the jubilee in the book before us, our interest has been as much awakened as if we had been to the manor born.

The book of which we have spoken is a full and fitting record of the great occasion. The reader will gain a correct idea of all the proceedings and of the effect of the jubilee as a whole. There are some things, it is true, of which it can give no idea. One must have been there to have any conception of the beauty of Norwich when decked in robes by her loving sons and daughters for her gala day, or of the enthusiasm and joy which every fresh demonstration of her virtues and glories awakened, or of the wellings up of thought and feeling which were to be witnessed on every side, as those who had been separated for years greeted one another again in their early home.

Two days were occupied with the festivities of the occasion,—and two more beautiful days were rarely ever seen,—so that the town had a full

* *The Norwich Jubilee. A Report of the Celebration at Norwich, Connecticut, on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Town, September 7th and 8th, 1859. With an Appendix, containing Historical Documents of Local Interest. Compiled and Published by John W. Stedman. Norwich: Conn. 1859. pp. 304. (See Advertisement in New Englander Advertiser, p. 5.)*

opportunity to display all its varied charms. On the first day, after a grand procession in the morning, an historical address was delivered in a mammoth tent, erected for the occasion on the "Great Plain," by Daniel C. Gilman, Esq., Librarian of Yale College. In the evening an address was given by the Rev. Alfred Lee, Bishop of Delaware, and on the same evening there was a very general and brilliant illumination of the town. The exercises of the second day consisted of the laying of a corner stone for a monument to be erected to the memory of Captain John Mason, sometimes styled the Miles Standish of Connecticut; an address by the Hon. John A. Rockwell, on the character and services of Capt. Mason; and an address by Donald G. Mitchell, Esq. After these addresses, a bountiful dinner was served up under a second mammoth tent, of which over two thousand ladies and gentlemen partook.

It is not often that we meet with so many appropriate addresses and speeches as this jubilee called forth. We should be glad to notice each one at length, but we must be content with a few extracts and comments.

The historian of the occasion, Mr. D. C. Gilman, had a difficult task to perform, for where there was so much that was worthy of being chronicled, there was danger, on the one hand, of going too largely into details to suit such an audience as was before him, and, on the other, of dealing too much in generalities in an endeavor to avoid the dryness commonly attributed to detail. But the historian was remarkably successful, and his address, while it was well suited to its popular use for the day, will, at the same time, bear the scrutiny of the careful reader. We have seldom seen so much of real history brought out on such an occasion before a promiscuous audience, or with so much appropriateness.

In detailing the early history of Norwich, he, first, very felicitously summons Major Mason before his audience, and calls upon him to testify in regard to the doings of himself and his associates. He then touches upon all the most important points of history from Mason's time down to the time of the Revolution. The large share which Norwich bore in securing the independence of our country, is developed in a full and interesting manner. In introducing it he says,

"In that important struggle, Connecticut performed a part which cannot be too much extolled. Providence had ordered that in the most of her territory, she should be spared the horrors of actual bloodshed. But her labors for the common cause of independence were surpassed by none of the colonies. Her contributions in men and money were beyond those of any of the other states except Massachusetts, and in proportion to the inhabitants were larger even than those of the old Bay State. She well deserved the designation of 'the provision state,' and the name of her patriot governor has fitly become a sobriquet of the nation."

"The history of Norwich, during the whole period of the American revolution, presents, in many respects, a miniature view of the history of the state and of the country. There were several circumstances, however, which unitedly gave it an importance equalled by no other town in Connecticut, except, perhaps, the capitals. On the bank of a large river, several miles from the Sound, it was not exposed, like New London, to the attack of a hostile fleet, nor too far inland, like Lebanon, to be a store place for the army. It was on the highway between Boston and New York, convenient to the residence of the governor, Trumbull, surrounded by a productive farming country, and inhabited by men of wealth, sagacity and patriotism.

"Credit enough has never been bestowed upon our Norwich fathers for the part they took in the war. Hundreds of letters, never printed, some of them hid in garrets for the last half century, have passed under my examination within the past few weeks, and I rise from their perusal amazed at the circumstantial record they present of the diligent exertions and the patriotic sacrifices which were made by our fathers in this town to secure the blessings we enjoy." pp. 73, 74.

He then spoke of many of the distinguished Norwich men who entered zealously into the struggle. We have only room for a short extract from his reference to the family of Gen. Jabez Huntington.

"One family is especially identified with the history of those days—I refer, of course, to the Huntingtons. Foremost among them in the early stages of the war stood General Jabez Huntington, the incidents of whose life are worthy of grateful remembrance at this time." p. 74. * * * * *

"The merit of General Huntington does not consist alone in his self-consecration to the cause of American freedom. He was the father of five sons and two daughters, all of whom were early imbued with his own patriotic spirit. It was clear that if he engaged in the opening conflict, his property and theirs would be seriously diminished, and perhaps entirely confiscated. Chiefly solicitous in regard to their interests, he assembled them, one day, to advise what course should be pursued. He laid before them the great interests at stake, both public and personal. Should the colonial arms be victorious, private prosperity might be sacrificed in the struggle, but American liberty would be secure. Should the British forces triumph, no one could foretell the ignominy and suffering to which, as rebellious subjects, they would certainly be exposed.

"Accustomed, in all his ways, to ask for guidance from above, he called upon his family to bow with him in prayer. We cannot doubt that the petitions which arose from that family altar were humble and devout, and that the God of battles listened to his cry.

"At length, having first consulted his wife, he called upon his children in turn, beginning with his eldest, and asked for their opinions. They answered with one voice, daughter and son alike. That voice was for *liberty!* Nobly did their after course redeem the pledge thus sacredly given, to devote both purse and sword to the interests of their country. Four of the sons—Jedediah, Andrew, Joshua, and Ebenezer—and their brother-in-law, Colonel Chester, soon entered the army—one of the brothers being too young for such service, while the other brother-in-law (Dr. Strong) not detained by the duty of his calling, fulfilled his sacred office

by acting as a Chaplain in the army. This band of brothers were found in service from the time of the earliest entrenchments on Bunker's Hill to the decisive victory on the plains of Yorktown. If the annals of the revolution record the names of any family which contributed more to that great struggle, I have yet to learn it." pp. 75, 76.

While upon the subject of the revolution, he alluded to the "American Hero," an ode which was written by Nathaniel Niles of Norwich, and was often sung in the revolutionary army with an effect like to that produced by the Marsellaise in France. Governor Buckingham, the President of the day, as the record says, here interrupting the speaker, said—"The first impression on my mind of the battle of Bunker Hill, was made by hearing this ode sung. Perhaps it may produce a similar emotion on the minds of the audience, which it did in my own. I should like to have it tried." The choir then sang the ode with thrilling effect, many of the older persons joining with them.

At the close of his account of that period, Mr. Gilman says,

"A grateful task awaits the writer who shall undertake to prepare a volume on 'Norwich in the Revolution.' The town that can point to its citizens active as counselors, as surgeons, as commissaries, as soldiers, as ship builders, as store keepers, as gun makers, and not least honorable, as song writers for the cause of civil independence, may glory in her sons; and though her hills be rough and her rivers small, it will always be an honor to claim Norwich as a home." pp. 93, 94.

We will add but one extract more, which we take from the conclusion of the address:

"Enough has been said to show that the history of the town is a record of patient enterprise, unfailing patriotism, and religious faith. Well may we be proud of our ancestry and birth-place. Well may we be thankful to the God of our fathers for his increasing blessings.

"If there be one in this assembly who inquires the use of this protracted story, let me assure him that by the joyful recital of our fathers' virtues we incite ourselves and our children to like exploits of valor and trust. Some of us, now and then, have heard Connecticut decried! Be assured that it is only ignorance and jealousy which assail her past reputation, while it is a knowledge of her true character which will strengthen the affection of her sons and weaken the power of unjust critics. What you know to be true of Norwich, is true in some degree of all Connecticut. A state which has Haynes, and Winthrop, and Eaton, and Mason, as its civil founders; Hooker, and Davenport, and Fitch, as its religious pillars; Trumbull, and Sherman, and Williams, and Huntington, and Silliman, as its leaders in the struggle for civil liberty, should never fail of the filial reverence, the honest pride, the faithful and willing service of every son." p. 97.

In the address of Mr. Rockwell we have a faithful tribute to the energy, wisdom, courage and piety of Captain Mason. Well does this Christian hero deserve a monument from the inhabitants of Norwich.

It is well known to the country at large, that Norwich has furnished more laborers to the missionary field than perhaps any other town of the same size in our land. In speaking of its agency in this respect, Bishop Lee, in his exquisitely beautiful notice of Sarah L. Huntington, touched a chord which vibrated in all the hearts of that immense multitude. We will give the passage entire. The orator was speaking of the small tribe of Mohegan Indians near Norwich, which, when she began her labors among them, was fast moving towards extinction. He says,

"At this sorrowful period, when the light that had once shined in their hovels (the Mohegans) was darkened, one came to their relief, who might have well seemed to their untaught minds as a messenger from a better world. With an angel's alacrity, and an angel's countenance, she entered upon an angel's work. In 1827, Sarah L. Huntington began her self-denying labors among these neglected outcasts. She traversed, from week to week, the distance of nearly six miles between her home and the Mohegan reservation, regardless of summer suns and wintry storms. When strong men would have shrunk from the icy blast, this fair and delicate woman made her way on foot through the drifted snow to the scene of her toil. She gave up her own pleasant home to spend half her time in the comfortless abodes of the objects of her solicitude. With the aid of a like minded associate, she sustained a day school and a Sunday school, instructed the rude females in those womanly arts that make the poorest dwelling cheerful, conveyed to their dark minds with unwearied assiduity the precious truths of the Gospel, and by degrees lifted them above their abject condition to a higher level of knowledge, holiness and hope. In this work there was no attractive romance; distance lent it no enchantment; the voice of flattering commendation was unheard; for a time even friendly sympathy seldom cheered her onward. The enterprise was accounted visionary, and unsuited to a female in her circumstances. Rebuffs and hindrances of no common sort were her frequent experience. But the love of Christ, and of the souls for which he died, constrained her. She willingly resigned personal convenience and ease, social and domestic enjoyment, and valued religious privileges, that she might by all means save some of these children of ignorance and ill fortune. In due season she proved the promise faithful—'He that goeth forth, even weeping, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.' Her devotedness awakened interest in other hearts. Her earnest appeals procured assistance from Government. Her heart was gladdened by the erection of a house for the worship of God, and the settlement of a pastor and teacher. Her school responded to her unwearied culture. And when at length the impression of a higher call of duty led her, as the bride of the Rev. Eli Smith, to embark as a missionary for Syria, tears gushed from many dark eyes at the parting, and petitions for God's blessing upon her were uttered by many tongues which she had taught to pray. In the distant Orient lies the mortal part of one, as fair within as she was beautiful in person. Her works have followed her, and to the visitor who remarks the social condition and Christian privileges of this remnant of a once powerful race, she, being dead, yet speaketh. England hailed with a burst of universal enthusiasm the Christian

heroism of Florence Nightingale. Let Norwich treasure the memory of her Sarah Lanman Smith.

"Neither does the name of this gifted lady stand alone as a herald of salvation to the distant heathen. There is a long and bright catalogue of faithful men and women who have gone out from your midst to proclaim among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. To enumerate them all would be scarce practicable; to discriminate among them would be unjust. Some are still bearing the burden and heat of the day, spending their energies and lives in this glorious work. A larger number, perhaps, rest from their labors. The heads of some lie low beneath the Syrian palm tree. The graves of others are washed by the surges of the Pacific. In Ceylon and India; in torrid Africa; in the islands of the Southern Sea; among the native tribes of America; they have unfurled the banner of Jesus. Their precious dust is garnered in either hemisphere until the resurrection of the just. A town is rich that has nourished such children. A town is richer still that has given them up to the service of the Lord of the harvest. May we not trust that the blessing of God will never be withdrawn from her." pp. 185, 186.

From the address of Mr. Mitchell, which seems even to have surpassed the usual eloquent efforts of that gentleman, we must be content to cite but two passages. In speaking of the chivalric but frivolous Marquis of Lauzun, who was entertained at Lebanon by Governor Trumbull, he says :

" And what a contrast it is, this gay nobleman, carved out, as it were, from the dissolute age of Louis XV, who had sauntered under the colonnades of the Trianon, and had kissed the hand of the Pompadour, now strutting among the staid dames of Norwich and of Lebanon ! How they must have looked at him and his fine troopers, from under their knitted hoods ! You know, I suppose, his after history ; how he went back to Paris, and among the wits there was wont to mimic the way in which the stiff old Connecticut Governor had said grace at his table. Ah, he did not know that in Governor Trumbull, and all such men, is the material to found an enduring state ; and in himself, and all such men, only the inflammable material to burn one down. There is a life written of Governor Trumbull, and there is a life written of the Marquis of Lauzun. The first is full of deeds of quiet heroism, ending with a tranquil and triumphant death ; the other is full of rankest gallantries, and ends with a little spurt of blood under the knife of the guillotine upon the gay Place de la Concorde." p. 183.

In the following he gives a well merited tribute to the Norwich of the present day :

" But this is a feast day ; we are crowning the good year '59 with rejoicing ; and in this time, is our town of Norwich doing nothing ? Are the good things, and the brave things, all past things ? Is it nothing, the hum of a myriad spindles along all your water-courses, singing of industry and enterprise ? Is it nothing to inaugurate the century with such temples of learning as stand yonder, the monument of your private munificence ? Is it nothing to show such phalanx of men as I see about me, all of whom by nativity, or citizenship, or near ties of

blood, give honor to your town, and take honor? Is it nothing to have given a half score of the best, and worthiest, and weightiest names to the commercial exchange of our metropolis? Is it nothing to have furnished the empire state a presiding head for her great central thoroughfare; nothing to have provided them in the person of our venerable friend, with a man who honored their high office of chancellor? Is it nothing to be represented in our national senate by a man whom you delight to honor at home? Is it nothing to have given to the world a songstress, whose melody charms, and whose virtues allure and instruct the growing mind of the whole country? Is it nothing to have loaned our little commonwealth of Connecticut—what is so rare in politics—a thoroughly upright man for Governor?" pp. 184, 185.

The original nine miles square, deeded by the "Sachems of Monheag," included, besides the present Norwich, some other towns, Franklin, Bozrah, and others. The inhabitants of these towns, linked as they are by ties of interest and a common *esprit du corps* with Norwich, joined in the celebration with great enthusiasm. Chancelor Walworth, "a chiel among them, taking notes" in the most indefatigable manner, was ready to prove them all cousins to each other, and to himself, as the reader may see by referring to the account of his dinner speech, (more of which of course appears in the record than was really given at the dinner,) and if he failed in any case, Dr. Woodward of Franklin, another lover of genealogies, stood ready to supply the wanting link.

Such celebrations as this, which is chronicled in the volume before us, are peculiar to our country. The circumstances which give them their main interest cannot be found elsewhere. Nowhere else has so much been done in two hundred years. The rise of this new nation under circumstances wholly unique, and its separation from the mother country by a long and severe struggle, have made every spot, which was peopled by the first settlers, full to overflowing of the most interesting reminiscences; and so in all our oldest towns there is abundant material for the historian on the occasion of an anniversary Jubilee. We hope, therefore, to hear of many similar celebrations in other towns around us. With such an origin as Puritanism has given us, and with such varied influences for good as have come down to us from our fathers, it is well occasionally to connect in the minds of the people the past with the present, with all the distinctness which accompanies a public demonstration. There is danger that amid all the abounding enterprise and improvement of the present, the past shall not be duly estimated. Beautiful and grand superstructures are building now, but they are only superstructures. *Our fathers laid the foundations.* Let us give them due honor, and, above all, let us not suffer their foundations to be in any way undermined or destroyed.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.—The Historical Magazine; or, American Notes and Queries, published in New York by C. B. Richardson, has reached the commencement of its Fourth Volume. It has become an indispensable guide to all who are interested in the progress of historical research respecting this country. Each number contains several extended papers, including the publication of rare manuscripts or reprints of early printed documents, a brief report of the proceedings of the various Historical Societies of this country, "Notes and Queries" on topics of interest to antiquaries, (which rival in interest, by the way, the English "Notes and Queries;") short notices of lately printed historical and genealogical books; and select intelligence, including obituaries of eminent men. The comprehensive character of the work, its freshness, and the general accuracy of its details, indicates the careful revision of a scholarly editor, and the manifold contributions of an able corps of correspondents.

One number of the magazine, last year, was devoted to the memory of the Historian Prescott. Mr. Richardson has just published a similar commemorative volume in honor of Washington Irving, entitled "Irvingiana." Fuller biographies of that gifted man will of course appear at a later day; but to meet the immediate wants of his friends and admirers, nothing could be more satisfactory than this modest collection of the many eulogies, spoken and written, which the death and burial of Irving have recently called forth. A biographical sketch, by E. A. Duyckinck, Esq., prepared with excellent discrimination, introduces the volume which is illustrated by a portrait sketch of the subject, from Darley's pencil, and a facsimile of a page of the author's manuscript of the Sketch-Book.

TRAVELS.

SIR JOHN BOWRING'S KINGDOM AND PEOPLE OF SIAM.*—Sir John Bowring has been for a long time before the public in various ways, not only in authorship, but, of late, also in diplomacy and statesmanship. The poetical translations from the Russian, Polish and other European languages, with which he has enriched our English literature, are

* *The Kingdom and People of Siam*; with a narrative of the mission to that country in 1855. By Sir JOHN BOWRING, F. R. S., Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary in China. Two volumes, 8vo. London: John W. Parker & Son, West Strand. 1857.

widely known. Even more widely known and valued are his "Matins and Vespers," among which are to be found some charming devotional lyrics for which the gratitude of all religious hearts is due to him. Such hymns as that commencing

"Watchman, tell us of the night,"

must be always favorites with all who believe in Christ and love his appearing. And many a worshiping soul has been refreshed and animated by the delightful stanzas which describe

"How sweetly flowed the gospel sound,
From lips of gentleness and grace,"

without knowing that they were from the pen of this same Sir John Bowring,—the man who has been eminent as philologist, as Benthamite philosopher, as politician, as Westminster reviewer,—the man who, by his pugnacious diplomacy as Governor of Hong Kong, worried the dignity and wrought the downfall of "YEH, Governor of the two Kwangs," and who was, in his turn, soundly rebuked by Mr. Cobden and his party when they defeated the Palmerston ministry in the House of Commons. We had for a while lost sight of Sir John, in the quiet which succeeded the downfall of Canton, but we read of him only a few months ago, as having been wrecked on his voyage home from China, and losing by that misfortune the store of manuscripts, many of them, no doubt, of much value, which had been accumulating during the years of his residence in the East.

In the two handsome volumes before us, Sir John Bowring appears in authorship, but this time in the new character of writer of travels. When he went to China in 1855, to assume his office as Governor of the little colony of Hong Kong, he was also instructed with the duty of negotiating a treaty with the kingdom of Siam. That duty he successfully performed; and he has found time, since then, to give the public this record of his own observations and experiences, and such historical, geographical, and other facts as he could compile from divers sources.

No author had ever a more inviting opportunity to make a valuable and fascinating book. The kingdom of Siam, in its natural resources one of the richest of all the kingdoms of the Orient, had been almost overlooked by travelers. The splendid empire of India was more directly in the way of all explorers and voyagers who came Eastward from the Christian world, and by its geographical position, its political importance, and its venerable history, offered to them superior attractions and demanded the first attention. And after this great land had been

explored, there was the vast and populous empire of China which must next be visited. A visit to Siam would involve a direct deviation from the route between India and China, and a voyage up a broad gulf in which there was little commerce and where the conveniences of travel were few and uncertain. Very few, therefore, even of those most familiar with the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope, knew more about Siam than the fact that there was such a kingdom bordering upon such a gulf. The only reliable information that we possessed in regard to this country, was in the very interesting and accurate but disconnected letters of the American missionaries, and in the work of Bishop Pallegoix, which was never translated from the French, and was consequently little known to English or American readers. Within two or three years the commercial relations which have been formed between Siam and the western powers, have given to us glimpses of a land vast in its resources, rich in its mineral wealth, and governed by kings whose court was distinguished by a splendid and half barbaric pomp and magnificence. We have heard, too, of a marvelous spirit of progress which has begun to prevail, even among a people which had been well-nigh forgotten or ignored by the more enlightened nations, and our curiosity has been awakened to learn more about this strange old kingdom of the white elephant.

With such material, and such opportunities as a personal visit to Siam afforded him, we candidly think that Sir John Bowring ought to have made a more interesting and a more valuable book. It ought to be said, no doubt, in extenuation of its defects, that the manuscript of the work was prepared thousands of miles away from the place where it was published, and at a time when the author was busy with the duties of his new office in China. But, even when we have made these allowances, we have a right to complain that the style is dull and heavy, that the matter is ill-arranged, that a great part of it is taken directly from the work of Bishop Pallegoix above referred to. These volumes are valuable, no doubt, because, however inadequately they meet a want which nothing else supplies : but they can never be popular. We think that the public will not be satisfied until they have received from the pen of some such man as Sir R. H. Schomburgk, (who is well known as an author and traveler,—whose name is famous in connection with the discovery of the "Victoria Regia,"—and who now represents the British government in Siam,) a carefully prepared history and narrative, and one that shall worthily describe this interesting country and its people.

But we cannot forbear to commend the steel-engravings with which these volumes are illustrated, as admirably executed and as conveying some satisfactory idea of the picturesque and beautiful architecture of Bangkok. The portrait of the first king, or, as he delights to call himself, "Rex Major Siamensiun," is a very faithful one.

In this connection, too, we are glad to call attention to the very lively and entertaining sketch of "Siam and the Siamese," from the pen of an American traveler, Dr. William Maxwell Wood, of the United States Navy. It will be found in his volume entitled "Fankwei," recently issued from the press of Harper & Brothers in New York. Although very brief and unpretending, it will be read with pleasure by many who would be dismayed by the size and style of Sir John Bowring's octavos.

Fiji and the Fijians.*—This is one of a class of books always popular, and in these days of geographical inquiries, particularly important to those who would keep informed in respect to the condition and prospects of every portion of the human race. The visit of the United States Exploring Expedition under Commodore Wilkes, to the Fiji Islands, several years ago, not only brought the characteristics of this group prominently before the attention of the civilized world, but made definite, and in some respects complete, the scanty information which had reached the continental worlds in unsatisfactory reports since the days when Tasmar, the Dutch navigator, announced the discovery of the Islands, and the later days when the renowned navigator, Captain Cook, explored that portion of the Pacific. But much has remained unknown which could only be revealed by the long continued residence of civilized man among the island barbarians. We now have before us the record of such a residence. Rev. Thomas Williams, for thirteen years a missionary in Fiji, sent by the Wesleyans of England, has published the results of his long protracted observations, directing his attention chiefly to the physical features of the country, the manners and customs of the inhabitants, their origin and language. Rev. James Calvert, for the longer period of seventeen years a resident of the Islands, has contributed to the same volume a history of the efforts to introduce Christianity. The materials of both missionaries have been

* *Fiji and the Fijians.* By THOMAS WILLIAMS and JAMES CALVERT, late Missionaries in Fiji. Edited by GEORGE STRINGER ROWE. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1859. 8vo. pp. 551. Illustrated.

arranged and edited by George S. Rowe. To all who are engaged in ethnographical inquiry, to the friends of Christian missions, and to the still wider circle of those who read with avidity good books of travel, we commend this valuable compendium of what is known respecting that distant and interesting portion of the globe.

MAGDALA AND BETHANY.*—This is the title of a little volume which aims to reproduce, as freshly as can be done in words, the impressions which the author received in visiting these sacred places, and also to bring clearly before the mind of the reader the hallowed scenes with which these names are associated. It is adapted to all classes, being written in clear and simple style; and it breathes a reverent, Christian spirit, in full sympathy with the theme. The value and interest of the book are enhanced by the fact that the author was eminently qualified to render the impressions he conveys just and accurate as well as vivid. He is the eldest son of Dr. Malan, of Geneva, Switzerland, a name well-known and held in high esteem among American Christians; and from an interesting introductory sketch by a brother-in-law in this country, we learn that he was able to converse in Latin at the age of six—a graduate of Oxford—appointed at twenty-two Professor of Oriental Languages at Calcutta—a resident for some time among the Arabs, and familiar with many of their dialects—an associate of Mr. Layard in the exploration of Nineveh, and his principal draughtsman—and withal, a prodigy of linguistic attainments, thinking and speaking in twenty-six distinct languages, and reading at pleasure a hundred and twenty-two. He is now a rector in the Church of England, and among other fruits of authorship has given to the world the little work before us.

ACADIA.†—In this sprightly and very agreeable book we have the record of a month's residence in Nova Scotia, with graphic sketches of incidents and scenery, and much interesting historical information respecting the province, and particularly respecting the fortunes, of the Acadians, with whom all readers of Mr. Longfellow's *Evangeline* cannot but feel a special sympathy. Mr. Cozzens was on the lookout for these singular people, and his notes respecting them and their history form an instructive commentary on the Poem. In his historical sketches, how-

* *Magdala and Bethany.* By Rev. S. C. MALAN, M. A., Rector of Broadwindsor, Dorset, England. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1859. pp. 201.

† *Acadia; or a month with the Blue-noses.* By FREDERIC S. COZZENS. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859. pp. 329.

ever, we are sorry to see on the part of the author a disposition to sneer at the Puritans and the Pilgrim Fathers, and to malign their memory.

We give, as a favorable specimen, an extract from an instructive conversation that the author had with an old colored woman, a runaway slave from Maryland, who now figures as the landlady of a tavern. The exuberant mirthfulness of her son "William," adds much to the effect.

"Mrs. Deer," said I, "how long have you lived here?" "Oh, sah! a good many years; I cum here afore I had Bill dar!" Here William flashed in the pan twice. "Where did you reside before you came to Nova Scotia?" "Sah!" "Where did you live?" "Oh, sah! I is from Maryland." William at it again. "Did you run away?" "Yes, sah; I left when I was young. Bill, what you laughing at? I was young once." "Were you married then—when you run away?" "Oh yes, sah!" a glance at Bill who was off again. "And left your husband behind in Maryland?" "Yes, sah; but he didn't stay long dar after I left. He was after me putty sharp, soon as I traveled;" here Mrs. Deer and William interchanged glances, and indulged freely in mirth. "And which place do you like the best—this or Maryland?" "Why, I never had no such work to do at home as I have to do here, grubbin' up old stumps and stones; dem isn't women's work. When I was home, I had only to wait on misses, and work was light and easy." William quiet. "But which place do you like the best—Nova Scotia or Maryland?" "Oh! de work here is awful, grubbin' up old stones and stumps; 'tain't fit for women." William much impressed with the cogency of this repetition. "But which place do you like the best?" "And de winter here, oh! it's wonderful tryin." William utters an affirmative flash. "But which place do you like the best?" "And den dere's de rheumatiz." "But which place do you like the best, Mrs. Deer?" "Well," said Mrs. Deer, glancing at Bill, "I like Nova Scotia best." Whatever visions of Maryland were gleaming in William's mind, seemed to be entirely quenched by this remark. "But why," said I, "do you prefer Nova Scotia to Maryland? Here you have to work so much harder, to suffer so much from the cold and the rheumatism, and get so little for it;" for I could not help looking over the green patch of stony grass that had been rescued by the labor of a quarter century. "Oh!" replied Mrs. Deer, "de difference ia, dat when I work here, I work for myself, and when I was working at home, I was working for other people." At this, William broke forth again in such a series of platoon flashes, that we all joined in with infinite merriment. "Mrs. Deer," said I, recovering my gravity, "I want to ask you one more question." "Well, sah," said the lady Deer, cocking her head on one side, expressive of being able to answer any number of questions in a twinkling. "You have, no doubt, still many relatives left in Maryland?" "Oh! yes," replied Mrs. Deer, "all of dem are dar." "And suppose you had a chance to advise them in regard to this matter, would you tell them to run away, and take their part with you in Nova Scotia, or would you advise them to stay where they are?" Mrs. Deer, at this, looked a long time at William, and William looked earnestly at his parent. Then she cocked her head on the other side, to take a

new view of the question. Then she gathered up mouth and eyebrows, in a puzzle, and again broadened out upon Bill in an odd kind of smile; at last she doubled up one fist, put it against her cheek, glanced at Bill, and out came the answer: "Well, sah, I'd let 'em take dere own heads for dat!" I must confess the philosophy of this remark awakened in me a train of very grave reflection.—pp. 68-66.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE FRENCH CLASSICS.

FRENCH CLASSICS.—Since the appearance of the November number of the *New Englander*, the series of "Translations from the French Classics," which Messrs. Derby & Jackson are publishing, has been enriched with some of the choicest works in the French language. We are confident that when the peculiar excellencies of this edition are known, it will be received by the public with that favor which the enterprise of its publishers and the careful and intelligent labor of its editor so well deserve. There has always been a difficulty in procuring, in convenient form, and in an English version, the works of the masters in French literature. It has not been easy to procure even the French editions themselves. But so many of our countrymen have now been in France, and familiarity with the language has become so common, that there is an increasing desire even among those who do not profess to be scholars to know more about French literature. It was owing to this new interest that the trash of modern French fiction gained so wide a circulation in the country a few years ago. Fortunately there has been a strong reaction against everything of that description, and now the way seems open for an edition, like the one proposed, which shall embrace translations of the best works of the best writers of the language. We have already noticed the publishing of *The Provincial Letters* of Pascal; the *Germany* of Madame de Staël; the *Telemachus* of Fenelon; the *Charles the Twelfth* of Voltaire; and the works of *Montaigne*. We have now upon our table *The Thoughts* of Pascal; *The Martyrs* of Chateaubriand; *The Henriade* of Voltaire; Madame de Staël's *Corinne*; and LaFontaine's *Fables*. The excellence of this edition does not consist simply in furnishing good and revised translations; but the editor has brought together in each volume a mass of material—biographical, historical, and critical, selected from the best English and French essays and reviews, and not otherwise easily accessible—which is exceedingly convenient and valuable. Scholars may feel that they must have in their libraries the French editions. But even they will find it very convenient to have at

hand, in compact form, the critical helps which Mr. Wight has thus so amply provided.

PASCAL'S THOUGHTS.*—The first of the recent additions to the series of French Classics which we shall notice, is the "Thoughts" of Pascal. This remarkable fragment of what was to have been the great work of its profound author, still commands the admiration of all students of religious truth. We look to-day with regret upon the ample materials that were collected two hundred years ago, by the most learned and profound scholar of his times, and mourn that he could not have been permitted to give to their arrangement and completion the fruits of all his learning and research. After having made such preparation, how noble a work upon the truths of natural religion and the evidences of Christianity would he have given to the world! But the brilliant career of Pascal closed in 1662, when he had only arrived at the age of thirty-nine. After his death, the manuscripts of the "Thoughts" were found in a condition which "comported but too well with their fragmentary character."

"It appears that he had not even used a commonplace book; but when, after profound meditation, any thought struck him as worth recording, he hastily noted it on any scrap of paper that came to hand, often on the backs of old letters. These he strung together on a file, or tied up in bundles, and left them till better health and untroubled leisure should permit him to evoke a new creation out of this chaos. It is a wonder, therefore, that the *Pensées* of Pascal have come down to us at all. Never, surely, was so precious a freight committed to so crazy a bark." pp. 35, 36.

The friends of Pascal immediately decided that the fragments which he had left behind were far too valuable to be consigned to oblivion. But no literary production has ever suffered more from the hands of its editors.

"They deemed it not sufficient to give Pascal's Remains, with the statement that they were but fragments; that many of the thoughts were very imperfectly developed; that none of them had had the advantage of the author's revision,—apologies for any deficiencies with which the world would have been fully satisfied; but they ventured upon mutilations and alterations of a most unwarrantable kind. In innumerable instances they changed words and phrases; in many others they left out whole paragraphs, and put a sentence or two of their own in

* *The Thoughts, Letters, and Opuscules of Blaise Pascal.* Translated from the French, by O. W. WIGHT, A. M. With introductory notices, and notes from all the Commentators. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859. 12mo. pp. 552. For sale by Judd & Co., New Haven. (See Advertisement in N. E. Advertiser, pp. 8, 9.)

the place of them. They supplemented what they deemed imperfect with a prefatory exordium or a prefatory conclusion, without any indication as to what were the respective ventures in this rare species of literary copartnery." p. 38.

Says Cousin :

"I defy any one to invent a method of altering the style of a great writer, to which the style of Pascal has not been subjected in the hands of Port Royal. * * * * There are alterations of words, alterations of expression, alterations of phrases, suppressions, substitutions, additions, arbitrary and absurd compositions, sometimes of a paragraph, sometimes of an entire chapter, by the aid of phrases and paragraphs foreign to each other, and, what is worse, decompositions still more arbitrary and truly inconceivable, of chapters which, in the manuscript of Pascal, were perfectly connected in all their parts, and profoundly elaborated." —p. 28.

Such was the character of the *princeps* edition, and of all subsequent editions till 1776, when Condorcet took upon himself the task of editor.

"But Condorcet forgot, in reprinting Pascal, a very common and simple thing, —that the first obligation of an editor is to respect the text of a writer he publishes. In order to adapt himself to the taste of his times, and perhaps convinced that he was brightening the glory of Pascal, he suppressed many of the most devout sentiments and expressions, and a multitude of passages, and the finest, especially where the author of the *Thoughts* shows himself most eloquently and most profoundly Christian. * * * * Unhappy Pascal! between his old editors and his new, he seemed to be in the condition of the persecuted bigamist in the fable, whose elder wife would have robbed him of all his black hairs, and his younger of the gray. Under such opposite editing, it is hard to say what might not at last have disappeared." p. 19.

We shall not attempt to give any account of the various editions of minor importance. It is sufficient to say here, that till within twenty years there has been no edition of the greatest work of the most profound theological writer of France, which is at all faithful to the original. It is only recently, and in consequence of the labors of M. Cousin, who demonstrated the worthlessness of all the existing editions, that another, conformable to the author's manuscript, has been undertaken and given to the world.

It is this text, as thus corrected, which Mr. Wight has made the basis of an entirely new translation, and one which he claims to be the "first complete and honest translation of Pascal's *Thoughts* into the English language." Of the older versions, that of Mr. Edward Craig is now worthless, "because the French edition from which he translated is now worthless;" while that of George Pearce, Esq., is at best only a paraphrase, and he himself says the passages which contain "either direct advocacy or tacit approval of the Romish Church are omitted."

The critical apparatus with which this volume is provided deserves special mention, as it adds very much to its value. There is an interesting sketch of the history of the various editions of the *Thoughts*, taken from M. Charles Louandre's preface to the most approved French edition; also an essay on the "Genius and Writings of Pascal," from the Edinburgh Review for January, 1845, written by Henry Rogers, which contains an able defense of Pascal from the charge of philosophic skepticism brought against him by M. Cousin. This is followed by an elaborate article, which has been expressly translated for this edition, bearing the title, "Pascal considered as a Philosophic Skeptic," written by M. Cousin, in which he replies at great length to those who have attacked him for bringing so grave a charge against one who has been deemed as the most devout of the Port Royalists. "These two polemics, thus brought face to face with each other, may be taken as able representatives of all that has been said on the question."

We have not yet given an account of all the contents of this volume. In addition, there is a complete collection of Pascal's *Letters*, and also of the *Opuscules*, which are embraced in about a hundred pages.

VOLTAIRE'S HENRIADE.*—Lord Brougham, in his sketch of the life of Voltaire, says of the *Henriade*—"It abounds in fine description, in brilliant passages of a noble diction, in sentiments admirable for their truth, their liberality, and their humanity. Its tendency is to make fanaticism hateful, oppression despicable, injustice unbearable; but it is the grand work of a philosopher and a rhetorician, more than the inspiration of a poet: poetry is wanting." Yet the *Henriade*, severely as it has always been criticised, still maintains its rank among the great epics of world-wide reputation. Founded upon one of the great events in French history,—the triumph of Henry the Fourth over the arms of the League,—and abounding with descriptions of some of the most memorable scenes that occurred in those eventful times, though the style may be open to the charge of prosaic flatness, and the introduction of allegorical beings may be censured, still, it will long hold an important place in any collection of the French classics.

We give, as a short extract from the translation, a part of the description of the assassination of Coligny:

* *The Henriade*, with *The Battle of Fontenoy*, *Dissertation on Man*, *Law of Nature*, *Destruction of Lisbon*, *Temple of Taste*, and *Temple of Friendship*. From the French of M. Voltaire, with Notes from all the Commentators. Edited by O. W. WIGHT, A. M. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859. 12mo. pp. 407. For sale by Judd, 146 Chapel street, New Haven. (See Advertisement, pp. 9, 10.)

" Awful and sage he stood; his gracious form
 Quell'd the loud tumult, and controll'd the storm.
 'Finish, my friends, your fatal task,' he said;
 'Bathe in my freezing blood this hoary head;—
 These locks, which yet, full many a boisterous year,
 E'en the rough chance of war has deign'd to spare.
 Strike! and strike deep! be satisfied, and know,
 With my last breath I can forgive the blow!
 The mean desire of life my soul abjures,—
 Yet happier! might I die defending yours.'
 The savage band, grown human at his words,
 Clasping his knees, let fall their idle swords;
 Prone on the ground his pardoning grace implore,
 And at his feet repentant sorrows pour;
 He in the midst, like some loved monarch rose,
 Theme of his subject's pride, and idol of their vows."

The volume contains, besides the *Henriade*, a number of the minor poems of Voltaire.

LA FONTAINE'S FABLES.*—No one has ever succeeded so admirably as La Fontaine, in rendering fable into the language of poetry. He is acknowledged to be the Prince of Fabulists. He seizes, as if by instinct, the characteristics of the whole animal world, and uses them with a master's hand to illustrate all the passions, hopes, fears, and weaknesses of man. His insight into the human heart has never been surpassed. He makes his animal speakers always preserve perfectly their animal characters, and the moral he draws always commends itself to the conscience. This edition, the translation of Mr. Elizur Wright, Jr., is already well and favorably known to the American public. Mr. Wright seems to have entered fully into the genius of La Fontaine, and he is admitted to have reproduced, as nearly as possible in an English version, all the wit and humor of the original.

The copyright of the American version has been purchased by Messrs. Derby & Jackson, and they have given it a place in their series of French classics, to which it will be considered by all a valuable addition. The editor has added to it in the present volume, a life of La Fontaine, taken from the *Biographie Nouvelle*, and an estimate of La Fontaine's literary character, translated from M. Nisard's "History of French Literature."

* *Fables of La Fontaine.* Translated from the French by ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jr. Two volumes. 12mo. pp. 347, 351. 1859. Derby & Jackson. For sale by Judd, New Haven, Conn. (See Advertisement in N. E. Advertiser, pp. 9, 10.)

CHATEAUBRIAND'S MARTYRS.*—The work of M. Chateaubriand, which is best known in this country, is the one entitled *Genius of Christianity*, which was intended to serve as a kind of defense of the Christian religion. The object of the author was to counteract as far as possible the effect of some of his earlier writings, in which he had spoken disrespectfully of religion. The book had an influence upon public feeling in France which has been rarely if ever equaled, and contributed very much to the revival of respect for Christianity among the people. The *Martyrs* is a prose poem, which was written subsequently, with a somewhat similar design. Chateaubriand had contended that even from an esthetical point of view, "Christianity was more favorable than Paganism for the development of characters and the play of passions in an epic," and that "the marvelous of Christianity would contend for the palm of interest with the marvelous borrowed from mythology." So, in illustration, he chose a subject which, as he said, "would include upon the same canvas the predominant features of the two religions; the ethics, the sacrifices, the ceremonies of both systems of worship; a subject wherein the language of Genesis might be blended with that of the *Odyssey*; wherein the Jupiter of Homer might be placed by the side of the Jehovah of Milton, without giving offense to piety, to taste, or to probability of manners." He made the scene to open "toward the close of the third century, at the moment when the persecution of the Christians commenced under Diocletian, and when Christianity had not yet become the predominating religion of the Roman empire, and when its altars arose near the altars of idols." The characters are taken from the two religions, and the catastrophe is connected with the general massacre of the Christians. The *Martyrs* was considered a less fortunate effort than its predecessor, but its reputation is established as one of the most brilliant works in the French language.

CORINNE.†—The many admirers of this well known novel, the most popular of all the works of Madame de Staël, will be pleased to find that it has already received a place in the series of French Classics. Its delineations of character, its descriptions of scenery, and "its eloquent

* *The Martyrs*. By M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND. A Revised Translation. Edited by O. W. WIGHT, A. M. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859. 12mo. pp. 451. For sale at Judd's Bookstore, New Haven. (See Advertisement in N. E. Advertiser, pp. 9, 10.)

† *Corinne*. By MADAME DE STAËL. New York: Derby & Jackson. 12mo. 1859. pp. 396. For sale by Judd, Chapel street, New Haven.

rhapsodies upon love, religion, virtue, nature, history, and poetry, have long since given it an enduring place in the literature of the world."

THE THREE WAKINGS.*—This unpretending little 18mo., with its two hundred pages, in plain black cloth binding, lay upon our table for a month unopened. A book of poems from a nameless author does not usually make a very strong appeal to our curiosity. At last, from a sense of duty, we took it up, in its turn, and our interest was immediately awakened by the little ode bearing the title "Eureka," upon which our eye first rested, a part of which we quote below. Upon further examination, we found a collection of Odes and Hymns marked by no ordinary ability. It is true they do not reveal the power or the polish which we expect in the masters of song; but there is a quiet grace and beauty about them all that is very attractive; and they breathe so invariably and so thoroughly the sentiments of a truly Christian heart, that for ourselves we do not hesitate to prefer many of them to what has been written by poets whose fame has been long established.

We quote a few lines of the ode "Eureka," not because they are better than many others, but because they first drew our attention to the book:

" Come and rejoice with me !
I, who was sick at heart,
Have met with One who knows my case,
And knows the healing art.

" Come and rejoice with me !
For I was wearied sore,
And I have found a mighty arm
Which holds me evermore.

" Come and rejoice with me !
My feet so wide did roam,
And One has sought me from afar,
And beareth me safe home.

" Come and rejoice with me !
For I have found a Friend
Who knows my heart's most secret depths,
Yet loves me without end.

* *The Three Wakings.* With Hymns and Songs. By the Author of "Christian Life in Song." New York : Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860. 18mo. pp. 228.

"I knew not of His love,
And He had loved so long,
With love so faithful and so deep,
So tender and so strong.

"And now I know it all,
Have heard and know His voice,
And hear it still, from day to day ;—
Can I enough rejoice ?"

We give a few more lines from the "The Poet's Food," which serve as a key to the book.

"The Poet does not dwell apart, enshrined in golden beams ;
He is not mail'd from time's rude blows in a panoply of dreams.

"No Pegasus bears him aloft, in pathways 'mid the clouds ;
But he must tread the common earth, mingling in common crowds.

"He dwells not in fair solitudes, a still and lone recluse ;
But he must handle common tools to his diviner use.

* * * * * * * * *
"The glory which around him shines is no fictitious ray ;
It is the sun which shines on all, the light of common day.

"But he has won an open eye, to see things as they are,—
A glory in God's meanest works which passeth fiction far.

"His ear is open to discern stirrings of angel wings,
And angel whispers come to him from mute and common things.

* * * * * * * * *
"Nature prepares no royal food for this her royal guest ;
No special banquet is for him at life's full table dress'd.

"But all life's honest impulses, home joys, and cares, and tears,
The shower of cordial laughter which the clouded bosom cheers,

"All earnest voices of his kind, calm thoughts of solitude,
All of the world that is not husks,—this is the poet's food.

"God's living poem speaks to him, God-like in every line ;
Not all man's hackney'd renderings can make it less divine."

SYLVIA'S WORLD.*—The author of this book wields the pen of fiction with decided skill. Under the leading title we have a tale of so-

* *Sylvia's World.* Crimes which the Law does not reach. 1. Gossip. 2. A Marriage of Persuasion. 3. A Male Flirt. 4. The Best of Friends. 5. A Coquette. 6. A Man of Honor. New York : Derby & Jackson. 12mo. pp. 384. 1859.

cial life, filling the first half of the volume, and in the other half some very clever stories illustrative of "Crimes which the Law does not reach." Under the sub-titles: Gossip—A Marriage of Persuasion—A Male Flirt—The Best of Friends—A Coquette—A Man of Honor.

BEULAH.*—This is a Southern Tale. We gather as much from the very first line: "A *January Sun* had passed the *zenith*." This astronomical statement would locate the scene in Southern Brazil, or at least in some sunny land near the tropic of Capricorn. But this is altogether too far south. For further examination shows that the book is a very readable story of life, not in South America, but in our southern states, and by a southern authoress. The heroine is an orphan girl, whose name gives the title to the book. The leading characters are well drawn; the story is interesting; in many parts of very high merit; and the moral is good. The poisonous effects of the writings of Emerson, Carlyle, and other apostles of modern skepticism, on young and thoughtful minds, are admirably exhibited, and the religion of the Bible held up as the only safe guide in matters of faith.

FROM DAWN TO DAYLIGHT,† is a story very evidently "founded on facts." Its graphic portraiture of the experiences of a pioneer Western minister's family, could only have been drawn by one describing scenes *quorum pars magna fuit*. It is a book that will be read with interest both east and west. Many a Home Missionary, or other self-sacrificing laborer in the great vineyard, will find in it his own story so accurately told as to be saved by it the trouble of keeping a personal Diary. It is calculated to do good.

THE WHITE HILLS.‡—This is a book which will prove eminently popular with the public. It is devoted to the illustration of the legends, the landscape and the poetry of the "White Hills" of New Hampshire. Nothing has been spared by the publishers which could add to the beauty, the attractiveness, or the value of the volume. It is printed upon tinted paper, and, as a specimen of typography, it is unsurpassed

* *Beulah.* By AUGUSTA J. EVANS. New York: Derby & Jackson. 12mo. 1859. pp. 51.

† *From Dawn to Daylight*; or, the simple story of a Western Home. By a Minister's Wife. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859. pp. 389. 12mo.

‡ *The White Hills*: Their Legends, Landscape and Poetry. By THOMAS STARR KING. With sixty illustrations, engraved by Andrew, from drawings by Wheellock. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 8vo. pp. 403.

by anything that we have seen from the American press. It is most amply furnished with illustrations. There are sixty engravings of a very high order of art; and all the points of greatest interest among these Alps of New England, and all the places best known to tourists for the beauty of their scenery, are pictured to the eye in a manner most true to nature. But it is not these alone that have given the volume its chief value to us. In the descriptions which the author has given of mountain and valley, of waterfall and lake, our readers will find a perpetual charm. Few persons, perhaps, are better acquainted with all that is grand and beautiful among the White Hills than Rev. Thomas Starr King. He has made them a study for years. And now, with rare powers as a master of the English language, he has brought the fruits of these long studies, and has bestowed them upon this work as a labor of love.

We make a few extracts, but not as many as we could wish, to show the enthusiasm and the deep feeling with which the author writes.

"If a man could own all the landscape canvas which the first painters of the world have colored, it would not be a tithe so rich an endowment, as if Providence should quicken his eye with keener sensibility to the hues of the west at evening, the grace of trees, and the pomp of piled or drifting clouds." p. 8.

"A large proportion of the summer travelers in New Hampshire bolt the scenery as a man, driven by work, bolts his dinner at a restaurant. Sometimes, indeed, where railroads will allow, as on the eastern side, they will *gobble* some of the superb views between two trains, with as little consciousness of any flavor or artistic relish, as a turkey has in swallowing corn. One might as well be a railroad conductor for a week on an up-country train, so far as any effect on mind or sentiment is concerned, or any real acquaintance with Nature is gained, as to take to what we Yankees call 'pleasurin,' in such style." p. 17.

"And then think what it cost to arrange a landscape which we can see from the little steamer, as she rides from Weir's to Center Harbor! Think of the mad upheavals of boiling rock, to cool and harden in the air; think of the centuries of channelling by torrents and frost to give their nervous edge to distant ridges and crests; think what patient opulence of creative power wrapped their sides with thickets, that grow out of the mould of preadamite moss and fern, and spotted their walls with weather stains in which the tempests of ten thousand years ago took part. Consider, too, the exquisite balancing of widely sundered forces, represented in the clouds that sail over that Sandwich chain, and cool their cones with shadow, or in the mists that sometimes creep up their slopes and twine around their brows, or in the streams, those grandchildren of the ocean, that revel in their ravines. Bear in mind what delicate skill is exhibited in the mixture of the air through whose translucent sea we catch their mottled charm, and how the huge earth spins on its axis without noise or jar to give the ever shifting hues that bathe them from golden dawn to purple evening. And now, when we

rememeber that all this is only the commencement of an enumeration of the forces that combine in producing a landscape, is a little visible exultation anything more than an honest expression of the privilege a mortal is endowed with, in being introduced to the Creator's art?

"Let us remember that pure delight in natural scenes themselves, is the crown of all artistic power or appreciation. And when a man loses enthusiasm,—when there is no surprise in the gush of evening pomp out of the west,—when the miracle of beauty has become commonplace,—when the world has become withered and soggy to his eye, so that, instead of finding its countenance 'fresh as on creation's day,' he looks at each lovely object and scene, and, like the traveling Englishman, oppressed with *ennui*, 'finds nothing in it,'—it is about time for him to be transplanted to some other planet. Why not to the moon? No Winnipiseogee is there. There are mountains enough, but they show no azure and no gold. There are pits enough, but there is no water in them, no clouds hover over them; no air and moisture diffuses and varies the light. It is a planet of bare facts, without the frescos and garniture of beauty, a mere skeleton globe, and so perhaps is the Botany Bay for spirits that have become torpid and *blast*."
—pp. 60, 61.

SIR ROHAN'S GHOST.*—We received this novel, published by Meaars. J. E. Tilton & Co., at so late a date that we can only find space to say that the great popularity, which it has so rapidly acquired, seems to be well deserved. It is a veritable ghost story, but entirely unlike any others of that description we have ever read. In the freshness and variety and originality of its conception it will rank among the best of our American novels.

GERMAINE.†—All who have read the "Roman Question" will be glad to know something of the other literary works of its author, M. About. Meaars. J. E. Tilton & Co. have published a translation of *Germaine*, one of his late novels, which has had a great reputation in France. It seems rather better adapted to the meridian of Paris than of New England; but it shows everywhere unmistakable marks of the same hand that drew the portrait of Antonelli in the former work. The volume, like all those that have been published by the Messrs. Tilton, is characterized by great typographical beauty.

* *Sir Rohan's Ghost. A Romance.* Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 12mo. pp. 352.

† *Germaine.* By E. Asour. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 12mo. pp. 342.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE UNDERGRADUATE.*—With the opening of the year, a new Magazine has made its appearance, and solicits the patronage of the public. It bears the modest title of **THE UNDERGRADUATE**. We regret that we have received it at so late a date that our notice must necessarily be brief. The first number makes a very handsome pamphlet of two hundred and twenty pages, and in its typographical appearance is unsurpassed by any of the magazines of the day. It is to be published at New Haven, and is to appear quarterly in January, April, July, and October. The Magazine is to be conducted by an association of collegiate and professional students, selected from the colleges and schools of this country and of foreign countries, whenever there is a disposition manifested to coöperate. Their design is to establish a Quarterly, through whose pages undergraduate and professional students may communicate with each other and with the public.

In the Prospectus, the conductors make the following statements with regard to their plans:

"**I. PURPOSE.**—It is the purpose of **THE UNDERGRADUATE** to enlist the active talent of young men in American and as far as possible in Foreign Universities, side by side, in the discussion of questions and the communication of intelligence, of common interest to Students. To be made up of news, local sketches, reformatory thought, and literary essays, from all the principal seats of classical and professional learning, the periodical will seek, as its definite objects, to record the history, promote the intellectual improvement, elevate the moral aims, liberalize the views, and unite the sympathies, of Academical, Collegiate and Professional Students, and their Institutions, throughout the world.

"**II. MANAGEMENT.**—The management of the Quarterly is vested in the Undergraduate Association, consisting of Boards or Correspondents, self-constituted at first, chosen by the several classes, or nominated by the head of the Faculty, as the exigencies of different cases may require, in each Institution. All members of these Boards are upon an equal footing, Editors and Directors of the Magazine. The Boards shall be changed as infrequently as possible, and perpetually

* *The Undergraduate*, Conducted by an Association of Collegiate and Professional Students in the United States and Europe. Printed for the Association—Heidelberg Univ., Germany; Cambridge Univ., England; Albany Law School; Amherst; Antioch; Andover Theol. Sem.; Beloit; Bowdoin; Brown; Dartmouth; Oberlin; People's Coll.; State and National Law School; Troy Univ.; Union Theol. Sem.; Univ. of Vermont; Williams; Yale. THOMAS H. PEASE, General Agent, New Haven, Conn., to whom all communications for the Editors may be sent through the mail, and who will receive subscriptions and forward the numbers to subscribers.

renewed by elections from incoming classes. Each Board is to occupy in the Magazine a certain number of pages, proportionate to the number of Undergraduates in its Institution and the number of Institutions in the Association; and for the sentiments, accuracy, literary character, and due transmission of these articles, the Board for each Institution will be wholly responsible. The Board in the Institution at the place of publication shall constitute the Board of Compilation, to oversee the printing and local business arrangements of the Magazine. They shall be strictly impartial towards their own Institution, wholly governed by the Prospectus and the will of the Association. With regard to the merit of communications, they shall have no power of rejection or of final decision; but should three-fourths of their number object to any article, it may be held in abeyance until it can be referred back to the Board from which it came; and should a difference of opinion still exist, the power of final decision shall rest with any one or more of the Faculty of the Institution which the article represents, chosen by the Board in that Institution. A General Secretary, of competent qualifications, may be employed and salaried, to conduct the correspondence and act as Treasurer and Agent of the Association. He shall render annually a complete financial account to the several Boards.

“ III. MATTER.—All subjects of general interest to Undergraduates, Faculties, and the friends of Liberal Education, will be open to discussion. It is proposed to make the range of thought and investigation such as shall thoroughly accomplish the five chief purposes of the Magazine, as stated in the first Article of Association. The general arrangement of matter will be as follows:

“ 1. ESSAYS.—It is proposed to give the Magazine an Educational and Historical, more than a distinctively Literary character. Articles purposing direct and immediate usefulness among Collegiate and Academical Undergraduates, upon the laws of study, prescribed and miscellaneous duties, moral, social and physical training, early mistakes and irregularities, the causes of error and the means of reform, are especially requested from Masters of Arts, Bachelors, Fellows, and all Professional Students, whose views have been matured by experience, besides articles of interest and value to their own class. Detailed statements of the courses of study and systems of instruction in the different Institutions, comparisons of the same, European educational intelligence, comparisons of the habits of American and European Students, discussions of proposed extensions of the American System of Liberal Studies, educational statistics of every kind relating to the sphere of the Magazine, histories of the founding and progress of the several Institutions, sketches of celebrated Instructors, Professors and Presidents, full biographical accounts of distinguished men as Undergraduates, both as examples for imitation and as data for deductions concerning the laws of study; in short, everything ably written, calculated to promote the objects of the Magazine, and within the ability of Undergraduates, will be welcome.

“ 2. NEWS.—It is proposed that each Board make out quarterly a complete and elaborate News-article for its own Institution, occupying its space mainly in the News-article or in Essays, as it shall judge best, and that these articles be printed side by side in the alphabetical order of the names of the Institutions which they represent. The News-articles are expected to state the position, prospects and advantages of each Institution; notice the annual commencements, degrees con-

furred, courses of study and principal prizes; describe local customs, the religious condition and habits of the several Institutions, the status and influence of Literary Societies, the demands of New Institutions or of New Educational Movements; in short, everything of interest or value to Students and Instructors, and of profitable publicity to the Institutions themselves."

The January number, now before us, is in every way creditable to the Association, and is an evidence that an amount of talent and energy is enlisted in the support of the Magazine, which will make it very acceptable and popular with the public at large. We give the Table of Contents, which, even without any comment from us, would show that the Number is one of rare interest. Our limits will not allow us to comment upon individual Articles, but we will mention that those bearing the titles "German Student Life and Travel," by *Edward A. Walker*; "An English University," by *S. R. Calthrop*; and "A course of study in the English Language and Literature suitable for our Colleges and High Schools," by *Wolcott Calkins*, will be found of special interest.

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We wish the UNDERGRADUATE all success. But we confess that we have had serious doubts as to whether it is advisable for those who are engaged in the important studies that are preparatory to professional and business life, to engage in so great an undertaking as this. We are confident that our doubts will be shared by multitudes among the friends Colleges. The hours of student life are *golden* hours, the full value of which no student can possibly understand till in after years he reaps the advantage of his close application to the course of study prescribed, or learns by bitter experience how great was the folly which led him to engage in outside employments, however fascinating at the moment. But we are glad to be informed, and take pleasure in making it known to our readers, that the Association contemplate employing a “General Secretary,” who is to receive a salary and devote all his time to the management of the business connected with the publication of the Quarterly. This arrangement will effectually relieve the undergraduates themselves from the numberless demands upon their time, which must otherwise distract their attention from their proper studies.

We hope that this arrangement will be immediately made. We deem it absolutely essential to the best interests of those who have shown, by what they have done in this number, that if they now for a few years apply themselves with equal zeal to regular study, they will soon be fitted for successful labor in far more important stations.

With such an arrangement for a “General Secretary” carried out, a very interesting Quarterly may be made, as we should hope, without interfering with those other more important interests of which we have spoken. The correspondence and communications of American students who are pursuing their studies in European Universities, Professional Schools, Special Schools, and Art Schools, will be a very attractive feature. The “News-Articles” from the different Colleges and Schools

of this country, cannot fail to be interesting. And the freshness and vivacity of the discussion by young men of such questions as are of common interest to them, cannot fail to make the **UNDERGRADUATE** a popular periodical.

MISCELLANY.

FOOT FALLS ON THE BOUNDARY OF ANOTHER WORLD.*—This work is divided into six books, entitled as follows:—Preliminary ; Certain Phases of Sleep ; Disturbances popularly termed Hauntings ; Appearances commonly called Apparitions ; Indications of Personal Interferences ; The suggested Results. Some of these books consist chiefly of narratives of what are alleged to have been actual occurrences. These are exceedingly curious and interesting to all those who have a desire to dwell on the marvelous. This collection of narratives is very copious in its quantity and various in its quality. It labors under a single but most serious defect. The stories are not properly verified, and hence though in the mass they are very imposing from their number, yet when taken in detail they shrink into less formidable dimensions.

The theory of the author in the first and sixth book, so far as he has a theory, appears to be not yet fully elaborated. He has gathered some important suggestions from Isaac Taylor, Braid, Carpenter and others, but has brought to the scrutiny and judgment of their opinions a wisdom in no way superior to theirs. His position in respect to the Scriptures would seem to be, to count their testimony as valuable, so far as it vouches for the reality of spiritual apparitions, the separate existence of the soul ; but to reject their authority altogether, when it speaks of their destiny or the principles by which that destiny is fixed. The volume is valuable for its narratives, and its *adduction* of materials which may be made the subject of *induction* by some competent philosopher.

A LOOK AT HOME.†—This is “a tale from the annals of the poor.” It brings to view a very important subject,—the condition of the Poor

* *Foot Falls on the Boundary of another World, with Narrative Illustrations.* By ROBERT DALE OWEN, formerly member of Congress, and American Minister to Naples. Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 528.

† *A Look at Home*; or Life in the Poor House of New England. By S. H. ELLIOTT. New York : H. Dexter & Co., 113 Nassau street. 1860. 12mo. pp. 410.

Houses in New England. The stories are founded on fact, and are written in a style that will attract the reader, and make him feel the force both of their humor and their logic. We have the poor with us alway. This may harden us, but cannot exonerate us from the duties which we owe to them. The selfishness, and meanness, and inhumanity, of which, as this book shows us, even the respectable poor may at last become victims, should draw out our sympathies for all whom old age or feeble health make dependent upon public charity.

HITS AND HINTS.*—Here are plenty of hard “hits” at our “American whims,” and good “hints” for “home use.” The follies of the day are always fair game. Good natured ridicule, such as abounds in many parts of this book, will find, we doubt not, plenty of readers. Our countrymen have the reputation in the world of being “thin-skinned,” as it is called, or very sensitive to criticism. There is, however, an obvious advantage in this, for it makes us, as a people, disposed to profit by the “hits” we receive, though rather unpalatable at the moment. But while we commend very many of the chapters in the book, and think they are calculated to do good, there are two or three, which, for the author’s sake, we are sorry to see. We allude to those entitled “*What of the Night?*”—“*Pilgrimism*”—and “*The religious creeds of New England*.” It is enough to say that they are characterized by something of that spirit of disparagement of religious faith which render the lucubrations of the Professor at the Breakfast Table so objectionable. It is a very easy thing to raise a laugh on such subjects, and, by interweaving a little truth, make the most shallow criticisms wear a semblance of importance, but the attempt is itself at least *prima facie* evidence that the writer has gone beyond his depth, and has no just conception of what he is writing about.

Of the “hints” for home use, some are very good. We take at random the first one, as an example.

“*How to make millionaires.*”—It may be done at very little expense. Everything thrown open to the public adds so much to each man’s estate. The Boston public library has added fifty thousand volumes to the library of each citizen of Boston. There is not a poor man in Paris, who is not, in the best sense of the word, a millionaire. Be he rag-picker, laborer, student, invalid, clerk, or poor annuitant, he has still a hundred or more old estates, in and about Paris, that are worth their millions. * * * * * He has

* *Hits at American Whims, and Hints for Home Use.* By FREDERIC W. SAWYER. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 274.

his Louvre; * * * * * He can go to the Academy, and listen to interesting lectures on the useful Arts; he can if he pleases wander into the Garden of Plants; * * * * * He may enjoy the cooling shade of his Bois de Boulogne, a beautiful wood near Paris, twice as large as all Boston, full of ponds, lakes, flowers, statuary and fountains. * * *

* * All these things are his, to use and enjoy without fee or reward. Everything dedicated to the public is so much added to the private fortune of those whose situation admits of their enjoying it. Does a city lay out a park,—then Mr. Trott, the hand-cartman, who rejoices in just one room in an attic, has so many broad acres added to his domicil. * * * Is a library made free, then Mr. Trott's tenement is enlarged, he has a library room attached, where he may go and loll on his arm chair, and call for his book, and enjoy his property. Is a gallery of art added,—then Mr. Trott's tenement is enlarged again. * * * Mr. Trott is a lord in all but name."

LIFE'S MORNING.*—This is a very beautiful volume, printed on tinted paper, elegantly bound, and containing "words of counsel and encouragement for youthful Christians," in prose and verse. It will serve admirably as a gift book.

SKETCHES FROM LIFE. Second Series.†—This is a book of some two hundred anecdotes, intended to illustrate the influence of Christianity in the different relations of life. They are selected from those which have been already published in the "American Messenger," and form a collection which will be highly prized, we doubt not, in every family where there are youthful readers.

HASTE TO THE RESCUE.‡—No book has been more popular among those who have been laboring practically for the spiritual good of the ignorant and degraded, than the well known book, published in England two or three years ago, entitled "English Hearts and English Hands." It has prompted to many self-sacrificing labors, on the part of the wealthy and educated, in all parts of our own country, in behalf of the poor and the destitute. We have heard the inquiry made many times whether it was possible to accomplish the same kind of work as successfully in this country. This question we are not prepared to answer, but we are happy to inform all who were interested in the book of which

* *Life's Morning*; or, *Counsels and Encouragements for Youthful Christians*. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1860. 18mo. pp. 266.

† *Sketches from Life*; or, *Illustrations of the Influence of Christianity*. Second Edition. American Tract Society. 12mo. pp. 486. 1860.

‡ *Haste to the Rescue*; or, *Work while it is Day*. By Mrs. CHARLES W.—. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1859. 18mo. pp. 224.

we have spoken, that in this new book, *Haste to the Rescue*, there is an account of the results of the labors of another English lady, taken from her daily journal, who was incited by the story in "English Hearts and English Hands" to commence similar efforts in her own neighborhood. Her sympathies were enlisted particularly for those who were suffering from the use of alcoholic drinks, and her success in reclaiming great numbers who were going down to the drunkard's grave, and then leading them to a knowledge of Christ, was quite remarkable. The preface to the book is written by the authoress of "English Hearts and English Hands."

THE MISSING LINK.*—All who are interested in city charities should read this book. It is an account of what has been accomplished in London by female colporteurs, or "Bible women," among that class who rank below the decent poor, and who swarm in the dark courts and alleys of such "dens" and "rookeries" as the Seven Dials, Spital-fields, Bethnal Green, and Shoreditch. The success which has been met with among these people, who are physically, morally, and spiritually unclean, is quite remarkable, and the report of it will be very encouraging to those who are seeking to do a similar work for the dark places of our own large cities.

THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN.—Hon. Judge Mason of Iowa, who made himself so popular with the inventors of the country while he held the office of Commissioner of Patents, has, we learn, associated himself with Messrs. Munn & Co., at the Scientific American Office, New York.

THE AMERICAN ALMANAC FOR 1860.†—The reputation of this Almanac is so well established, that it needs no word of commendation from us. For thirty-one years it has furnished an amount of astronomical, statistical, and miscellaneous information, which is to be obtained nowhere else within the same compass. The present volume, the first of the fourth series, has interesting papers upon Donati's comet of 1858; the Law of Storms; and the Aurora Borealis and Australis.

LORD BACON'S WORKS.—Messrs. Brown, Taggard, & Chase, of Boston, have in press the complete works of Lord Bacon, to be issued in superb style in twelve crown octavo volumes. They intend to make

* *The Missing Link*, or, Bible women in the homes of the London poor. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 302. 1859.

† *The American Almanac*, and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the year 1860. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. pp. 892.

this new edition of Bacon, for which a great necessity exists in the market, the beginning of a series of standard works of the first class. Every effort will be made to issue the volumes in a style of excellence and magnificence that shall surpass anything yet produced by book makers at home or abroad. Messrs. Houghton & Co., of the noted Riverside press at Cambridge, have these works in hand. The books will be printed upon the finest tinted paper, and bound in a style which for beauty and durability will commend itself to all tastes. Lord Bacon's works will be followed by a complete edition of the writings of Sir Walter Scott, including his novels and poems, and his life by Lockhart.

HISTORY OF WILLIAMS COLLEGE.—Messrs. A. Williams & Co., of Boston, propose to publish soon a History of Williams College, which has been prepared by Rev. Calvin Durfee, aided by Prof. A. Hopkins and others. Besides an introduction by Gov. Washburn, it will contain seventeen chapters, embracing a sketch of the life of the Founder, and early friends and patrons of the College ; a memoir of the several Presidents, and the history of their respective administrations ; an account of the buildings, libraries, apparatus, and progress in the college studies ; besides a large space has been given to the religious history of the Institution. It is a work of labor and research ; and every possible care has been taken to render it accurate and reliable.

Dr. WORCESTER'S QUARTO DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.*—We have received, at the last moment, a copy of Dr. Joseph E. Worcester's Quarto Dictionary of the English Language, containing 1854 pages. Its external appearance is in every way creditable to the publishers. We have only time or space to refer our readers to some interesting Articles :—pp. 41, 42, where the author has a more thorough investigation of the word or phrase, *all to*, than we have elsewhere seen ; p. 362, where the transition of *day star*” from its original meaning “lucifer,” or “morning-star,” to “the sun,” is elucidated by the usage of the poets ; p. 615, where the multitudinous meanings of the verb *to get* are illustrated by an extract from Dr. Withers ; p. 1558, where the application of the name *turtle* to the *tortoise* is elucidated by an interesting passage from C. Folsom, Esq. ; p. 1257, where we find a discussion concerning *ride* and *drivs* ; p. 672, where the spelling *height* and *drought* is strenuously advocated. We hope to be able in some future number to review this work more at length.

* *A Dictionary of the English Language.* By JOSEPH E. WORCESTER, LL. D. Boston : Hickling, Swan, & Brewer. 1860. 4to. pp. 1854.

THE FINE ARTS.

PHOTOGRAPHIC COPIES OF PAINTINGS.—We have lately had the pleasure of examining a collection of photographic copies of paintings from the establishment of Augustus Runkel, 618 Broadway, New York. Our readers are well aware of the great improvements that have been made in the art of photographing, within the past few years. The contrast between the impressions now taken, and those taken only two or three years ago, is very marked. There is now a uniformity of softness and clearness which extends through the whole picture, and there is an absence of that indistinctness which has heretofore been so decided an objection to all photographs. The improvement of which we have spoken has been especially great in the copies that are made of engravings and paintings. Mr. Runkel, of New York, has made this department of the art his especial business. His collection is very large and rich, embracing copies of a great number of the most celebrated paintings. We will mention, as among them, nearly all the Madonnas of Raphael, many of the finest paintings of Murillo, nearly all of Ary Schaeffer with which we are familiar, many of Rosa Bonheur, of Landseer, and of Turner. We have also seen an excellent copy of that most remarkable painting of Kaulbach—which is perhaps not surpassed in modern art—the fresco which adorns the walls of the new Museum in Berlin, “The Destruction of Jerusalem.” But we do not propose to give the whole catalogue. We advise our readers, on visiting New York, to visit the rooms of Mr. Runkel. The price of his photographs is very low, averaging about three dollars each, so that for a very moderate sum, comparatively, a person may procure for his portfolio copies of all the best paintings in the world, which in beauty and delicacy of finish approach that of good engravings. Mr. Runkel proposes to visit New Haven and Hartford in April next, for the purpose of taking photographs of the public buildings in both cities, and is now ready to receive orders for taking at the same time views of private residences. An advertisement, containing his address in New York, will be found at the end of the present number, on page 6 of the “Advertiser.”

THE
N E W E N G L A N D E R.

No. LXX.

M A Y, 1860.

ARTICLE I.—HUMBOLDT, RITTER, AND THE NEW
GEOGRAPHY.

Humboldt's Kosmos. Four Vols. 8vo. Stuttgart. 1845-1858.

Ritter's Erdkunde. AFRICA. One Vol. 8vo. *ASIA.* Eighteen Vols. Berlin. 1822-1859. 8vo.

Guyot's Earth and Man. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 12mo.

ONE of the well known master-pieces of Raphael, which adorn the *stanze* of the Vatican, presents to our eye "the School of Athens," an assembly of philosophers studying, teaching, arguing, and disputing within the porch of a temple of science. Aristotle and Plato, the former extending his hand over the visible earth, the latter pointing upward to the unseen world,—representatives of material and speculative philosophy,—form the center of the group, while around them Socrates, Diogenes, Pythagoras, and Epictetus, with a score of lesser luminaries, are engaged in earnest discussion. The

world has not often come so near to the reality of this conception of the painter, as within a few years past. Berlin, the Athens of the North, has lately assembled a company of philosophers, more knowing and more wise than the masters of Grecian science ever brought together in the groves of the Academy, or the portico of the Lyceum; even more knowing and more wise than those whom the master of Italian art, drawing from different centuries and from different towns, has represented in his ideal school.

Frederick William IV, who still wears the crown, though he has yielded the scepter of the kingdom of Prussia, evinced throughout his reign an enlightened desire for the promotion of the higher education, and for the advancement of every department of human science. It is owing to the wise policy of this monarch that the city of his royal residence, while comparatively new, has surpassed nearly all the older towns in Germany. Although poorly situated for mercantile transactions, it rivals Hamburg and Bremen as a commercial center; and although long established custom still retains in Leipsic the control of the book trade, yet the publications of the Prussian capital are annually becoming more and more numerous and important. The once famous Pinacothek and Glyptotheke of Munich are already eclipsed by the splendor of the New Museum in Berlin, while the old universities of Vienna and Prague have seen their younger sister in the North become the most attractive of the higher schools of Germany, with somewhat of the surprise which Harvard and Yale would experience if Beloit and Kenyon should suddenly be found superior in celebrity and influence.

All the faculties in Berlin have been distinguished during the last twenty years. In Theology, Neander is but just gone, while Hengstenberg, Twesten, Nitzsch, and Strauss remain in active service. Savigny, Puchta, Heffter, and Stahl have occupied the chairs of jurisprudence. Bopp, the brothers Grimm, Bekker, and Boeckh are known to every student of philology. Trendelenburg expounds the history of philosophy, Pertz exhumes the early monuments of German civilization, Ranke

reviews the history of Europe, and Lepsius unriddles the hieroglyphics of Egypt.

Not less distinguished, certainly, are the exponents of physical science. Encke watches the movements of the heavens, and Dove interprets the laws of terrestrial physics; Rose classifies the productions of the mineral kingdom, and Braun the varied forms of vegetation; Ehrenberg is a world-acknowledged giant in the Lilliputian domains of the Infusoria, and Mitscherlich, substituting the analysis of the crucible for that of the lens, has penetrated to an equal depth beyond the surface knowledge of common men.

But above this eminent group of physicists,—may we not say above all the philosophers of Berlin?—two men of science have long been conspicuous, Alexander von Humboldt and Karl Ritter. Friends through long lives, kindred in taste and in pursuits, distinguished both at home and abroad beyond any of their associates, they have terminated together an honorable career, and the world of science and letters now mourns its double loss.

Those of our countrymen—and the number is not small—who have been so fortunate as to see these distinguished men in the Royal Prussian Academy of Science, at one of its stated meetings, in the university *Aula*, on some festive occasion, and especially those who have met them in the social circles where the scientific professors are accustomed to assemble, cannot fail to have remarked, that whether in public or in private, Humboldt and Ritter were the objects always of respectful attention and of undisguised admiration. Such a company of scholars as has been the pride of Berlin for the last five and twenty years recalls the golden period of English literature, in the days of the learned Queen Bess, and even more forcibly the glory of Weimar, when Goethe and Schiller and Herder and Wieland made the court of an unimportant Duchy not less renowned than the capital of an empire. Indeed it requires no effort of the imagination to bring to life the dream of Raphael already alluded to, placing Humboldt and Ritter as the center of the illustrious group in the school of modern Greece.

We propose in this Article to call attention to the services

of these writers in the department of Physical Geography, a science of which by common consent they are regarded as the founders. For its promotion they labored not unitedly, but harmoniously, during a longer period than is appointed for the life of most men. While they differed widely in character, and exerted themselves in very different ways for the promotion of this favorite study, their names will always be remembered together, and their works, the *Kosmos* and the *Erdkunde*, will together be handed down to posterity as an enduring monument of the extent to which the knowledge of nature, and especially of its relations to man, had been carried in the nineteenth century of the Christian era.

It is not our purpose to write the lives of Humboldt and Ritter. Of the personal history of the former, so much is known to every one, of the personal history of the latter, so little is known to ourselves, that our remarks will be chiefly confined to the influence which these masters have exerted, and the work which they have accomplished in the branch of science which we have named.

Humboldt called himself half an American; and others designated him as the scientific Columbus, who revealed to the old world the natural wonders of the new. It was on this continent that his earliest triumphs were achieved, and the memory clung to him with the tenacious hold of an early love. On his return to Europe after his famous tour in South America, (in which he ascended Chimborazo,) and his subsequent visit to Mexico, he passed some time in several of the northern cities, and thus became personally acquainted not only with our institutions, but also with our countrymen. We have but just spoken to a gentleman who remembers well the privilege which he enjoyed as a young man, of showing to the great traveler from Germany the sights of Philadelphia in 1804. From that time on, Humboldt maintained the deepest interest in the science, the government, and the people of America. His correspondence here was extensive; the number of our countrymen whom he honored with a personal interview was surprisingly large; while additional multitudes of travelers, common citizens, and men of official station, were

presented to him in the receptions of the American legation ; and as in all these interviews he had the rare faculty of evincing the kindness of his heart, what wonder is it that so many had learned to regard him as a friend, and that when the tidings of his death were repeated from Boston to San Francisco, the expressions of affectionate sorrow were mingled everywhere with the eulogies of his greatness ! The company of American students who followed him to the grave, in advance of the high officers of the Prussian State, were fitly recognized as the representatives of their country.

As an expression of the common sentiment, we may refer our readers to the tributes of Agassiz, Lieber, and Gnyot, Europeans by birth, but Americans by adoption. They knew him well, and were competent to estimate his powers. Dr. Lieber, in reply to the question whether Humboldt was not the greatest man of the century, makes these discriminating remarks.

" I do not believe it fit for man to seat himself on the bench in the chancery of humanity and there to pronounce this one or that one the greatest man. How many men have been called the greatest ! But if it is an attribute of greatness to impress an indelible stamp on an entire movement of the collective mind of a race ; if greatness, in part, consists in devising that which is good, large, and noble, and in perseveringly executing it by means which, in the hands of others, would have been insufficient, and against obstacles which would have been insurmountable to others ; if the daring solitude of thought and loyal adhesion to its own royalty is a constituent of greatness ; and if rare and varied gifts, such as mark distinction when singly granted, showered by Providence on one man ; if modest amenity gracing these gifts, and encouraging kindliness to every one of every nation that proved earnest in his pursuit—whether he had chosen nature or society, the hieroglyphics or the liberty of America, the sea and the winds, or the languages, astronomy, or industry, the canal or prison discipline, geography or Plato ; if, in addition, an organizing mind—a power of evoking activity in the sluggish—and sagacity and unbroken industry through a life lengthened far beyond that which the psalmist ascribes to a long human existence ; if a good fame, encircling the globe on its own pinions, and not carried along by later history,—if these make up or prove greatness, then indeed we may say without presumption, that our age has been graced by one of the greatest men—so favored an exemplar of humanity that he would cease to be an example for us had he not manifested through his whole life of ninety years that unceasing labor, unvarying love of truth and advancement, and that kindness to his fellow-beings, which are *duties*, and in which every one of us ought to strive to imitate him."

In contrast with the popular hoinage generously lavished upon Humboldt, both in Europe and America, stands the equally honorable and equally enduring reputation which the genius of Ritter has achieved, not indeed among the multitude, but among his peers in the higher ranks of intellectual culture. It would not be difficult to account for this contrast. Merely to illustrate the fact, take down from the shelf any modern cyclopaedia, or dictionary of biography;—you will find the career of Humboldt pictured in the most brilliant colors;—you will find but the simplest outline of the life of Ritter. Examine the reviews, or turn more readily to the index of Poole;—there are a score and more of articles on Humboldt; is one to be found upon Ritter? Ask any school-boy who Humboldt is, and the answer will be given. How many men of education are unacquainted with the attainments of his great compatriot!*

Yet we do not disparage the well earned fame of the author of the *Kosmos*, when we say that the author of the *Erdkunde* was far more nearly his equal in genius, in learning and in perpetual influence, than would be supposed by those who should judge them by their present notoriety, for the new Geography is almost equally indebted to them both.

The life of Ritter was almost as remarkable for the absence of remarkable incidents, as that of Humboldt was distinguished by their occurrence. Let us glance at both careers.

Humboldt was born of a noble family, and had from his earliest years every prospect of preferment. He deserts an official position which would have satisfied a man of ordinary capacity, and determines to travel. The flattering reception

* Karl Ritter was born at Quedlinburg, August 7, 1779, and received his early training at Schnepfenthal, under Salzmann. In 1798 he attended the University of Halle, and for several years after completing his academic studies was a private tutor in the family of Mr. Hollweg at Frankfort. In 1819 he became Professor of History in the Gymnasium of that city, and in 1820 he removed to Berlin as Professor Extraordinary of Geography in the Military School and also in the University. He resided in Berlin till his death, which took place September 28, 1859, at the commencement of his eighty-first year. A sketch of his life, translated and condensed from an article by Dr. Kramer of Halle, may be found in the American Journal of Science and Arts, March, 1860, pp. 221-232.

which he meets with at Madrid decides him to visit the Spanish possessions of America. "He receives permission not only to visit them," says Prof. Agassiz, but "instructions are given to the officers of the colonies to receive him everywhere and to give him all facilities to permit him to transport his instruments, to make astronomical and other observations, and to collect whatever he chooses." What more could a young man of thirty desire? He climbs the peaks of Teneriffe, explores for a year and a half the valleys of the Amazon and Orinoco, ascends Chimborazo, to a height which man had never attained before, and with almost equal progress ascends the hill of fame. Having studied the ancient monuments of Central America, he returns to Europe. The King of Prussia makes him his friend and companion, at home and in his travels. He publishes his researches. The Emperor of Russia invites him to explore the Ural Mountains and he pushes his researches to the heart of the continent of Asia. He returns to Berlin and is sent as an Ambassador to Paris. For eighteen years he dwells alternately in Germany and France, studying, writing, lecturing, printing, until at the age of eighty he goes home to Berlin, not to die, not even to rest, but to add ten years of work to the laborious half-score by which he has already overrun the appointed limits of human activity. To the end of his life he is not less the courtier by day than the student by night.

How different the career of Ritter! Left at the age of five years, in 1784, a fatherless, penniless boy, received as a charity scholar in a newly established boarding-school, succeeding with difficulty in obtaining a university education, pledging his services as a private tutor to the patron who provides him with money, not receiving the appointment of a gymnasium professor till he is forty years of age,—it is obvious that the great geographer had little to encourage him or awaken his ambition, throughout his early life. But he improved every opportunity which was given him to cultivate his mind, and was ready for greater things. He is called to Berlin in 1820, and an empty auditory is the greeting which he received, so little was his character appreciated. A single year wrought

a wonderful change. "Auditory full—I must have a larger," is the minute in his journal. Occasional journeys in Europe, but never to Africa or Asia, his special fields of study, relieve the duties of his professional charge. Volume after volume of his "*Erdkunde*" successively appear. The attainments of the author are recognized by all; his original views are everywhere accepted; his work becomes a classic, and the ideas which it contains, and which the author advances in his lectures, penetrate the writings of every geographer, and reach the mind of every school-boy.

Humboldt was emphatically a cosmopolitan. He had traversed four continents, and was equally at home in every capital. He spoke with fluency a score of languages; he knew everybody worth knowing; he answered with his own hand every note; books, pamphlets, specimens, letters, consequently flowed to his study from all sources, like rivers to the sea, till at last he was compelled through the journals to beg the public to have some pity for an old man of almost ninety years of age, already overwhelmed with the necessity of writing two thousand letters a year.

Ritter, on the other hand, was more a man of books. He lived mostly in his study and lecture room. He possessed, in a rare degree, the power of gathering the truth from the conflicting statements of a hundred authors, of making in his own mind a complete picture of the lands which they described, and of reproducing that picture with the orderly and impressive strokes of a master.

With the countenance of Humboldt our readers are familiar. An admirable portrait taken from the life has lately been exhibited in New York; while, thanks to the art of photography, speaking likenesses adorn the walls of almost every laboratory and the portfolio of every scholar.

The personal appearance of Ritter was at once prepossessing and dignified. Those who knew him in the prime of life describe his presence as commanding in a high degree, and although in later years his movement was somewhat slow and heavy, yet his erect and elevated stature, his strong frame, his noble head, and his benignant smile, would arrest attention in

any company, and convey to every one the impression of uncommon power and goodness. If we were permitted to compare him with one of our own countrymen, we should say that there was much in his general appearance and manner which would suggest the elder Professor Silliman. We may notice in passing, the more remarkable coincidence, that they were born in the same year, the same month, and the same day.

We are familiar with but two portraits of Ritter. One of them was taken by request of the students in the university, at the head of whom was his favorite pupil, now his distinguished follower, Professor Guyot, and this we suppose, on the whole, must be regarded as the more satisfactory likeness. It was a crayon drawing made by Krüger, which was lithographed and published. Mr. Guyot, in his eulogy on Ritter, before the Geographical Society of New York, referred to the circumstances under which this portrait was taken, and said that the students requested a motto to be placed beneath the name. It was then that Ritter wrote the words which have become familiar to many of our readers, on the title page of "Earth and Man,"—"Our earth is a star among the stars; and should not we who are on it prepare ourselves by it for the contemplation of the universe and its Author?" A more compendious statement of the spirit of the *Erdkunde* could not possibly be given.

But although the earlier may be the better portrait, Ritter's later students will see more resemblance to the instructor whom they knew, in a lithographed likeness which was published in Berlin not many years since, and has lately been copied in a wood cut in the *Illustrierte Zeitung*. It gives Ritter's look as we remember him, to the life. Even the broad Byronic collar, the large round eye-glasses, the erect locks of thick hair, mere accessories we acknowledge, assist us in recalling the image of the man.

We trust that enough has been said in respect to the character of these two men to interest the reader in what we have to add respecting the science to which they both devoted so much energy. But let it be distinctly understood, that it is not our plan to attempt a complete estimate of their writings.

Such a review, by a more competent hand, would be appropriate in a scientific journal. We shall only bring forward some general notions of their services to mankind in the department of Physical Geography. Avoiding for the most part any technical expressions, we shall restrict ourselves still further to those comprehensive views which ought to be of interest to every man of education.

Before the days of Humboldt and Ritter, geography was hardly worthy the name of a science. At the close of the last century, more was known of the world than in the days of Herodotus, and more method was exhibited in the arrangement of facts; but the establishment of principles by comparison and induction was almost as much neglected as in the days of the Greek historian and traveler. It is true that within the last half century also vast accessions have been made to our knowledge of facts. To say nothing of other sources of information, the scientific expeditions equipped by the governments of Europe and of our own country, for the purpose of studying the globe on which we dwell, have been rich in their contributions to the sum of human information. But the eye of every observer has been rendered more acute, and the value of his researches immeasurably heightened, by the philosophical discussion of physical phenomena which was inaugurated by Humboldt, expanded by Ritter, and universally adopted by writers and teachers in geographical science.

The contrast between the old geography and the new may be easily stated, for the one holds nearly that relation to the other which chronology has to history; which the *Art de vérifier les Dates*, for example, has to the eloquent pages of Grote, or the thoughtful treatises of Guizot.

The old geography was nothing but a description of the earth and its inhabitants. Its method was arbitrary and unsatisfactory. Facts independent of their relations; details without reference to generalizations; phenomena and not causes were the sum and substance of its teachings. In short, it was not science but topography.

On the other hand, the new geography is not description but philosophy. It gives us reasons for facts, laws for phe-

nomena. It studies the mutual relations of the earth, the air and the sea, and their united influence upon the animal and vegetable life of the globe. It investigates the connection and the mutual dependence of the various divisions of the world. It shows how every part is important to every other part, and how all are subordinate to the wants of man. It teaches conclusively that the marks of design which are apparent in the root, the stem, the leaf and the fruit of a plant, in the trunk, the limbs, the heart and the head of an animal, each having its own office, are as really, if not as obviously displayed in the world regarded as an organic whole. To use the words of Professor Guyot, expanded and illustrated in his opening lecture on "the Earth and Man," the geography of Humboldt and Ritter discusses "the *physiology* of the great terrestrial forms," or, in other words, "**THE LIFE OF THE GLOBE.**"

The advantage, then, of the new above the old geography is not alone nor chiefly in the number of facts which it makes known but in the lessons they are shown to teach.

We are aware that glimpses of these general truths dawning on the minds of the earlier geographers. Thus, Heylyn, for example, whose famous Cosmography passed through several editions a century and a half ago, remarks that "the great body of the world, like the body of a man, though it have many parts and members, is but one body only. A body of so perfect and exact a form, of so complete a symmetry in respect of the particular parts, and all those parts so beautified and adorned by the God of Nature that from the elegancy and beauties of it, it was called *Kosmos* by the Grecians, and *Mundus* by the Latins, both names declaring the composure of it to be full of ornament; and all those ornaments conducting mankind to the knowledge of God."

Yet this very same writer deems it important to add upon the following page, in refutation of the vulgar notions of his day, that "they which have entertained a fancy of resembling every country to things more obvious to the sight and understanding have likened Europe to a dragon, the head of which they make to be Spain; the two wings Italy and Denmark. In like manner, they have been curiously impertinent in resembling

France to a lozenge or rhomboides; Belgium to a lion; Britain to an ax; Ireland to an egg; Peloponesus to a plantane leaf; Spain to an ox hide spread on the ground; Italy (which indeed holdeth best proportion) to a man's leg; with divers the like phantasms of a capricious brain,—these countries no more resembling them than pictures made when painting was in her infancy, under which they were fain to write, 'This is a lion, and this is a whale,' for fear the spectators might have taken one for a cock and the other for a cat."

But modern discipline is not content to recognize with the ancients the beauty and symmetry of the material creation, regarded as a unit, nor to enumerate in lists and catalogues the names of rivers and lakes, of mountains and plains, nor even in flora and fauna the varieties of the vegetable and animal kingdoms. The eye may be delighted with the exquisite perfection of the natural world; the memory may be stored with innumerable details; the love of the marvelous may revel in all "the curiosities" of natural history; indeed many departments of science may be thoroughly cultivated, while the relations of the several parts to one another and to the whole are entirely neglected, and the plan of the Creator in adapting the earth to man remains unperceived.

It is these relations which Humboldt and Ritter, beyond all other naturalists, have discovered and made known. Even the famous French geographer, Malte-Brun, who displays in his writings vast learning, (notwithstanding he gives heed to the foolish story that a crow-bar will float upon the compressed waters at Bellows Falls, Connecticut river,) and a methodical arrangement which renders his works very popular,—even he with all his attainments as a geographer, considers that "the structure of the globe presents in all its parts the appearance of a vast ruin," and laments that "a good system of physical geography can only be the gradual work of many successive ages." He shrinks from efforts to generalize, and abhors "the mania of systematizing" then prevalent, because, as it appears to us, while he knows too much to be tolerant of a false philosophy, he thinks too little to develop a true. So he solemnly declares his purpose "to resist the seductions of

systems and detail with clearness the limited number of *facts* which observation has collected and which have passed the ordeal of sound investigation."

Thanks to the Germans, Geography is emancipated from such thraldom. No longer bound to the mere enumeration of facts, it is free to study thoughts, even the thoughts of the Omnipotent as evinced in his works. If we should raze a cathedral to the ground and arrange in a museum its elaborate carvings, the statues, the pinnacles, the capitals, the traceries, we could not fail to admire the beauty of each part; but it is only when these fragments, however perfect in themselves, are combined in the stately edifice that we can fully comprehend their beauty and their use, or admire sufficiently the purpose and the power of the architect who designed them.

How different from the mere appreciation of beauty in nature, or from the mere accumulation of facts, is that study of the world, which shows us "that the forms, the arrangements and the distribution of the terrestrial masses on the surface of the globe, accidental in appearance, yet reveal a plan which we are enabled to understand by the evolutions of history; that the continents are made for human societies, as the body is made for the soul; that each of the northern or historical continents is peculiarly adapted by its nature to perform a special part which corresponds to the wants of humanity in one of the great phases of its history; and that thus nature and history, the earth and man, stand in the closest relations to each other, and form only one grand harmony!"*

We have already intimated that it is not easy to say whether Humboldt or Ritter has done the most for the new geography of which these are the principles, for they have labored by different methods and in different departments,—Humboldt inclining decidedly to the study of material science, in geology, hydrography, orography, and terrestrial physics, and Ritter in as marked a manner evincing his love for the

* Guyot, *Earth and Man.*

study of mankind, in history, ethnography, and archæology, and regarding the world as a theater for human progress.

To define the relative value of their services is happily as needless as it would be difficult. They acted and reacted upon one another. Humboldt was the older in years, and his peculiarly fortunate circumstances led him to publish at an early period of life. He was consequently world-renowned, when Ritter remained almost unknown. He has suggested much in his various writings which his younger associate more completely developed. We find the latter near the commencement of his great work making a special acknowledgment to the former, personally and in the name of science, for the use of most important learned and official documents, manuscript memoirs, itineraries, maps, monographs, and rare literary works, which pour upon him, and upon him alone, from every direction.

Humboldt's celebrated journeys, first to tropical America and afterwards to Central Asia, furnished him with rich materials for publication. He was a reaper in fields from which nothing had been garnered. On returning from the former expedition he passed several years in Paris, preparing for the press the result of his researches, and in this labor the most eminent naturalists of the world were intimately associated. Bonpland, his companion in travel, Cuvier, Arago, Gay Lussac, Vauquelin, Klaproth, Kunth, all took part with eagerness in the preparation of those departments with which they were severally most acquainted. The work, or rather the series of works, was written in French under the general title, "*Voyage aux Régions équinoxiales du Nouveau Continent par A. de Humboldt et A. Bonpland.*" To enumerate the successive parts, the atlases, and plates, and the various editions and translations of the whole or of portions, would be to furnish our readers with a longer and more intricate chapter of bibliographical knowledge than would be here appropriate. We shall not attempt it. Humboldt's second great journey, that to the central regions of Asia, was not only less prolific but less important than the former. Respecting this, he published a preliminary work in connection with his companions, Rose and

Ehrenberg,—but it was only the forerunner of his more complete treatise on “*Asie Centrale; recherches sur les chaînes de montagnes, et la climatologie comparée.*” Paris, 1843.

These costly works on the new world and the old will always remain as monuments of the native endowments, the industry, the learning and the wisdom of their author. But, fortunately, those who have not that profound knowledge of science which alone will enable them to enjoy these works, may yet become acquainted with their writer. Indeed, to the multitude, even to the circle of highly educated readers, Humboldt is better if not more admirably known, by two comparatively popular works, than by the more imposing memorials of his intellectual greatness. The works to which we allude are almost his earliest and his latest books, the beginning and the ending of the series of his writings, the “Views of Nature,” and the “Kosmos.”

The former of these—*Ansichten der Natur*—was prepared by the author, in 1807, soon after his return from South America, when his enthusiasm was at its height. Although two or three chapters were added in the subsequent revisions of the work, and the notes were very much expanded, yet the text remained almost unaltered, while the numerous allusions to it, and the quotations from it which may be found in the other writings of the author, are a still more decided indication of the estimate with which he was wont to regard this production of his youth. Many a man on attaining years and fame has been eager to suppress his early publications, but Humboldt seems to have made for himself in this first, fresh, hearty expression of his love of nature a perpetual fountain of youth, to which in advancing years he delighted to return. The book has been as popular in Germany, France, and England, as it is fascinating. It is not one finished memoir, but a succession of delightful essays, suggested chiefly by the author’s observations on the physical geography of this continent. It thus reminds us of the sketches by pencil and pen, which adorn the portfolio of a traveler, less elaborate perhaps, but more natural than the later productions of his quiet hours. As such, the work is peculiarly attractive to the

common reader, who might possibly be repelled by a treatise of more logical method, and more minute details. In the "Ideas for a Physiognomy of Plants," for example, he may see the "Heart of the Andes" almost as vividly as in that master-piece of American art, the landscape of Church.

On the other hand, Humboldt's *Kosmos*, as we have said, is the work of his declining years; if, indeed, that life can be said to decline, which closes like the course of the sun in summer with radiance more beautiful and impressive than the splendor of noon. It is true that the general plan of this work was projected at an early period of his life. Upon going to Berlin in 1827, while he declined a chair in the already famous university of which his distinguished brother, William von Humboldt, may be regarded as the founder,—he gave a public course of lectures on Physical Geography. These were the outline, or rather the germ, of that survey of the natural world, which, in the form of connected volumes, began to see the light in 1844, and which was not quite completed at the time of the author's death; for like his distinguished contemporaries, Macaulay and Prescott, he leaves an unfinished book, to stand as a broken shaft above his grave, an emblem of the mortality to which the most exalted of our race are subject. We say these lectures were an early attempt to bring out the ideas which lie at the basis of the *Kosmos*, but long before even they were given, the mind of the author had considered the scheme, so that when he began to publish he was able to speak of his work "as having been present to his mind in outline for half a century." What Humboldt wrote in half a century is not to be criticised in half a page. We shall accordingly state the object of his book in his own words, and shall leave it to be judged by the testimony of others.

But before proceeding to do so, such of our readers as delight to compare the bud with the flower, may be interested in seeing the outline of his lectures. They were sixty-one in number,—arranged in the following order. Five lectures treated of the nature and limits of physical geography, and included a general sketch of nature; three were devoted to a history of the science of the world; two to the inducement to

a study of natural science ; sixteen to the heavens ; five to the form, density, latent heat and magnetic power of the earth and to the polar light ; four were on the nature of the firm earth crust, on hot springs, earthquakes and volcanoes ; two on mountains and the type of their formation ; two on the form of the earth's surface, and on the connection of the continents ; two on the sea and the flowing waters of the earth ; ten on the atmosphere, and the distribution of heat ; one on the geographical distribution of the organic creation in general ; one on the geography of plants ; three on the geography of animals ; and two on ethnography.*

A similar arrangement, though not exactly the same, is followed in the *Kosmos*. But the rapid progress of science which has made the later volumes of the printed work to differ from the former must have compelled the writer to prepare the work almost *ab ovo* when he began to print. Indeed he tells us that he preserved no notes of his lectures.

The first volume of the *Kosmos* gives a general view of the present state of physical science ; the second illustrates the incitements to the study of Nature, and proceeds to an outline history of the physical contemplation of the universe ; the third in two divisions is devoted to the heavens, or the special study of celestial phenomena ; while the fourth, the last which has appeared, is a survey of telluric phenomena, or the earth. It will be evident from this, the briefest possible statement of the contents of the work, that Humboldt's aim was to present a view of all in Nature which is known to man, and that his treatise is accordingly divided between the heavens and the earth, "the star among the stars." Or, to quote his own language, in the felicitous translation of Mrs. Sabine, "The word *Cosmos* is employed as signifying the Heavens and the earth, or the whole world of sense, or the material universe ; agreeably to general Hellenic usage subsequently to the time of Pythagoras, and in conformity with its definition by the unknown author of the treatise entitled *De Mundo*, which was long erroneously attributed to Aristotle. If scientific

* Klencke, Biogr. Denkmal. Leips. 1859.

names had not long varied from their true linguistic meaning, the present work might properly have been entitled *Cosmography*, divided into *Uranography and Geography*." And again, "The physical cosmography of which I attempt the exposition does not aspire to the perilous elevation of a pure rational science of nature. Leaving to others who may perhaps adventure on them with more success, these depths of a purely speculative philosophy, my essay on the *Cosmos* consists of *physical geography, joined with the description of the heavenly bodies in space*: its aim is to present a view of the material universe which may rest on the empirical foundation of the facts registered by science, compared and combined by the operations of the intellect. It is within these limits alone that the undertaking can harmonize with the wholly objective tendency of my mental disposition and with the labors which have occupied my long scientific career."

It would be superfluous for us to speak of the result of this bold attempt,—this Napoleonic effort to systematize and organize all the *disjecta membra* of physical science. We have seen it stated with authority that the *Kosmos*, like its author, taken all in all, had never been equaled; but in separate departments, the book and its writer have both been surpassed. In the words of another, well qualified to speak—the undertaking was that of a giant, but it was nevertheless impossible. But if the book does not go down to posterity with the *Physics* of Aristotle and the *Natural History* of Pliny, it will always be regarded as one of the most remarkable works of this nineteenth century.

From what has now been said, it is obvious that comparatively a small portion of the *Kosmos* as it has been published is devoted to *Physical Geography*, properly so called, and when that portion is examined it will be apparent that the world has been regarded rather as a manifestation of the forces of nature, than as a world adapted and designed for the home of mankind. This is a striking difference between the writings of Humboldt and Ritter, as we shall presently have occasion to show. Humboldt was not reluctant to perceive the relation of the earth to man,—for he distinctly refers to it in several eloquent

passages, but to Ritter it was a favorite, perhaps we should say, a constant mode of thought.

The fourth volume of the *Kosmos*, as we have already mentioned, is devoted to terrestrial phenomena. The first section extending through about one-third of the whole discusses the laws of magnetism; the remainder is occupied with the dynamics of the earth, and especially with the expansive subject of volcanoes. The continuation of the work will bring us, doubtless, to the structure of the continents. But in the very first volume, toward its close, will be found an interesting statement, perhaps more satisfactory because complete so far as it goes, of the present state of Physical Geography. We do not know within the same compass a better *résumé* of the science. The article by Sir John Herschel in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is, indeed, more comprehensive, and far more full of facts, but for general statements the chapter in *Humboldt* is certainly to be preferred. Those who seek for further information must go to the "Earth and Man," by Professor Guyot.

We quote a single passage from the introduction to the *Kosmos*:

"The telluric portion of the physical description of the universe, to which I preserve the old and expressive title of *physical geography*, treats of the distribution of magnetism on our planet in its relations of intensity and direction, but does not teach the laws of magnetic attraction and repulsion, or the means of eliciting powerful electro-magnetic effects, whether transitorily or permanently. Physical geography describes in bold and general outlines the compact or indented configuration of continents, and the distribution of their masses in both hemispheres,—a distribution which powerfully influences differences of climates and the most important meteorological processes of the atmosphere; it seizes the predominant character of mountain chains, whether parallel or transverse and intersecting, and whether belonging to the same or to different epochs and systems of elevation; it examines the *mean* height of the continents above the present surface of the sea, or the position of the center of gravity of their volume; the relation of the highest summits of the great chains to the general line of their crests, to the vicinity of the sea, and to the mineral character of the rocks of which they consist. It depicts to us the eruptive rocks as active principles of movement, traversing, uplifting, and inclining at various angles the passive sedimentary rocks: it considers volcanoes either as isolated or ranged in single or in double series, and extending their sphere of action to various distances, either by means of long narrow bands of erupted rocks, or by earthquakes operating in

circles which widen or contract in the course of centuries. It describes the strife of the liquid element with the firm land; it shows the features which are common to all great rivers in the upper and in the lower portion of their course, and how they become subject to bifurcation. It characterizes rivers either as breaking their way through great mountain chains, or following, for a time, a course parallel to them, either close to their foot or at a considerable distance, according to the influence which the elevation of the mountain system may have exercised on the neighboring plains. It is only the general results of comparative orography and hydrography which belong to the science whose proper limits I am endeavoring to trace, and not the enumeration of our loftiest mountains, active volcanoes, or rivers with the extent of their watershed and the number of their tributaries. All these details belong to geography properly so called, in its most restricted sense. We here consider phenomena only in their mutual connection, and in their relations to the different zones of our planet, and to its general physical constitution. The specialities either of inanimate substances or of organic beings, classed according to analogy of form and composition, do indeed form a highly interesting subject of study, but quite foreign to the present work." pp. 45-47.

But it is not to be supposed that Humboldt's contributions to Physical Geography are limited to these portions of the *Kosmos*. His other works are all of them relevant in a greater or less degree to the same branch of knowledge. To him the world is indebted for the promulgation of views, equally novel and profound, in respect to the importance of recognizing the element of the altitudes, in the study of every country, and not less, for his original and masterly exhibition of the laws of the geographical distribution of plants and animals. No one now thinks of describing scientifically any country without at least as much reference to vertical measurements as to horizontal dimensions, nor can any one study with thoroughness any phase of organic life without acknowledging and accepting the previous labors of Humboldt. His name is enrolled in every department of science; while as an explorer and a geographer we must acknowledge that it stands alone.

It is time for us to pass from the writings of Humboldt to those of Ritter, his junior by about ten years, his survivor by scarcely five months.

The great work of Ritter is the *Erdkunde*, or, as the title is more fully defined, "Geography in its relation to Nature and to the History of mankind, as the sure basis for studying and

teaching the physical and historical sciences." The first part appeared in 1817, and the second in the following year, but these two volumes, like the lectures of Humboldt, were only the precursors of a far more extended work. They related to only two continents, Africa and Asia. In 1822 he began to publish an enlarged and improved edition, but after the appearance of one volume upon Africa a long pause ensued, and it was not until 1832, that the first portion of the second volume upon Asia was issued from the press. Within a few years afterward several parts appeared, all pertaining to the same continent, and it was only a few weeks before his decease that he wrote the closing words of the nineteenth volume, upon Asia. Even then he had not completed his description of that portion of the globe. To have described the entire world in his complete and elaborate manner would have required a longer life than four score years. During all the time of this publication Ritter was engaged in teaching and in accumulating the data for the prosecution of his work. It is understood that especially in respect to Europe he had gathered a vast amount of materials, to which his frequent journeys in vacation would enable him to add the result of wide observation.

The *Erdkunde* of Asia is divided into five sections, and to most of it good indexes are published. The first includes the introduction, and Eastern Asia, considered in five divisions, the central plateaux, Siberia, China, and India; the second section includes Western Asia, likewise considered in five divisions, the Turanian and Iranian countries, with those of the Euphrates and Tigris; the third section is devoted to Arabia; the fourth to the peninsula of Sinai, Palestine, and Syria; and the fifth to Asia Minor.

Dr. Kramer, in the memorial of Ritter, to which we have already referred, thus briefly characterizes this great work:

"Ritter's intention was, to give with the greatest accuracy a vivid image of the formation of the superficies of the earth in its horizontal and vertical dimensions by means of a conscientious and careful use of all existing sources, and to represent and explain the characteristic qualities of its parts and their relation to each other and to the whole earth, but at the same time to make it serve as a substratum of all animated nature, and as a foundation and condition of the de-

velopment of the different nations and the whole human species in their manifold mutual relations to one another.

"This was a stupendous task, but Ritter performed it marvelously well. Its execution required a combination of great and varied talents, such as rarely ever have been or will be found, cultivated by deep and assiduous study. In it we see powerful and truly ingenious displays of general geographical intuition and combination, a care, that indefatigably penetrates into the deepest recesses and most minute details, an extensive knowledge of natural sciences, a perfect command of extensive historical materials, and lastly, a truthfulness and thoroughness of learned inquiry, combined with the rare gift of a rich, fresh, vivid, and expressive representation. Truth and knowledge of the living God were the springs that actuated his mind and after which he aspired. Hence his humility, hence his close and perfect application, his concentration upon the subject before him. No difficulty ever deterred him in his investigations, although the matter before him was continually and vastly accumulating. His work was to him, as he wrote in his diary, when, after a long interruption, he again commenced his labor, 'his song of praise to the Lord.'

At the basis of this entire work, and indeed of all Ritter's writings, lies the thought that each of the grand divisions of the earth has its own peculiar character as really as any person; and that thus it is designed to fulfill a specific office in the culture of mankind. This peculiarity depends not alone nor chiefly upon the horizontal dimensions of the continent, upon the bays, and gulfs, and straits which penetrate the main land and form peninsulas, and capes, and islands,—nor upon the position of the entire mass with respect to the equator and the poles, but rather on the elevation of the continent above the level of the sea, by which varieties of climate are produced, and diversities of flora and of fauna, to say nothing of differences in the human species, are obviously promoted. What is true of the whole is true also of each portion, and every high land and low land, every water course and coast, every island and peninsula, has its individual characteristics.

This idea, promulgated and illustrated with rare eloquence and skill in the University lectures of Ritter, has already, to some extent, pervaded the geographical literature of the day, and may be traced in many of the school books of Germany which are based upon his method. Those who seek for its application by the author to all portions of the world, may be disappointed, for we have already seen that his chief strength was expended upon the largest and the most complex of all

the grand divisions. But in a volume composed of various contributions to the Academy of Sciences and other occasional essays, which was published at Berlin in 1852, under the title of an Introduction to General Comparative Geography, his principles are brought out. To that we refer the reader for a fuller statement than we are able to give. A translation of the book, with illustrative notes, would be a service to this country.

At the risk of having it said that we have transferred the German pages to our own, instead of translating them, we shall make a few extracts from one of the earliest essays which was published by Ritter, in order to show his method of thought, as well as to give a glimpse of the principles which lie at the basis of all he has written.

In 1818 he wrote for the first volume of the *Erdkunde* an introduction to geography. In this he briefly indicates the plan of his work, enumerates the sources from which his materials are drawn, and explains the purpose which he has in view. At the outset he states a few important truths, which appear and reappear, expanded, confirmed, and illustrated through all the subsequent pages.

It is one of the characteristics of human nature, he remarks, that there is in every man a personality belonging only to him, by the development of which he proceeds toward perfection,—and the same is true of every nation. In the complete cultivation of this individuality lies the moral, and with it every other power of man; as well as the nationality and national strength of every people. It gives life and light to the present and the future, not according to its temporal and territorial, but according to its intellectual and moral power, casting its brilliant rays throughout the entire extent of the present life of the people and its future history.

The individuality of a nation, continues Ritter, can only be recognized in its conduct, in its relation to itself, to its members, to its surroundings; and, since no people can be thought of independently of a state and country,—in its relation to both of these and in their relation to neighboring lands and neighboring states. Here the influence becomes apparent

which nature must exercise upon nations, in a more marked degree indeed than upon individual men, because, as it were, masses act upon masses, and the personality of the nation predominates over that of the man. Nature is everywhere gentle in its influences, working rather in secret than in open day. Is it not then worth while, for the sake of the history of man and of nations, to study the surface of the earth in its relation to its inhabitants?

Independent of man, he proceeds to say, the earth is a theater for the occurrences of nature; the laws of its formation cannot proceed from man. In a science of the Earth, the earth itself must be questioned in respect to its laws. The monuments which nature has erected upon it and their hieroglyphic language, must be examined, described, and their construction deciphered. The high lands, the low lands, the mountains must be measured, their forms arranged according to their essential characteristics; and the observers of every age and nation, yes, even the people themselves, must be consulted and understood in respect to what they have learned from the world in which they dwell. All the facts thus gathered must be reduced to a comprehensive whole. Then from every member, from every series, proceeds a result the truth of which is manifested in the localized phenomena of nature, and as a reflection in the life of those nations whose existence and whose peculiarities coincide with this or that combination in the characteristic earth formation.

Thus controlled by a higher law, nations, like individual men, are developed under the simultaneous influence of nature and mind, that is by spiritual and physical powers.

We are aware that to some of our readers these ideas of Ritter will appear to be thoroughly German, and possibly vague, but we prefer to present as nearly as possible his own words, rather than in a paraphrase of our own. It must be borne in mind not only that in common with most of his countrymen he clothes abstract ideas with personality in a manner to which we are unaccustomed, but he is avowedly presenting an old subject in a new light, so that for many of his expres-

sions, the English phrases, like coin from a new die, have not as yet become current.

At a later period, when Ritter comes to apply these principles to the geography of Asia, he remarks that the method which he follows differs from all which have previously been adopted. The reader, he says, must abandon himself completely to the subject, and follow the work from its beginning onward in order to perceive the true connection of the parts, the arrangement, and the progressive thought, and so enlarge more and more his insight into details by a study of the general laws of nature. He calls especial attention to the fact that his method is not to proceed *a priori*, or from the arbitrary and old fashioned divisions and subdivisions, which have generally been adopted in a most erroneous manner. Our method, he says, consists rather in beginning with the main trunk of the continent, presenting such considerations as can be derived from a general survey, and then proceeding by special investigations to make ourselves at home in those localities which are separated by nature into distinct and differing territories, in order to arrange these in connected groups according to their individual phenomena, relations, and predominant laws. By connecting these different groups we shall again proceed to general descriptions, relations, and laws of construction, not only respecting the physical nature of every locality, but also its organic productions and life. This will be facilitated by the arrangement of paragraphs, each of which, with its subdivisions and notes, will concentrate as it were in a focus all positive data. If this end is attained, each paragraph will present a true outline of a geographical member or link, which will not be without its value to the physical sciences, as well as to history.

It is this exhaustive and comprehensive method which gives to every portion of Ritter's writings its value. Balancing, as he was accustomed to do, the assertions of one writer with those of another, basing all his theories upon positive knowledge, and then availing himself of his generalizations in the elucidation of new phenomena, he has prepared a work on Asia, valuable not only in its entirety, but also as a succes-

sion of monographs, each perfect and complete in itself, and often sparkling with brilliant displays of genius.

The proper limits of this Article will not allow us to do more than give a summary of the views which are presented by Ritter in the discussion of Asia, the largest and most diversified of the continents and the oldest in historical development.

He recognizes in that grand division of the earth one predominant trunk, to which many members are attached, members which are indeed subordinate in extent to the main body, but which especially toward the south and west display a marked importance,—while in the east and southeast the prominent feature is isolation, evinced in the entirely separated and very numerous groups of islands. The trunk is characterized by one immense central plateau, divided in two, the high-land of Eastern Asia, and the high-land of Western Asia, of different geometrical figures and absolute heights, the one more rough, the other more even. There is a maximum elevation of land with predominant and moderately high plateau-systems and border mountains of various form surrounded by alps with inexhaustible supplies of water; enclosing elevations of various character; and independent and diverging mountain chains which ramify like a profusion of arms; so that thus the division into limbs and members (*the articulation*, to adopt an anatomical term) is displayed in the most manifold formations, which are never repeated.

But beside all this should be mentioned the remarkable formation of the peninsulas in the south, which consist of highlands and plateau-systems, more easily understood than the intricate and complex combinations of the main continent, because more accessible, less extended also, and lower. These peninsulas, made cooler by their elevation, and otherwise highly favored, doubly enrich the south of Asia. They are important not only in themselves, but as tending to form and to protect the low-lands, which lie in the valleys of the water courses, and between them and the higher mountains at the north. These valleys correspond in their functions to those of Southern Europe, where between the Appenines of Italy

and the Alps of Switzerland, the granaries of Lombardy derive their abundance from the irrigation imparted to them by the surrounding high-lands. The terraces, which connect the high-lands with the low-lands, descend from the common center in at least twelve colossal formations. The valleys which they enclose are the great natural lines of communication for the winds and waters, the flora and fauna, as well as for the people themselves, whose civilization they favor. These valleys descend by the deepest depressions into at least six large low plains, forming as many naturally disconnected districts. These six low-lands display a regular progression from those portions which are chiefly oceanic, to those which are completely removed from the sea, and are truly continental, exerting in consequence a strong influence upon the neighboring grand divisions of the earth.

Thus, in Asia, we recognize two great plateaux or high-lands, (those of Iran and Eastern Asia,) and four of a subordinate character with manifold other mountain systems, twelve great transition forms, (the terraces between the high-lands and the low-lands,) and six naturally separated low-lands, making in all four and twenty principal and peculiar natural types, which are so grouped that in their combination the characteristics of the entire world are made apparent. With this system of plastic formation, the animated nature is closely connected, not only in its regular and dependent, but in its free and independent manifestations.

In attempting to trace these natural subdivisions of Asia on an ordinary map of that continent, the reader will experience some difficulty. To appreciate as it deserves the value of such general statements, he must consult a physical map which presents to the eye not only horizontal but vertical dimensions, and in which not only the coast of a country are given, the course of rivers and the direction of mountain chains, but in which also by means of different tints the low-lands are distinguished from the plateaux, and they from the mountain chains. It is much to be regretted that these maps are not to be found in every school and in every private library. The cost of such comprehensive atlases as the larger

works of Berghaus and Johnston need not deter the student from owning the smaller atlases which are prepared for use in Germany with great accuracy and beauty and at very low prices. It is desirable, we acknowledge, that in our own country such maps should be edited and published; but until they can be prepared in a truly scientific way, it is better for us still to depend upon transatlantic cartographers.

This presentation of the geography of Ritter can hardly fail to be tedious to those who are not already familiar with the subject, and unsatisfactory to those who are. The latter class of readers will support us, however, in saying that the originality of Ritter's views, the technicality of his expressions, and the complicated structure of his sentences, renders the task of translation by no means easy. Indeed, it is to these circumstances that we must attribute the fact that only one translation of the *Erdkunde* has been made in Europe. That was made into the Russian language,—the relations of the great Slavonic empire to the continent of Asia being already so extended, and, at the same time, so progressive, that such a key to power as Ritter offered them was seized with the greatest eagerness.

We had intended in this Article to go more fully into the several parts of the *Erdkunde*, and to show how the author conducted his investigation in some particular country, the great peninsula of Arabia, for example; but we must defer for the present that purpose, and content ourselves with having brought forward the characteristics of the work. We cannot doubt that followers of Ritter in this country and in England will lay before the public his profound and comprehensive views, worked out, illustrated, and made intelligible to every mind. Already in Switzerland and Germany the text-books in geography are based on the principles of Ritter, and while his own words have been read by a narrow circle, his views have been taught in every school-room. They have had an influence on a multitude of scholars, and have led to the discussion both of nature and of history, in a manner before unknown, but sure to produce the most advantageous results in the culture of the mind and the promotion of true civilization.

It is fortunate that our own land, to which Ritter always referred as the future seat of human power, rapidly gaining ascendency, has become the home, at once the study and the lecture-room of one who was trained by the great geographer of Berlin, and was always referred to by him as his devoted friend. We need hardly say that we allude to Professor Guyot, once of Neufchatel and now of Princeton. Imbued with the spirit of Humboldt and Ritter, he has presented in his work on the "Earth and Man," the most important of their conclusions in respect to the structure of this world and its adaptation to mankind, together with his own profound reflections on this subject, the result of protracted and varied studies in science and in history. We well remember the high terms in which Ritter was accustomed to speak of this work, and no one is a better judge than he. Prof. Agassiz, also, in speaking of the lectures which form the basis of this volume, referred in the strongest terms to the "brilliant generalizations" of this author, supplementary to those of Humboldt and Ritter, and urged their wide diffusion.

If there are any of our readers who desire to understand the New Geography, and who are not already acquainted with the character of this unpretending volume, we assure them that in it they will find a profound exhibition of important principles, presented with clearness of style, richness and beauty of illustration, and power of argument which will amply reward the most careful study. By his accurate measurements of all the higher peaks in the mountains of the eastern portion of this continent, Prof. Guyot has made an important contribution to the knowledge of the new world, and by his elaborate tables for meteorological and other physical calculations, he has rendered an incalculable service to all observers of natural phenomena. By his lectures in the Normal Schools and before the Teachers' Institutes of various States, to say nothing of his collegiate instruction and his other public lectures, he has awakened a widely and deeply felt interest in a department of knowledge which was almost unknown in this country before his arrival in it. But there is yet one service which we hope he will speedily render, the preparation of a series of text-

books illustrated with physical maps, and adapted to different periods of instruction. The tedious study which is now called geography in our schools, would then give way to a more satisfactory and more useful contemplation of the world in which we dwell.

Even now, in the higher institutions of learning, much could be done for the diffusion of philosophical notions of the structure of the earth in its relations to man. The study of natural science in all its departments is at once interesting and important; not less valuable and instructive is the history of different epochs and countries; but to show the relation between the world and its inhabitants, between the powers of nature and of mind, between the structure of a continent and the races or nations which possess it, is to illustrate on the grandest scale the designs of the Creator in planning this complex globe to be the home, the school, and the judgment-hall of man.

ARTICLE II.—THE POWER OF CONTRARY CHOICE.

THE question whether the soul has the “power of contrary choice” is one of the utmost importance in its bearings upon theology, and all moral science. It is high time that the subject was thoroughly understood. The orthodox faith has lost much by its dullness of apprehension and its incompleteness here, and entirely failed of that “vantage ground” which it would have held but for its unwillingness to concede what is intuitively true at this point, and what the common sense of men concedes in all the relations of life. Happy the day, for the cause of truth generally, and for the power and spread of the gospel, when our metaphysics on this and other subjects shall agree with the acknowledged principles of common sense, and be but the philosophic and comprehensive statement of them! Ask any man of a thousand you may meet, whether he thinks he could have done right yesterday when he did wrong, and he will say “Yes.” It is the sentiment of common life, and of humanity, for all time, everywhere. Not whether he acted freely and with consent of will in doing wrong. That of course. But whether situated as he then was, he could have refrained from the wrong and done the right, and he will still say “Yes,” if his conscience is tender, and bad theology does not come in his way. And he will sustain his position by asking further, “If I could not, how then was I responsible for my sin? If it was ‘inevitable,’ situated as I was, how am I answerable for it? If the temptations to it took away my power to the contrary, I feel absolved for what I could not help;” and the conscience of mankind will go with him in this, philosophize about it as we may.

It is not to be expected that a great mind of any given age should see all sides of all subjects, for all time. The error of the colossal “Treatise on the Will,” is just at the point un-

der review. No man has proved that choice is always as is the greatest apparent good, and it is not an intuitional idea. Edwards found it in the dialectics of previous periods, and accepted it without special investigation, we may hope. It was, too, a link in a chain and scheme of doctrine. It was not investigated on its intrinsic merits as a psychological question. It stood in the light of a consequence, and was for its sake. It was deemed needful to Divine government, though without good reason. The argument was, that God could not be supreme, or secure results, unless he had sovereignty of all volitions and made them but modifications of the infinite cause. But there never can be more than the "*petitio principii*" here. You can only beg the question. Who knows that I always do what I think is best? It seems to me far otherwise. The sense of the inquiry is not altered if I add the phrase, what I think *at the time* is best. All volition is in the present tense. The statement, however expressed, must be tantamount to this, that all men always act from the conviction of what is the greatest good. And can this be said of all the foolishness, and lust, and wickedness of earth and hell? The expression is a misnomer. It does not characterize the act. It has credence for the sake of an end to be gained by it, and yet that end, when thus reached, falsifies a moral government and ignores the distinction between nature and the supernatural.

If motives govern choice, with no power to the contrary, then "*the is*" is the exponent of "*the can be*." Then the past could be only as it has been; the present cannot be otherwise than as it is, or the future than as it will be. The forces are all "*ab extra*." We have no power to alter them, or their effects. The stream is from the beginning downward and onward, and we have no power to change its course. All is a Divine programme, and must be fulfilled in this way or the reins are taken out of the hands of God, and he has no way left to be supreme. It is an outside pressure on us, or one "*ab extra*" to ourselves, which is only to be yielded to, and which can only be yielded to freely, you may say. But even that you get not from the doctrine, or the scheme it serves,

but in spite of, and in exception to, them. These would be complete, with this element left out. The whole subject is viewed theologically, and for a theological result. It is a mere matter of cause and effect, to enable God to govern mind and secure results in the moral, as he does in the physical world. That the mind is free in the process, at the point of contact with it, is intuitionly learned indeed, but it does not belong to the scheme or the object of it, and does not make one hair white or black, in the matter of results. All is from God, and resistless as the lightning, and all a Divine method to gain a Divine end. And in gaining that end, the mind is no real factor. It has no discretion, no power of resistance, no sovereignty over the issue. At any given point of wrong it could not hold up, for it has no power to the contrary. It goes as it is led, and because it is led. You say freely, "Yes," as the wheel on its axle, or the joint in its socket, or the door on its hinges, and by subsidizing this foreign element to your doctrine you believe thus empirically the unutterable repulsions of it. But in all this you do not describe the conscious intuitions of the mind in its free acts. The view is not authentic. More is wanting to it. It lacks vitality. It does not give object or character to the freedom it admits. There is in it no discretion, no power of discrimination, no election as to what the act shall be in the given circumstances. You have not got up into the region of personal cause. There is no self-origination of conduct, or character, or destiny. You have not risen into the region of the "supernatural." You have not stept from the tread-mill policy of mere physics into the appropriate sphere of the will. The man as yet is but a mere tool in the hands of another—a thing acting as it is acted on—a means, worked by another for the sake of something beyond itself. And the picture is unmeaning. The view is lame and inadequate. It fails integrally to complete the intimations of consciousness in our free acts, and tantalizes us with the name of freedom, while it takes its gist and import, aye, its real life away, and makes it at once without significance or value.

We never did wrong without the conviction that, at the

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time and under the circumstances, the act was needless and avoidable. Could we, one of the sharpest pangs of remorse would be extracted, if not all remorse effectually quieted and removed. No man was ever placed where he could not do right. A virtue that is "inevitable," is no virtue. The plea, "I could not help it," is always in bar of imputed wrong, and equally excluding merit, in action formally right. Of course we would guard against the predisposing tendencies to existent wrong, which are found in habits and propensities formed and resultant of the earlier history of the individual or the race, and our friends, in controversy, will, we judge, agree with us in this. But if I have no power against an existing temptation and array of motives, how have I against a previous habit? Such a habit is nothing to me now, in the matter of a current responsibility, except as a present influence. And if I have no capabilities concerning it, but only to freely do its bidding—if I may not at any stage, and under any circumstances, arrest and throttle it and deliver myself from it, and proclaim the freedom of eternal victory over it, from the force of the very elements of the intelligence that is in me, and of me as a creature of God, and more especially now as aided and encouraged by the assurances of the gospel, then indeed am I "led as an ox to the slaughter, and like a fool to the correction of the stocks."

But it has been objected "*oui bono*," "What is the use of claiming the power of contrary choice—it never is exercised?" But are you sure of that? We believe that the power of contrary choice is, and is exercised in thousands and thousands of instances every day. Indeed, not a sinner turns to God without it. Let a great revival of religion sweep through the city, and over the land, and you have it everywhere. We see not how any one gets to Christ without it. He must wake it up, and stake his salvation, under God, upon it. He must summon it to the work of resistance and counteraction. He must contravene the prevalent propensities, and temptations, and habits of a whole life of impenitence and alienation from God. He must encounter the cherished lusts of a life time, and go right abreast of all he has ever been, to resist all, and against the pleadings, and pretensions, and tyranny of all, and turn

unto God and live. And in this he needs the power of contrary choice, and uses it. So that for all the purposes of this discussion this power to the contrary is, under God, the life of the world, and is seen wherever a sinner is converted from the error of his way, or a soul saved from death. How can you break away from a dominant propensity, or change a course of action, without calling up an element of being like that for which we here contend?

The objector will not surely take shelter under the poor subterfuge that we cannot have two and opposite choices, or go two ways at once; for what does this amount to, reduced to the last analysis? It is just equivalent to the insignificant, identical proposition, that *we do as we do*—that personality is a unit, and not a duad. A given volition or exercise may be no measure of the powers of its author. Powers may lie dormant, or await the occasion for their use. We should be sorry to conclude that one who is only doing wrong, is exercising all the powers he has, or that we ever lose the power of right action, whatever, in fact, our conduct may be.

The poor deceit practised on the mind of such an objector, and which he would doubtless hold as a conceded and legitimate postulate, and which has been the occasion of more discussions and logomachies since its invention than almost anything else, is that of two sorts of necessity—physical and moral—the last always retiring, on the analysis of its friends, into a mere certainty, only. But how is the merely certain a correlate of the possible? Only by begging the question again, in view of the *theological necessities* of the scheme. A certainty may be no more allied to a necessity than an uncertainty, unless, as before, you restrict the thought to the mere inanity, that what will be, will be. But much will be that need not be, and that ought not to be, and that is under no necessity of being whatever. Shall we use a nomenclature, in dealing with abstract truth, which obliges us to say that *that* is necessary which God has forbidden, and which he is opposed to, and all good agencies in the universe, and the constituent elements of our own being? Temptation is one thing, but the necessity of compliance quite another. I may be greatly tempted, but the greater is the resistance, and the

use of my power to the contrary, which I can and should make ; and if I foolishly comply, the fact would be the exponent of no necessity thereto. Of course we object not to the forms of conventional speech, found in or out of the Bible, and for popular use, where great temptation or a perpetuated depravity is correllated with, or expressed by the words "can," and "cannot;" as, the brethren of Joseph hated him so badly that they "*could* not speak peaceably to him;" when every one knows they could and should.

The error lies not in accepting this metaphoric language of the Orient and of common life, as implying hardened iniquity, or in reference to hereditary propensity, or great, overt wickedness, as when it is said that such an one is so great a liar that he "cannot" speak the truth, and the like phrases that are well enough understood among men—not this, but in running this phraseology into a universal dogma of Occidental metaphysics, and constituting it a battery in the discussions of exact truth and science behind which to screen the exigencies of a theological system. But the doctrine is vital to the theory which it subserves. The aim is to secure a Divine government in the moral sphere. And to secure this, it is deemed needful to give to God the sovereignty of all volitions, that they may thereby be as on the whole he would have them to be, and as will best promote his great end in creation. And as this can be done only in the way of influence "*ab extra*" to the mind, (proper,) there is established from the very demands of the system this doctrine of necessity, and the coalescence of the "is" and the "can be." The error lies in bringing in this idea of necessity at all within the sphere of the will, and in taking this way of securing a Divine moral government. It is inherently vicious as a method, and can but subvert the superstructure it would raise. What, in the convictions of any man, would be the value of, or what would be that moral government or universe which absorbed into the Deity all the sovereignty of volitions, and found in him alone all the discretionary movements of mind? A *thing*, it might be ; more than that, it could not be.

The doctrine of cause is as legitimate and appreciable in derived as underived being. God made man in his own image,

and after his own likeness. Intelligence is cause "*per se*," dependent for its being, but with a full and unrestricted personality as to its voluntary and responsible acts. Where would be the personality of God without the sovereignty in himself of his voluntary states and acts, and if we might suppose them to be in another, and to be caused by any other than himself, we could no longer see in him the element of personal cause; nothing would remain but irresponsible effect. He must have the control of his forthgoing volitions, or he is no person; he has no discretion in respect to what he is, or will be; he is without individuality or accountableness, to himself or to another. Such is all intelligence. It must, on the last analysis, be itself the umpire in respect to its voluntary states—be itself the sovereign, and have the control over them, and say what they shall be, and whether or not they shall be. Without this you do not get a personality into the intelligence, and abstracting this you destroy it as intelligence, and convert it into a mere effect, moved by causes from without, either material or immaterial. They shall say what it shall be and do, and not the intelligence itself; and theirs should be the responsibility of its course. It is no longer a "*causa causans*," but merely a "*causa causata*." But God deals with derived intelligence as if it were a "*causa causans*," and could put forth volitons without his influence thereto, or with his influence therein, or against his influence therein. "Ye stiff necked and rebellious, ye do alway resist the Holy Ghost." What mean those exhortations, and promises, and communions, and eventual retributions, which are everywhere propounded in the Bible, as related to this subject? What is the doctrine that underlies them, or what relevancy in them, if the sovereignty of our voluntary states is not in ourselves, but in God? Does one exhort another to that over which he has not the control and jurisdiction, but which, after all, is with himself? We are aware of indicating here, but what is well nigh common-place in philosophy, that all moral influence is inherently resistible, and that individual mind would be without self-respect, if it were without self-control. We prize as highly as any the work of the Spirit in the repentance and sanctification of men; but we would not thereby take from and absorb away the

responsible personality of the soul. Much is resistible that will not be resisted. Men will repent when they could hold out in sin, as others will continue to hold out in sin when they could and should repent; and God knows all results in both kingdoms of his empire, and has indicated them, so far as he has thought best, to us.

All accurate thinkers distinguish between a "*sine qua non*" and a cause. Intelligence acts in the way of intelligence. If there were nothing to choose, there would be no occasion for choosing. The mind determines itself in view of considerations present to it; but these are not the causes of its acts, nor the exponents of its power. The atmosphere is not the cause of breathing, though indispensable to it. The mind has laws of thought and principles of action. It dwells in a sea of motive influences, variant often and contradictory, and from all the sources of truth within its range; and it selects its course among them without being commanded by any. It is itself the real and sole agent in the matter of volition, from the inherent "*nexus*" of its own interior sphere, with power to accept any or refuse any. It can act foolishly or wickedly, or wisely, in the same circumstances. All the motives in creation may surround and press upon it to do right, and yet it may do wrong. It holds a power within, and deeper than any external appliances can master. We present them, and leave them, and must leave them short of the result desired, and let that go to the sovereign arbitrament of the respondent mind, from its own interior sphere, in compliance or rejection, on an election and responsibility all its own. Motives do not secure choice, or necessitate it. They present its grounds, but give not its actuality, and are often doomed to bitter disappointment there. The voluntary activities of the will are inherently contingent, and so we reason in all the intercourse of life. We do in the pulpit, and in personal appeal. We are not sure of results till we get responses. Other principles of mind, and the facts of history and experience, help us to calculate results, but with much imperfection and many failures. The necessitated faculties and well known laws of mind show the ordinary range of its voluntary being, but do not necessitate its volition, in any given instance. It can will anything, and that it does

not, in its voluntary history, abide in the extravagant, and ludicrous, and unreasonable, and wrong, is to be attributed to other reasons than a limit of power.

The doctrine of necessity is, then, out of place in the sphere of the will, and the position that motives necessitate choice, with no power to the contrary, is fairly open to the following objections, which, with these preliminary suggestions, may be now more formally stated.

1st. *It cannot be proved.* From the nature of the case it can be but an assumption, and ask the point in debate. How prove this coalescence of the "is" and the "can be," in respect to any given volition, and that it is the measure and limit of the powers of the mind, at the time, and that it cannot be arrested, or diverted, or changed and countermanded at any and every stage of it? We can only say that what is, is—only make a true note of history in the premises, without at all saying what might or might not be in its place. It takes for granted that we *must* will what we *do* will, and that we have no power against present consent of will, but only in its direction and fulfillment. And there is, there can be no psychological stand-point from which to maintain the position which can make it more than a "*petitio principii*," in behalf of some theological necessity supposed to demand it.

2d. *Its definition of choice is logically incomplete and defective.* Its claim for choice is freedom in merely *one* direction, whereas the true import of it is freedom to *either*. It is liberty to accept or decline a given object. It implies a freedom, and of course a power, to either. The object can be received or rejected. The mind is sovereign over the issue, and is competent to a decision either way. It can act wisely or foolishly in the premises—choose life or death—act right or wrong—according to the light it has, or against it—obey or disobey—love God or hate him—repent of sin or hold out in impenitence—follow Christ or the world. What would that choice be, which presented no alternative—which involved the liability of but one issue, and made only that possible in the premises, and necessitated that? The element and the object of choice has now evaporated out of it, and it settles down into a fatality or a farce. The logical demands of the subje

involve the principle and the power of contrary choice. "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve," says the Christian preacher; and does he not know that each one of his people, under every possible presentation of the subject, can at any time say, "Yes" or "No," to his plea? What would compliance be worth, but for this; or what vitality, or value, in character or destiny? And hence,

3d. *It gives no real election in choice, and no true personality to the intelligence.* All personality claims discretion over the issues presented, and as presented. It is not content with mere willingness of consent; it must have coördinately the power of refusal. That consent must not be, because it could not be withheld. It must be with liberty to the contrary, or there is no virtue in it, no dignity of manhood, no prerogative of one, made in the image of God. Carry the opposite view to the marts of business, to the subject of religion or morality in the common walks of life, or even to the sports of childhood, and let the umpire be the common sense and sentiments of men, and the dogma would scarcely fail of ridicule and contempt.

The conviction of a practical and competent jurisdiction over influences brought to bear upon us, to say what we will do and what the act shall be in view of them, is *everywhere*, and is everywhere essential to all acknowledged responsibility. With its abandonment would go all sentiment of personal accountableness, and all idea of the characteristic difference between a person and a thing.

4th. *It does not meet the demands of consciousness in volition or the sentiments of praise and blame which attend it.* Suppose the volition be a sin. Does it describe the conviction of him who committed it, to say that it was in any sense necessary and unavoidable?—that certain influences were imposed on me, and I complied, of course, without power to the contrary? Something approaching this was attempted in behalf of the primeval sin; but our first parents broke down with shame in giving it. They had courage only to say, "The serpent beguiled me, and I *did eat*;" "The woman which Thou gavest me, gave unto me and I *did eat*." Not that we could not help it, or avoid it, and that it was "inevitable." The

conviction in sinning, is, that it is needless as well as wrong; avoidable as well as blameworthy, and that unless it were the one, it would not be the other. I am assailed with temptation in the streets. Until I comply, I have the power not to, as by all admitted. When do I lose it? Does the consent to sin abolish it? Does the act of compliance abnegate the power of resistance, and necessitate my sin? This but confounds cause and effect, and gives an excuse beside. It makes the success of crime its apology. This would be a wonderful opiate to administer to those in sin—a wonderful relief to the pangs of remorse. A child shall say, "I could not help it," and you will accept the excuse; while with perfect consistency society will inflict a severer punishment on the second or third or fiftieth offense, even up to a hardened iniquity, than on the first; showing indubitably that in the convictions of all men there is no relation between the indulgence of sin and its necessity. Consent, merely, does not, then, exhaust the conscious convictions of the soul, in respect to its volitions. It is consent when it might be withheld; compliance when it could have been resistance; wrong, perhaps, when it could and should have been right. Indeed, what is that voluntariness that cannot be withheld, that compliance which cannot be refused, that acceptance of a position or a boon which cannot be resisted? So that consent itself implies a power to the contrary; and hence,

5th. *Its theory of the intelligence is fundamentally incompetent and unsound.* It constitutes the mind a mere effect, in nature, moving as it is moved upon, by something else. It does not rise to the dignity of the supernatural, in its view of mind. The intelligence according to this scheme is not cause "*per se*,"—originating its own thoughts,—acting from the principles of its own constituent being, as inherently cause with self-control and jurisdiction over its voluntary movements to say what, and whether they shall be,—to comply or not comply with any motive influences that may be brought to bear upon us from any quarter, and to stand erect in the rectitude and dignity of our personal being, whatever the currents of adverse influence may be, that are sweeping by us; but only to comply with that which may be deemed the strongest, and be

alike at the mercy of any and every wave that comes. Mind has no power in itself. No element of simple cause inheres in it. It may arrest no movement, debate no question, counteract no issue, prevent no conclusion. It is only a "*causa causata*." The real cause is elsewhere,—it is "*ab extra*" to the mind, which is mere effect, differing from the water-wheel in the feature of consciousness, but not in the relations of cause and effect. Just this is the demand of the scheme. It is an indispensable link in the chain, without which the whole would be valueless. If the sovereignty of volitions was of the personality, and one might at any time say yes or no to any amount of temptation that might be on him, who could predict its uniform success, according to any preconcerted programme that might be laid down, or know but that he did in thousands of instances deny its prerogative, and break in upon its line of things, and thus vitiate this method of moral government, whether human or divine? It must then deny all real cause to the finite, and with it all actual control over its voluntary history or jurisdiction and sovereignty in respect to what at any given point it shall be, and demand as the content of the mind's experience and its power, that it move contentedly and freely in the grooves marked by another's hand, in obedience to influences *ab extra* to itself. That this leaves little to the mind that is really intelligent in itself or of the nature of a *bona fide* personality, and that it is utterly aside from all the dictates of our conscious being, we need not here repeat, and pass therefore to the consideration, that,

6th. *It supplies no valid basis of MORAL GOVERNMENT.* Such a government always submits a question to the respondent under it, and gives him the jurisdiction over that question. It acknowledges a discretion on his part,—a power at all times to comply or not comply with the requisitions proposed. It furnishes a test,—it presents an alternative, and presumes him competent to either course. It holds him responsible for the right, but capable of the wrong. This is the language of all law, of all character and destiny,—the doctrine of all promises and exhortations, all rewards and punishments, all probation and retribution. It defers to a personality, in the subject under it, that is always equal to the test given, and

to the alternative proposed, to avoid the evil and choose the good,—a competency that is not compromised by the actual facts of the case,—a competency that sits president among them and over them, and abides inherently in the personal being of the soul. It is a power to will or not will in any given case,—to will as he does or otherwise,—to will as he does or as he should, at any and all times, and that, too, whether he does so will or not. This element of power and sufficiency of soul for all right action, and all the intelligent responsibilities of moral government, lies inherent in the personality and back of all influences made to bear upon it. Without it, such a government is a mere pageant, and personal being a mere thing. Without this you could not have an intelligent accountability. You could never charge that an act was needless and could have been avoided. You could only say to the subject under it, “you could if you would.” And he must reply “inasmuch as I *would* not, I *could* not,” and the act is of *necessity*, a part of my integral life and history—and any government in heaven or on earth would break down on this issue and at this point. You must divorce the “is” from the “can be” under moral government, and account the one to be no necessary exponent of the other. A power to do right is a power to do wrong. Moral government has its legitimacy within that sphere. It furnishes the elements and grounds of an intelligent electivity, but does not constrain or necessitate it. From the nature of the case it could not, and it never will. Its methods are inherently resistible, and must be so. It cannot necessitate its moral issues. *There may be that under it which it does not design or want.* There may be that which is like rebellion to the strategy of a state, which is no part of that strategy or of its normal working, and which it cannot prevent, or dispose of, but in the way of a resultant retribution, which takes on the element of physical power. Thus there is that under Divine Government, which God in no respect sympathizes with or would have, and which all the prerogatives of the Infinite combine to prohibit and resist, and overcome and cure. Probation from its very nature may not see the will of God fully met, and there may be no other way of controlling the spirits of lost men, than that of confining

their persons in "their own place." Their moral state is not such as God would have it, or such as it would have been, if he had control of it, and never will be, and their condition will be a *dernier* resort under moral government, from the inherent liabilities of it. Such a government must be where God is, and creatures in his image, and it is the dignity and glory of creation. But this is necessarily of it too, and without which neither could virtue, or character, or moral excellency, or intelligent destiny, or heaven, be. All the wealth of character and destiny, of morality and religion, of likeness to God and companionship with angels, lies in this catagory of thought. Indeed what would that virtue and obedience be, which could not be withheld, but which was necessitated and "inevitable." Change the terms of the problem as you will, and that which takes from the intelligence the essential control of its voluntary states, and gives its volitions into the keeping of another, destroys it, and blots out all that distinguishes moral government in its methods and results from one of brute force. The resistibility of moral means is their excellency and glory, as well as of all moral action in view of them. If they were otherwise they would not be moral, nor would action be in view of them.

7th. *The position here controverted is not taken for its own sake.* We certainly intend no disrespect, and think we do no wrong in saying this. The historical relations of the question show this, and the effort of its friends now, as already intimated, is ulterior, and with a view to a *theological* position. They would find here the basis of Divine government, and of the supremacy of God, and build on this pedestal the doctrine of decrees, and their fulfillment, and the security of the plans and purposes of God, and of his great end in creation. The line of argument is, that all is by a Divine decree and according to a Divine programme, and tending to a Divine end,—that the transpiring of each particular is essential to the grand result which is God's great end in his works, and that this necessary fulfillment in the moral sphere and its relations to the physical, cannot be secured unless motive governs choice and necessitates it, and that as God has the supreme direction

of motive influences, he can and does determine all volitions in accordance with the prescribed plan, and thus effectuates and secures his end. Now, without stopping to inquire whether it is quite authentic to solve a purely *psychological* problem by a *theological* formula, and taking up the question on its merits, and assuming that what is theologically true is true every way and everywhere, which we admit; are we sure that this is the only, or the best, or the true way at all, to constitute a Divine moral government? Would such a government be able to redeem itself from the simple pageantry of its movement as a Divine fatality, with really but one cause, one discretionary impulse and one effective personality, and all else reduced to mere effect? But how is this? Does not moral government imply a commerce of forces?—a commingling of different and variant and it may be antagonistic personalities and agencies? Must there not be the reciprocities of governor and governed? The mutual consilience of distinct, individual personalities, each with its own agency and scheme of things, and will there not of necessity be as many plans of action as there are agents to enact them? Is it not so among men, as by all confessed, and how does the scale of the infinite change the terms of the problem? God “worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will,” but we are not quite so sure that sinners do. At least God says they do not. Besides, it is unphilosophical to say that one being purposes the purposes of another. This is not the way of securing from others our own ends. We present considerations and inducements, but we do not invade their agency and constitute their purposes. The plans of different agents may coalesce in the same result, but the plans are distinct and peculiar to each, and each is his own plan and not another's, and his decrees and purposes are but the mental condition of his own acts. We see this everywhere. It is of the individuality and responsibility of all personal intelligence. And we see no need of disturbing the law of these well known principles and facts, in our reference of the subject to its divine relations. Indeed, in the light of revealed truth we have them in their perfection there.

God is in the infinite and in the right, and we are intelligent beings. The constituent being of man is a plea for the truth, and righteousness, and course of God. Much that is resistible will not be resisted. The resources of the Infinite are with God, to bring light out of darkness and order out of confusion. "Better is the end of a thing than the beginning." Moral means, though inherently resistible, will have increasing success, and under the conduct of the Spirit of God will yet gain a glorious and permanent triumph over the tempter, death, and sin. Men will give heed to that Spirit, and all right agencies and influences, when they could hold out against them, and their repentance will be a *freedom* and not a *necessity*. Though none will repent without the Spirit, yet multitudes will with. Nations will be born in a day, and earth become a type of heaven. "God sees the end from the beginning." He *sees* it. It is intuitional with him everywhere and always, and He has intimated results to us, for our encouragement, in the use of means. Probation will do much in behalf of "God's great end in all things," though it will witness much that He would not have, and fail of much that He would have. He would "have all to be saved," but they will not be. His own chosen methods will not be attended with universal success. Some, yea, many, alas! too many, will resist his will and his Spirit with its array of means and influences, and have to be turned over, to the dernier and less acceptable, but necessary retributions of moral government. "For he must reign until he hath put all his enemies under his feet." A supreme governor does not in the moral sphere always have all things subdued to him. There may be rebellion, and in it much that he does not will or wish, and it may bring disturbance into the physical relations of his subjects, and there may be a process of things, before the issue comes. But he will maintain himself against that rebellion, and succeed in putting it down, if not in one way, then in another. If mercy fails in anything, then retribution will take up the work, and the principles of his government will be vindicated,—"the righteous shine as the stars," and his great end be attained in all honor, and justice and mercy and truth. Thus God's relations to wrong are right, and he is in-

finitely happy in himself and in the prosecution of his great end, though all are not saved and though "he has no pleasure in the death of the wicked." And this style of moral government is legitimate, and appreciable, and satisfactory. It is moral government, and free from the insuperable objections, which must forever attend the view above referred to,—and to which we now present the still more serious and ultimate disclaimer, that,

8th. *It sanctifies sin.* It constitutes sin the Divine method of the universe,—as integral in the Divine economy,—as a Divine strategy and expedient, introduced therein with a view to the glory of God and his great end in creation. As such he decrees it, its time, and manner, and amount, and all the concomitants of it, so that there shall be just as much sin as God has decreed, without power to the contrary. All sin is a Divine method, and according to the Divine programme, and as such inevitable, and without the ability on our part of preventing it. We state the case sharply, but truly. However stated, it comes to this. All this, and much more indeed, in the same direction, is the logical sequence of the position we controvert and its theological adjunct and reason. Any form of thought which takes sin into the Divine economy, obliges us to give a good reason for it. The doctrine of any strategic, propositional relation of God to the introduction of sin, commits us for the whole, and we must view all the wrong of earth and hell, as comprehensively according to the mind and will of God, and must hold him responsible for all there is of it, and then the doctrine of "no power to the contrary" is legitimate and necessary. And thus its friends understand it. Not to go further back, Dr. Hopkins of Newport wrote a volume to justify God as the proponent of moral evil, in which, with other language equally decisive, he says, "If God did will and choose that sin should exist, (which he maintains,) this necessarily implies, as has been before shown, all that energy, exertion and disposal of things that is necessary, previous to the existence of sin, in order that it may actually take place, and without which it could not have existed. For there is an infallible connection between the will of God that

sin shall exist, and the actual existence of it, and this will of God is the cause or reason why it has taken place rather than not."*

Dr. Bellamy, in a more apologetic tone, writes a volume on the "wisdom of God in the permission of sin," while Dr. Emmons, with his sturdy and unflinching logic, carries the subject up to its only legitimate conclusion, in his "Divine efficiency scheme." For surely if God ordains sin, and causes and controls sin in accordance therewith, "without power to the contrary," how on any other scheme does it take place? Current theology of the Princeton type, pressed in this matter, flies to the extreme, that "God is above morality," and that "no rule reaches him,"† while others, better posted, if not less unscrupulous, run the whole subject into mystery, and frankly acknowledge that the "rationale" of wrong, a matter in respect to which we have had and must have more practical experience and constant responsibility than on any other, is incapable of being understood. And so it is on the principle here objected to. The great Neander so esteemed it, and so it ever must be esteemed, as an element in a Divine economy. The future will be further from appreciating it than the past. No man will ever again write about it as did Hopkins, or with Emmons assume the logical sequences of the "efficiency scheme." The maturity of the study of *moral science* forbids it. *No one, on that side, will again encounter a discussion of the subject on its merits.* With a stand-point in the Divine economy, the existence of sin is an insoluble mystery, and must ever remain so. The studies of eternity will not reconcile us to the doctrine that God is the proponent of sin in a scheme of things, and as such has decreed it and its accomplishment, and then, as an indispensable adjunct, necessitated it in the volitions of his creatures. It would be far wiser to take a lesson or two from conscience here, as this is essentially a moral question, and the solution of it practically in and of our convictions every time we sin. No one has ever introverted his attention at such a time, without the

* System of Divinity—Decrees.

† See Review of Beecher—Princeton Repository.

unequivocal conviction that, in this, he is outside of a Divine economy, and counter to all Divine will and purpose respecting him. He would himself be shocked to think that he was then fulfilling a Divine decree concerning him, and obeying a Divine arrangement for its execution, and, moreover, that this was all he *could* do in the premises. If there be a theology that cannot be preached, we apprehend that this is it. For ourselves we prefer one that can be preached, and to take counsel of that of "*the feelings*," if that of the "*intellect*" must be so lame and ungodlike. We scarcely know how to sympathize with those who find so much difficulty with the theology of sin. Perhaps we have had more experience of sin than they have. We would hope so for their sake. For ourselves we view it as wholly a wrong seed—that it stands out in a plan of its own, and a plane of its own, and has about the relation to the economy of God, that rebellion has to the strategy of a state, and that while intelligence is and must be capable of it, and moral government inherently liable to it, as its abuse and perversion, it is no way of God, that it is in no sense according to the will of God, or has his consent or purpose in its behalf, or that it should be, or that we should commit it, but that, on the contrary, "His will is our sanctification," and that God sustains none but antagonistical relations to sin and wrong in every respect, and that he is taking the best methods of the Infinite to subdue and overcome it and instruct the universe out of it as a real dualism in finite cause. We have here the first truths of reason as well as the gist and spirit of Revelation, and we get a theology that can be preached, that the conscience endorses, and that does not outrage its convictions of what must be the being, and perfections, and work, and way of God. Whatever else is true, we think this is, and that, based on the principles of truth, it will be found to justify itself in the light of all well balanced investigation that may be made respecting it in the future, while it is free from the insuperable objections of the scheme which makes God the proponent of wrong, and constitutes sin an integral element in the Divine economy of the universe.

Finally. *The view we oppose is virtually surrendered in the explanations of its friends concerning it.* Its "necessity" is resolved into a mere "certainty," but how the one becomes a correlate or synonym of the other is not so well shown, and though this seems to be an advance in the right direction, yet its meaning is not fully obvious. It cannot be intended to refer to an existent volition and reduce itself to the insignificant proposition that what is, is. It is prospective in its aim, and would make sure the future of our voluntary history and describe its law, and constitute that law, in the doctrine of motive influences on the will. And then to make that doctrine efficacious for its theological intent, that influence must be a Divine method, in the interest of and to insure a Divine government, and the carrying out of a Divine programme, in our voluntary history, and to give a Divine control in it, as being that which God has ordained, and, comprehensively, would have. This was the sense and the aim of the distinguished men already quoted, and it is necessary to the validity of the scheme. We regret to say that it was an integral element in the great work of "Edwards on the Will." But it forgets that the mind is a "*causa causans*,"—that it has in itself a real personality and control of its voluntary states,—that it is a power in itself and capable of resisting any force of motives thus imposed, and, of course, of breaking up any scheme of things thus devised,—that Propensity is no authorized law of choice, and that no constraint of wrong can apologize for it, or place us beyond the power and obligation of right action. Derived intelligence is made in the image of its author, capable of originating its voluntary states, on a plan of movement and progress which is its own and not another's. Self-origination of plan and style and parts of voluntary movement is essential to all personality. God has his plan and angels and devils theirs and men theirs, but we shall be slow to conclude that the converse of this is true, and that the plan of each is that of all, and that the plans of all the apostate spirits of earth and hell are, also, that of God for them. "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, nor your ways my ways," saith the Lord. But if only a certain futuri-

tion of volition is intended by the necessity scheme, then what is to be understood by that? Of the future we know very little, and with all the power of forecast, that the experience of the ages or our own has given, we are often sadly disappointed in respect to the conduct and course of men. God knows all, always from the intuitions of his own infinite mind, and is competent from the resources and prerogatives of his own infinite being to bring out, in mercy and in judgment, a final result, glorious to himself and to the principles of all righteousness, in which his kingdom is founded.

But why not go a step further, and acknowledge that derived intelligence is a power in its sphere in the sense that its author is,—that it is self-acting from the resources of its own interior and essential being, in view of the elements and grounds of choice, within its reach, competent always for right action, and intelligently responsible for its course,—self-sustained and approved in all right action, and self-convicted and self-humiliated for all sin, as that which is needless and unnecessary as well as hurtful and wrong,—that the method and government of God is a perfect righteousness, and his influence and will and purpose for a perfect rectitude and virtue, in those “created in his image,” and his end, a holy, happy universe in his love and likeness—that all other and else than this in the moral sphere is not of him—that he is filling the universe with motives and incentives to love and obey him, and furnishing none to the contrary, and no excuse for sin, and that he is taking the best methods to reduce and bring all into subjection, in mercy and judgment and will, “until all his enemies be put under his feet,”—the “righteous shine as the stars in the firmament,” and “God be all in all.” Doing this, we should not feel much disposed, as we *certainly* should be under no *necessity* to complain. But our limits are up and we here close, commanding this whole subject to the careful study of those who would seize on the true lineaments of the Divine government, and of the intelligent accountability of man.

ARTICLE III.—PRESIDENT WOOLSEY'S DISCOURSE COMMEMORATIVE OF THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF REV. C. A. GOODRICH, D. D., PROFESSOR IN YALE COLLEGE.*

ROMANS XII, 11—13.

"NOT SLOTHFUL IN BUSINESS; FERVENT IN SPIRIT; SERVING THE LORD; REJOICING IN HOPE; PATIENT IN TRIBULATION; CONTINUING INSTANT IN PRAYER; DISTRIBUTING TO THE NECESSITY OF SAINTS; GIVEN TO HOSPITALITY."

It seems as if the great Apostle, in this summary of practical virtues, was unconsciously sketching himself; for who can fail to recall to mind the illustrations which Paul's own life supplied, of the qualities here commended? "Not slothful in business." What statesman with the weight of government on his shoulders, what merchant with a commerce ransacking every quarter of the globe, ever showed more untiring industry, or had a greater burden of cares than the Apostle? "Fervent" or boiling "in spirit." But to this load of duties, this drain on time, his zeal was equal. Instead of being exhausted by the care of all the churches, his soul rose with new desires to spend and be spent for Christ. He seemed to be made of iron, because his spirit kept boiling up through the force of the internal fire of love, and prompting him to new activity. "Serving the Lord," or as the true reading requires us to translate, "serv-
ing the time," that is, not time-serving, but watching for and seizing on the right occasions of doing work for God. How characteristic this of Paul, who, instead of contenting himself with what he was doing, was ever on the outlook to do more; who while others were resting or deliberating, had thrown himself into the opportunity, and was reaping the harvest! "Rejoicing in hope." And this untiring zeal, this mass of new labors succeeding to or heaped on the old, could not have been endured or even undertaken without that joyful hope which so marks the Apostle's life. Natively hopeful and inclined to self-reliance, when he "was apprehended of Christ," he gave himself up to his Lord in strong confidence and in that hope which

* This Discourse was delivered in the Center Church, New Haven, March 5, 1860.

the divine promises inspire. He felt that there was an arm lifted up for his help : he looked on the bright side : in the discouragements of his old age at Rome, he speaks of his "earnest expectation and hope that in nothing he should be ashamed, but that with all boldness as always, so now Christ should be magnified in his body." Animated by such hope he was "patient in tribulation," "troubled on every side yet not distressed, perplexed but not in despair, persecuted but not forsaken," "waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body." And all this while he continued "instant in prayer." One might suppose that he could have had no time to pray, but his epistles rather cause us to wonder that his prayers left any time for action. The fact was, prayer fitted him for business, and gave such a tone and such a spirit to him, that his work was discharged smoothly and well, not in a hurry and without need of revision. And what is well worthy of remark, no man ever prayed more for others : for obdurate Jews, for unbelieving Gentiles, for the churches he had founded, for his intimate friends, his intercessions arose continually. Nor did he stop with intercessions : he distributed to the necessity of saints, and according to his power was given to hospitality. Without a home, without property, he could yet say, "these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me," and he was engaged in distributing to the necessity of saints at Jerusalem a collection which he had instituted among the Gentile churches, when he was seized and denounced by his countrymen.

My friends, I presume that when these words of Paul, verified in his own life, were read, you all felt that they were peculiarly applicable to that departed friend, whom we meet this day to commemorate. He was by temperament of the Pauline type. Some are men of speculation : their diligence and fervor runs into the construction of theological systems, or the presentation of divine truth in due order and sequence before the minds of men ; and they have done their work well, when they have enabled the generations of the world to form nobler conceptions of the government of God. Others are rather men of meditation, of feelings tremblingly alive, of shrinking sensitive genius, whose acute perceptions of beauty start back from

a fault of expression almost as if it were a crime. These do their work well, when the sermon at once profound, tender, and beautiful, remains in the memories of men, and fills their souls like an oratorio. Others calm, meek, wise, silent, gently flowing and filling their banks like a peaceful river, show by their balance of character, their self-forgetfulness and communings with God, how faultless a Christian man may become, before he goes to be with Christ. But to the class of speculative, or of meditative, or of calmly practical men, our departed friend did not pertain. He was rather, like Paul, intensely earnest, fervent in spirit, not to say vehement, full of resources and ever ready with counsel, fond of impressing himself upon the events of the world and of shaping them according to his own decided convictions ; a man of the present and of the future, who linked together measures and results with far-reaching sagacity ; a man, in short, of great practical ability, made for usefulness and for accomplishing important ends among mankind.

The life of a man with such a temperament, must necessarily have stood out before the eyes of his fellow-men more than that of most academical and scholarly persons. Especially would this be the case in an age like ours, where so much preparation is made for every movement by the living voice and in the assembly of hearers, and where he who can advocate the cause of Christian benevolence has so much to do. It is probable, therefore, that those whom I address, especially elderly persons if any such are among my hearers, feel already better acquainted with the traits of character of Dr. Goodrich, than with those of most public men with whom they have been brought into contact. It is not, therefore, for the purpose of conveying new, or of correcting old impressions, but rather for that of presenting in one view the labors of mind, and indications of character, which have been scattered through the last half century, that I proceed to speak of the life and services of Dr. Goodrich.

He was born in New Haven, on the 23d of October, 1790, and was the son of our well remembered townsman, Hon. Elizur Goodrich, a lawyer by profession, who at different times of his life filled important public offices, as those of

Collector of the port, Mayor of the city, Representative in Congress; who was appointed Professor of Law in Yale College, and was for thirty years the Secretary of its Board of Fellows. He, his brother, Chauncey Goodrich, an eminent member of the old Federal party, who was long a Senator of Connecticut in the national legislature, and filled also the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the State, and the Rev. Samuel Goodrich, of Berlin, were among the children of the Rev. Dr. Elizur Goodrich, of Durham, who, in his day, was almost at the head of the Congregational ministers of Connecticut, who, at the time of the election of Dr. Stiles, was a prominent candidate for the office of President of Yale College, and for twenty-one years was a member of its Corporation. Dr. Elizur Goodrich, when he became minister in Durham, married the granddaughter of his predecessor, the Rev. Nathaniel Chauncey, of an ancient English family, whose first representative in this country was the Rev. Charles Chauncey, second President of Harvard College. From this source our deceased friend derived his first name; his middle name, Allen, came from his own mother, a daughter of Daniel Allen, of Great Barrington, Mass., and a sister of John Allen, who represented this State for several years in Congress.

CHAUNCEY ALLEN GOODRICH, after a training partly at the Hopkins Grammar School in this town, and partly under the Rev. Dr. Perkins of West Hartford, entered College in 1806,—the middle year of Dr. Dwight's presidency—and was graduated among the leading scholars of his Class in 1810. Next we find him rector of the ancient school where he received his own training, and in 1812 a Tutor in Yale College, which office he filled until 1814. It was in this year that he gave his first literary labor to the world, (undertaken by the advice of Dr. Dwight,) a Greek Grammar, founded on that of a Dutch scholar, Caspar Louis Hachenberg. The helps at that time accessible for the study of this important language were exceedingly meager. The German philologists, Buttman and Matthiæ, had either not published their leading works, or these were wholly unknown in this country, and the very indifferent Westminster Grammar was the one in common use. It

was a service to the cause of education, which this young adventurer rendered, when, with the best guide within his reach, he prepared this new grammar, which, by successive corrections and improvements became more and more fitted to accomplish its object. This work stood its ground for nearly a quarter of a century, until new works or translations from the German masters supplanted it. Meanwhile, its author returned to this first path of his literary life in 1832, and afterward by the preparation of a series of Latin and Greek lessons, which were undertaken first to initiate one of his sons into those languages, and when published came into extensive use.

During his tutorship Mr. Goodrich began his studies for the ministry, under Dr. Dwight. From his early youth his mother had supposed him to be under the sway of Christian truth and principle; but he regarded himself as having met with a great religious change while an undergraduate in College. He mentioned to one of his family, that having been for some time more than usually thoughtful on religious truth, he went one day to the room of a Christian acquaintance, and as he drew near the door heard shouts of laughter from within. "These Christians," said he to himself, "have a right to be happy, but I have not." Under the feeling that there was a void in his heart which only peace with God could fill, he returned to his room, felt in a heightened degree the evil of his sins, and in no long time attained to a state of peace and hope. To the ministry of the gospel he consecrated himself, and when he had resigned his tutorship he preached with acceptance in several places, at Salisbury and Middletown in this State, and in Massachusetts at Worcester, and in the Park Street Church of Boston, where he labored for several months during a winter's residence at Andover. Three calls were - his hands at once from the Park Street Church, from Salisbury, and from Middletown. He chose the call from the latter, and was ordained in July, 1816. At about the time of his settlement he married Julia, second daughter of Dr. Noah Webster.

His stay at Middletown was brief, on account of the failure of his health; but long enough to endear him to his people, and secure for him a kind remembrance of him in their hearts. But another sphere was now opened to him. Dr. Dwight having died at the beginning of the year 1817, it was wisely determined, on the accession of President Day in the same year, to constitute two new chairs in the College—a measure which the prudent management of the funds through a number of years rendered possible. The chairs were those of Divinity and of Rhetoric; and two young men, classmates as it happened and both natives of New Haven, were chosen to fill them—Eleazar T. Fitch and Chauncey Allen Goodrich. The chair of Rhetoric was filled by the latter—not without solicitations to go elsewhere—for twenty-two years. During the first year of his professorship—I may be permitted to mention—the Class to which Rev. Dr. Bacon and I belonged, being the Sophomore, fell under his instructions.

The infirm health of Professor Goodrich, for a number of years after he entered on his office, was a serious obstacle to the pleasant and steady discharge of its duties, yet he entered on them with that unshaken zeal and energy which marked his whole character. His routine of duties was something like the following. The Sophomores were instructed by him, through the summer term, in Jameson's Rhetoric. The Senior Classes were taught out of a text-book in higher Rhetoric and Criticism, and read compositions before him which were afterwards criticised in private. The two middle Classes, with the Freshmen, were exercised in declamation, with unwearied pains; and with equal labor to himself he introduced that careful preparation for the exhibitions of the Juniors and for the public Commencements, which has made the exercises of those public days so much more of a benefit than they were formerly, and so much more creditable to the Institution. After a time, with the growth of the number of students the business of his department became too great for any one man, and he was allowed to employ an assistant in

declamation. The importance of his instructions to the Seniors meanwhile was increased by the study of Demosthenes on the Crown, as the *chef d'œuvre* of ancient eloquence, and by a very interesting course of lectures on English Oratory. In the preface to his Select British Eloquence, published in 1852, he speaks of his method and object in his instructions, as follows: "The Author of this volume, in entering on the office of Professor of Rhetoric, in Yale College, more than thirty years ago, took Demosthenes's Oration for the Crown as a *text-book* in the Senior Class, making it the basis of a course of informal lectures on the principles of oratory. Modern eloquence came next, and he endeavored in a distinct course to show the leading characteristics of the great orators of our own language, and the best mode of studying them to advantage. His object in both courses was, not only to awaken in the minds of the Class that love of genuine eloquence which is the surest pledge of success, but to aid them in catching the spirit of the authors read, and by analyzing passages selected for the purpose, to initiate the student in those higher principles, which (whether they were conscious of it or not) have always guided the great masters of the art, till he should learn the *unwritten* rules of oratory, which operate by a kind of instinct on the mind, and are far more important than any which are found in the books."

The tone and tendency of the teaching of Dr. Goodrich was not so much æsthetical as rhetorical, and this harmonized with the practical end which he had in view. His aim was to form vigorous, effective writers, men who by their eloquence should be able to move and lead their fellow-men. Eloquence, therefore, the forcible statement of arguments, the strong appeal to the conscience and to the feelings, occupied the front place. It will not be doubted that he did a good work for the College, and that he laid those foundations in his department on which the system pursued by his successor has been reared.

It is characteristic of Prof. Goodrich that he was not the man of a department or profession, but that his excursions

out of his especial province were more useful to his country, and carried with them more power, than his ordinary labors. I proceed to speak of one or two of the enterprises in which he was concerned while he held his professorship of Rhetoric in Yale College.

The first of these in the order of time, and not the smallest in importance, was the formation of the Theological Department, in which he, together with Professor Fitch, had, as I suppose, the principal share. The Seminary arose in no spirit of theological antagonism or dread of heresies emanating from the earlier Institution at Andover, nor yet in the desire to form a center for the propagation of new doctrines; for its founders, at the beginning, to say the least, were not aware that they differed from the theology long taught in New England. But it was no new thought that instruction in theology ought to be furnished at this seat of learning, and indeed this was one motive for founding the Institution: Dr. Dwight, and Professor Fitch after him, had under their instruction Divinity Classes, consisting chiefly of graduates of Yale College; and Dr. Dwight is understood to have desired to extend the opportunities afforded for sacred study, and to have suggested to his son the making of an endowment for that purpose. To this, perhaps we ought to add that the great awakening in the College and town, in 1820 and 1821, created a demand for a new theological center—an Institution where earnest, practical preachers might be educated. The Theological Institution came into being in 1822, by a subscription of fifteen thousand dollars, in which Professor Goodrich took part, who also pledged himself, in connection with Professor Fitch, for the interest on an additional sum of five thousand dollars, in case it could not be raised in any other way. Dr. Taylor, then pastor of this Church,* towards whom all these movements looked, received the appointment of Dwight Professor of Didactic Theology, (so named from the principal subscriber to the fund,) at the time of Commencement in 1822, and soon after entered on his new duties.

* The Center Church.

In the inception of this Seminary, and in soliciting subscriptions, Mr. Goodrich was prominent, I may say foremost. He had been on friendly terms with Dr. Taylor before, but was now drawn much closer to him, and embraced his peculiar modifications of the prevalent theology of New England. And here, perhaps, as well as in any other place, I may refer to the devoted and disinterested friendship towards Dr. Taylor, of which, Mr. Goodrich gave most substantial proofs through the course of thirty-five years afterwards. Nothing in his life, full as it was of kind deeds, did more credit to his Christian heart, and, if particulars could be told, they would show him, were there no other proof, to be a man who had spared no time, no pains, no expense, in doing good.

Another department in which, during a part of these years, he showed his efficiency and practical power, was the editing of the Christian Spectator. This magazine, established in 1819 as a monthly, was purchased by him in 1828 and put on a quarterly basis. He was its sole editor until about 1836, when it passed out of his hands. As long as he continued to edit it, it flourished every way, but its chief peculiarity was, that it became the decided organ of what a short time before had begun to be called Taylorism. Here the questions, Whether there is any sinful disposition before the first sinful act, What is the power of the will to choose, when motives in favor of a good are set before it, What is the nature of virtue, and its relation to the desire of happiness, What is the true conception of Divine moral government,—these and connected questions, were discussed with all the ability which the three men—the two already named, and Dr. Fitch, who took the lead in New Haven theology—could command. The discussions may be said to have begun to wane when Dr. Goodrich left the Spectator: men had made up their minds, and the field had been thoroughly explored. Party lines had become drawn. By some, New Haven theology, in spite of its faith in the Holy Spirit and zeal for revivals, and adherence to the doctrine of election, and reverence for Calvin and Edwards, had come to be viewed as

bald Pelagianism; to others it was the only scheme on which preachers could fairly offer salvation to men perishing in their sins.

Of the theological opinions of Dr. Goodrich let me say a word in this place. He had been brought up under Dr. Dwight, and in the main received the views of Christian truth taught by him, which were indeed at that time substantially the views of all New England theologians. To the peculiar opinions of Dr. Taylor he gave his adhesion, as being important for the earnest preaching of the Gospel; and he felt towards that eminent theologian the warmth of deep personal friendship. But at no time of his life could he be called a narrow theological partisan, and during the last twenty years he has been in his theological views one of the most tolerant and truly liberal of men. I have rarely seen a person who had less of what was sectarian, less theological narrowness, or bitterness in judging of religious character, or more willingness to allow and to do justice to diversities of opinion which related to the non-essentials of faith. The importance of practical religion in his mind so far outweighed that of scientific as to exclude all theological biases, and as for sectarian biases, he never had them.

Passing over for the present Dr. Goodrich's efforts in behalf of the religious interests of Yale College, which were continued through his lifetime and will be spoken of in the sequel, we pass to his transition from the academical to the theological department, which occurred in 1839. He had long felt the necessity of another professor, besides the two already existing, whose office it should be to prepare the students of theology for the pulpit and for parochial duties. With this in view, and for the purpose of founding such a professorship, he offered to the President and Fellows of Yale College, convened specially to consider this subject, January 10th, 1839, the sum of five thousand dollars of his own property, and was seconded by two liberal gentlemen, Aristarchus Champion, Esq., then of Hartford, and Rev. Walter H. Bidwell, then of Philadelphia, now a well known editor of

New York, the former of whom pledged himself to contribute for the salary of the professor six hundred dollars for ten years, and the latter, three hundred for five. In Dr. Goodrich's instrument it is provided that on the appointment of a new professor, "the President and Fellows, either as a body, or, by their committee, to consist of at least three of the clerical part of the Board, shall have a free communication with the professor elect on his views of doctrinal theology, and of the duties of the pastoral charge, such as is customary in our churches on the ordination and installation of ministers of the Gospel, and if they are satisfied of his soundness in the faith, of his personal piety, and his qualifications for the office, shall proceed to induct him into the same." By this, I understand him to express his preference of a personal examination of religious teachers over any creed subscribed and professed. In an appendix to this instrument he expresses his desire that a regular meeting should be maintained on Saturday evening, especially during the two first terms of the collegiate year, for the instruction of the academical students and such others as may choose to attend, in the doctrines and duties of religion. He has, therefore, it is added, found a strong inducement to make the offer for an endowment, "in the hope that the President and Fellows would direct the Professor of the pastoral charge to exemplify in part the duties of his office before his pupils in the course of the familiar instruction before described." But he forbears to make this an imperative condition for holding the office.

The corporation of the college accepted these liberal offers, and appointed Rev. Dr. Joel Parker, then of the Tabernacle church in New York, to the "new chair." At the next meeting of the board he signified his unwillingness to take the office, and then Dr. Goodrich himself was elected to fill it. He accepted the appointment, and continued in this professorship until his death.

The regular duties to which Dr. Goodrich was now called were such as his past life had qualified him for in an eminent degree. He brought to the criticism on the composition and delivery of sermons, the rhetorical practice and

judgment of the eighteen years which he had spent in his former professorship. For inculcating the duties of the pastoral care, he was qualified not only by his own brief experience, during his settlement at Middletown, but also by his truly pastoral labors in the college. The active interest which he had long taken in the various branches of the missionary work, enabled him to set before his students the claims of that branch of ministerial labor; and oftentimes he was the means of leading them to consecrate themselves to God's service in that particular field. His courses of lectures on expository preaching, on missions, on revivals, and on the pastoral charge, were all fitted to form practical pastors, and for years he had a religious meeting once a week with the students in theology for the purposes of practical religion.

During the twenty years while he held this professorship his connection with the college proper did not wholly cease. Every week his voice was heard in the college chapel. His lectures on eloquence were delivered at once to the theological students and to the Senior Class in College, and were listened to with as much pleasure, as well as benefit, as any others in the course. Appearing no longer before the College students in the attitude of a disciplinarian,—in which quality he had always been thorough and strict,—freed also from some of those unpleasant collisions which his duties as an instructor and a critic brought with them, he was able now, more than ever before, to present himself to them in the light of a religious instructor and counselor. And here, I invite my hearers to look at him for a moment in his religious influence on the College, which, if he had done no other work in the world, would entitle him to the name of a useful man, and to most grateful remembrance.

His religious activity, which appeared in private counsel, in special efforts during revivals of religion and in his weekly religious meetings, dates back at an early period of his official life in the College. From the first he had taken, as he could not but take, a warm interest in its spiritual prosperity, but his energies were more especially directed into this channel after the great revival in 1831, and still more systematically

after he occupied a chair in the Theological Faculty. In these works of love imposed on him by no official duty his heart beat most freely and warmly; and as he gathered experience of the hearts of others in their multiform phases of doubt and distress, as cases of conscience were poured into his ear, and Christians in despondency came to him for advice and relief, as burdened souls, struggling against, or for conviction, brought by friends or led by their own necessities, applied to him for help, he grew in sympathy, in knowledge of religious life in its various aspects, in the readiness to act as a spiritual adviser, in the joy of being an instrument in God's hands to save men. As he grew in years his authority and paternal sway increased also. He had acquired a widespread reputation, transmitted from earlier graduates, of being wise, kind, and prompt in counsel. Hence, newly entered members of the college sought him or were recommended to him by others, and over numbers he could have a healthful influence from the very first. He was a hopeful counselor, inclined to look favorably rather than otherwise on the evidences of Christian character—not breaking the bruised reed nor quenching the smoking flax. Some came to him with perplexities such as so many young persons feel in regard to religious truth. He did not treat them with sternness, as though it were a sign of being no Christian to doubt, but led them gently back to truth, or showed them how by a false theory they had thrown into truth the confusion of error. Some came as to a confessor,—and would that there was more of private confession in the protestant churches,—to open to him the secrets of a wounded soul. He prayed and wept with them, and helped them to believe in the sympathy of Jesus. The most various cases were brought to him for counsel, not only by the Christian students, and those under serious impressions, but by older persons; some of them hesitating in the choice of a profession, deliberating perhaps whether they should enter into the missionary work, or having chosen it, how they should best engage in it; others, perhaps, ministers, meeting with impediments in their calling; others still soliciting his advice as to the management of great religious charities.

In short, no man probably in New Haven has been more resorted to as a counselor than he was during the last twenty or twenty-five years of his life ; and they who went to him, as I have done, and multitudes of others scattered over this land, will not soon forget his wisdom and kindness, nor cease to venerate his memory.

The counsels and wisdom of Dr. Goodrich were especially called into requisition, whenever there was a time of unusual thoughtfulness on the subject of religion in Yale College. I am not aware that he had had any experience in conducting revivals, or that any had occurred during his connection with the College before the year 1820, but from that time onward he entered into them with zeal and hopefulness, he longed for them as the harvest times of the Church, and ere long became the most efficient laborer in them. In the great revival of 1831, in that of 1841, and in others down to 1858, his services to the cause of religion were inestimable and his labors untiring. Amid his pressing literary labors he was ever ready to give himself up to the public speaking and private counsel required at such seasons, as to his most important work.

In two essays he has given to the world his estimate of the value of religious revivals. In one of these, which appeared in Prof. Edwards's Quarterly Register for 1838, he follows their history down to that time in Yale College, and some years afterwards expressed an intention, which he never fulfilled, of continuing and completing the narrative. Being known as a person acquainted with the history of religious awakenings, and skilled in conducting them, he was requested by Dr. Baird to write the chapter on revivals which forms a part of that gentleman's work on "Religion in the United States of America." In that essay, Dr. Goodrich traces revivals from their first occurrence in this country onwards, and then shows what there is in this peculiar movement to favor the progress of religion, what helps to Christian feeling and to earnest prayer, what helps to the thoughtful enquirer in the solemnity of the season and the sympathy of others around him. Dr. Goodrich firmly believed that all the work of life,

except in peculiar cases, ought to go on during revivals as at other times, that students were more likely to enter upon a decidedly Christian life when they studied at such seasons than when they gave their whole thought and feeling to the subject of religion ; he dreaded that too great tension of feeling which, dwelling upon one absorbing subject hour after hour produces, and believed that the mind cannot be absolved at such times from its ordinary laws of action. He regarded the phases of religion as infinitely diversified, and looked on the forms of piety at its birth in the soul with a most hopeful eye ; yet his chosen way of dealing with the conscience of a person under religious impressions, was to lead him without delay to consecrate himself to the service of God and Christ.

The weekly religious meetings which Dr. Goodrich conducted were among his happiest means of religious influence. It had been Dr. Dwight's custom on a Saturday evening, which was the stated time for the meetings of the Church to go into them, to make an address on some religious topic, and then retire, leaving the younger members by themselves. This practice Dr. Goodrich and others resumed, but I cannot ascertain that it was steadily followed up for any long period. In 1839, however, on entering upon the duties of his new professorship, he determined to carry out the suggestions which I have already mentioned as accompanying his subscription for the founding of the chair. Weekly meetings, now begun, and held, either at first or not long afterward on Sunday evening, just after the evening meal, were continued by him in strength and feebleness steadily until his last illness. These meetings will be associated by the later classes in the College with the name of Dr. Goodrich whenever it is mentioned, and probably they were the most useful labors of his life. Here the sins and evils of College life came up for rebuke. Here the vicious tendencies of literature and of the spirit of the time were met and counteracted. Here the sermon of the day in the Chapel was pressed upon the conscience. Here Christian fidelity and watchfulness were inculcated on the youthful professor of religion. Here, once a month, the wants of the heathen and the state of missionary

enterprise were brought before the minds of the young, as points of cardinal interest for Christians. The addresses, short in compass, not occupying generally more than twenty or twenty-five minutes, earnest and eloquent in manner, wisely adapted in subject for the audience, were models of the Christian homily—they were, in the language of Scripture, nails and goads fastened by the master of assemblies.

Nor were these the only meetings for religious purposes in which his voice of prayer and exhortation was heard. I have already spoken of the meeting which he held with the theological students once a week for religious purposes. During several years he was the center of a religious gathering in which the families of the College professors were united. Then, on the installation of Prof. Fisher, five years since, he, with other older members of the Church, came into the meetings on Friday evening, in which, after the pastor, he never ceased to sustain the principal part.

In the great religious societies of the day he felt a warm interest, and generally took a very prominent place. When the movement in favor of temperance was started, he advocated it with zeal and joined in the efforts made in this town to promote its success. In the society for promoting college education at the west, he was one of the most active and most trusted directors. In the operations of the Tract Society at New York he joined heart and hand, until his disapproval of the spirit shown by the Society nearly two years since, which he viewed as time-serving and irreligious, led him to publish a powerful remonstrance against their proceedings; he then withdrew from all share in the Society's proceedings, and supported the Institution at Boston. In the Bible Society, at the time of his death, he was a member of the important committee whose duty it was to determine how far the Society should undo the labors of the late committee of revision. Since the news of his death reached the managers of the Society, they have expressed their sense of his worth in appropriate resolutions. Perhaps his affections were more bound up in the American Board (of which he was a corporate member) than in any other of the charities of our day. Few

members had more influence or urged the cause of the Board with more eloquence than he, when his health permitted him to attend the annual meetings. And few members gave more substantial evidences of their regard for the great work of Christian missions.

During these last twenty years of his life two secular labors occupied much of his time, which our sketch would be incomplete if it did not notice. The first of these was the repeated revision of Dr. Noah Webster's English Dictionary. His connection with this dictionary began soon after its publication by his father-in-law in 1828. He had made representations to Dr. Webster that an abridgment of the original quarto in two volumes would be highly important, and indeed serviceable to the sale of the larger work. But the lexicographer, now an old man, was indisposed to set about the task, although willing that Prof. Goodrich should undertake it. Accordingly, soon after the publication of the quarto edition, an abridged edition in octavo appeared, executed by Dr. Joseph E. Worcester, under the superintendence of Prof. Goodrich. It became his property, and turned out to be a very popular work.

In 1840, another unabridged edition was carried through the press by Dr. Webster, and in 1843 this veteran scholar died at the age of 85. It was deemed important both for the interests of the family and for those of the Messrs. Merriam of Springfield, who had acquired an interest in the work, that a thorough revision of the unabridged dictionary should be attempted, and Dr. Goodrich was requested to undertake the labor. This revision, although he was assisted by several collaborators and scribes, cost unwearied pains and occupied a good part of the working hours of several years. It appeared in 1847, in one volume, small quarto; and being put, by the sagacity of the publishers, into such a shape, and at such a cost, that it could be purchased by a large part of the community, it had immense success. At the same time with this went on a revision of the octavo edition to which we have referred. Several years later Dr. Goodrich began a collection of synonyms, on which he bestowed great labor, and which, in its present form, is believed to be more complete and useful

than any similar collection in the English language. This was introduced under the appropriate words first into two abridgments of the original dictionary, and then much enlarged into a new edition of the unabridged work, called the pictorial edition, which has recently seen the light, to which also an important appendix (of new words) was added by Dr. Goodrich. Nor did he cease to work upon English lexicography until the close of his life.

In 1852 was published his work entitled *Select British Eloquence*, which, in one closely printed octavo of nearly a thousand pages, contains the best speeches of the most distinguished English orators, accompanied by critical and biographical sketches, arguments, and notes. This work has deservedly received high commendation. Its critical and biographical introductions are, in the case of the principal orators, as Burke, Fox, and the two Pitts, extended to a considerable length, so as to embrace all the important particulars of their lives, and a fair as well as thorough view of their styles of oratory, while the summaries of the arguments, and the notes, put the reader in a position to understand what he reads, nearly as well as could be done when the speeches were delivered. The author brought to the preparation of this work the opinions and critical estimates which many years of familiarity with British models enabled him to mature, and he took great delight in the subject. No one can help feeling that he was at home.

Such were the principal occupations—many of them self-imposed—with which the life of Dr. Goodrich was crowned. A life so full of work, even in its intervals of leisure, needed all the working hours of each day to carry on its tasks. And yet he was often interrupted in his pursuits by illness. In the earlier years of his office in the College the same ill health accompanied him which had required him to resign his charge at Middletown. At length, in 1825, he sought to reinstate his health by a tour in Europe, upon which he was absent a year from his post. Since then he has been liable to sharp and sudden attacks which prostrated him for a while, but from which the remarkable elasticity of his constitution

enabled him soon to rally. About six years ago he had an alarming attack of an apoplectic nature, from which it was thought for a time that he would never recover. But he rallied again, and ere long threw himself into his manifold labors as earnestly as ever. Again, in the spring of 1859, just at the close of exhausting labor in lexicography, the overworked and wearied brain threatening a new assault on the powers of life, obliged him to spend a considerable part of the warm season in repose and relaxation. He returned again to take up his old labors and commence new ones, with his mind as vigorous and his heart as large as ever; through the winter he discharged his wonted duties in the Seminary, carried on his Sunday evening meetings, and was strong enough to employ himself in literary work for several hours each day. It seemed as if his tenacious and elastic constitution might still hold out perhaps for several years to come. But God willed otherwise. On Friday afternoon, February 17th, he returned home from a lecture to his theological class, on the pastoral charge, feeling quite unwell, and his illness, as it grew upon him, proved to be bilious pneumonia. It was severe, but not alarming, when, on Saturday, February 25th, early in the morning, he had a shock of paralysis, which took away his power of speech. Another shock, or more than one, supervening later in the day, closed his life at 4½ o'clock of the afternoon. It was not given to him to testify in the mortal hour to the power of the Gospel which he had taught, and by which he had lived; but who needed from him that testimony? It was felt to be a mercy that his life, so strong and full as it had proved itself all along, was not left to a long grapple with death. He died with comparatively little pain, and in a moment.

This brief sketch of the life and efficiency of Dr. Goodrich must have made it evident, even to those who knew little of him, that he was no ordinary man. What now was the secret of his power, and where did that strength lie, which every one who was brought into contact with him felt and acknowledged. It lay not in endowments of mind by themselves, although he had a mind well constituted, and deficient in no

quality which belongs to human nature. But it lay in that union of mental and moral traits, which makes the man effective and influential in the practical affairs of life. He had correctness and soundness of judgment. With a sharp eye he ran through the complications which present themselves to us in life, disentangled them and brought the leading causes with clearness before the minds of others. He discerned the probabilities of the future, and calculated accurately the contingencies of things. He judged with great correctness the weight of arguments, what force they had in themselves, and what influence they would have on different minds. This, united with other qualities, made him most able and convincing in argument, and gave him a sway over impartial minds which was very uncommon. United with judgment, in him was a quality which often everpowers it, but over which he was able generally to hold the reins. I refer to the ardor with which he threw himself into any cause he undertook, magnifying its importance, and increasing the desirableness of its attainment. To this characteristic was allied a very great activity of mind, seen among other things in forecasting the future and laying plans which reached forward far into distant years. No man that I have ever seen was more fertile in suggestions for overcoming difficulties, none more ready in devising the means by which the ends he had proposed to himself could be accomplished. Whilst he was in the College Faculty a very large part of the changes and improvements originated with him. If now he had been a timid man, this restless activity of his would have preyed upon his own soul. But he was hopeful and fearless, sanguine of success, and afraid neither to take responsibility nor encounter opposition. We must also, in estimating his practical power, take into account his accessibility and readiness of access to others, his native kindness, which opened the avenues of influence. To this is to be added his power of expression, which must have been native, however cultivated it may have been by rhetorical studies. All these qualities combined, gave him, in enforcing truth, in discussing measures, in stating arguments, a very uncommon degree of impressiveness.

ness. I have heard him sometimes when I have thought him among the most cogent and eloquent speakers I ever listened to, and I have thought that with his great skill in bringing forward arguments in their best shape and order, his strength of appeal to the sense of responsibility, his clearness in presenting truth, he might have reached the highest eminence at the bar, if he had originally turned his talents in that direction.

To these powers he joined great rapidity in the movements of his mind, in devising plans and executing them. He was thus qualified to throw off work fast. And yet, to this was joined the seemingly inconsistent quality of unwearied pain-taking. I have often wondered how such a man, so natively restless, and of so nervous a temperament, could endure the drudgery of drilling in speaking and composition, day after day, as he did while he was Professor of Rhetoric. It seemed as if, when he had once made up his mind that an end was desirable, the amount of toil to secure it became of no account. Or rather he was ardent without being impatient. He had an energy of will and of principle which kept him working till a thorough result could be effected.

The religious character of Dr. Goodrich will be remembered by his students and his fellow-citizens longer than any of his distinctive moral or intellectual traits, and by those who knew him longest will be remembered as a character that went on steadily improving in purity, zeal for doing good, and self-consecration. Some of the Christian traits which show most brightly in him deserve to be mentioned apart. And, first, he was a *hopeful and joyful Christian*. This was to be observed especially in the latter part of his life. I have heard him speak more than once in private of Christian joy, and that it might be reached and ought to be aimed at. His internal peace in his last years seemed to be disturbed by no serious doubts or fears. He looked out of himself at the great objects of Christian faith for consolation, and held the opinion that the tendency to search the heart and explore the motives which had been fostered by such books as Edwards's on the affections had been pushed too far, that gloomy self-distrustful

Christians had been made by it, who by this means were shorn of a part of their power. He was a *man of prayer*, who believed in its efficiency with God, and not merely in its reaction on the petitioner, a man who prayed "always with all prayer and supplication in the spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints." All who knew him knew that he was a devout man, one who held constant intercourse with God, in public and private, in set seasons and in ejaculations, who prayed earnestly over his daily toils as well as over his spiritual interests, with whom the prosperity of religion was a constant subject of interest and of fervent desire. And this prayerfulness was associated with a living faith in a present Spirit, daily dwelling in the hearts of those who seek for him and guiding them in the ways of peace. He was a man of remarkable *Christian munificence*. We have already seen that he founded the professorship which he afterwards filled in the theological department by a very considerable donation. In the year 1853 he gave another considerable sum of money, to be employed as an accumulating fund for the uses of the same department; and in all the subscriptions made to Yale College, he was among the readiest and most liberal of its friends. In contributions to public objects, especially to the cause of missions, he was always foremost. Nor was there any means of doing good for which his purse was not opened. The wonder was sometimes expressed where a man by no means wealthy found the resources which he parted with so freely. But the explanation lay in his sagacity, thrift, and economy. The revenues from his copyrights and literary labors were managed and husbanded with skill, and were used as not his own but God's. The large sum given for a theological accumulating fund was the fruit of years of careful saving for this express purpose. And with this munificence a *spirit of kindness* and sympathy ran parallel, which was manifested in a thousand ways towards the poor, the sick, the afflicted, those who were struggling to obtain an education, those who in any way had fair claims upon his compassion. To the widow and the female left destitute by visitations of Providence he was a

bountiful and constant friend, and none will more warmly testify to his goodness than persons of this description. To his acquaintances in their afflictions he was the first and readiest of consolers, and the most prompt visitor in illness. It was not enough for him to contribute his money, but in cases of distress he invoked the aid of other benefactors; he found work for those who were out of employment; he spent his valuable time in counsel to those who sought it; he took the sick or the distressed into his house; in short, his activity in benevolence was as large as in the literary undertakings and the official employments which were the immediate business of his life.

I will only add, that he was always ready to converse on religious topics; not merely on theological opinions, or the meaning of scripture, or the operations of Christian benevolence, but on those spiritual truths which touch the heart, and on the inner life itself. He slid readily and willingly into these subjects. He showed that they were daily near and familiar. The reserve which is so habitual to many of the best men upon these deepest of subjects, had worn away from his mind; they were great realities, in his judgment to be dwelt upon and spoken of as much as any other.

In endeavoring thus to estimate the life and character of Dr. Goodrich, I am naturally brought back to those words which stood at the head of this discourse: "Not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord, (or seizing the opportunity;) rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer; distributing to the necessities of saints; given to hospitality." Has not this whole discourse been an illustration of one or another of these practical Christian virtues; of untiring and sleepless industry and activity upon Christian principles; of ardor in doing good which took up God's cause as if it were his own; of a promptness and efficiency which had already planned and sometimes accomplished, while other men were thinking of setting out; of a radiant, trustful, hopeful piety; of prayerfulness in daily life; of a stream of charities and sympathies towards the servants and the cause of Christ, and those distressed ones whom Christ

made his own by pitying them! There is yet one of these pencil-touches of the Apostle, which I have not noticed—"patient in tribulation." One son was taken away from him in childhood. Two bright-faced daughters graced his family, until they were given in marriage to young men of worth and promise. But in the very morning of their married life the mower's scythe cut them down in their new homes, and in the case of one of them without the father being near to see her die. This, though they died in hope, was *tribulation*, but it was tribulation patiently borne, and he surrendered submissively the gifts and the hopes which God had lent him.

To those survivors of his family whose turn has come to mourn for him, I need not attempt to act the part of a consoler which he has sustained towards me and towards so many. There is consolation, or rather joy, suggested by his life and his death. That he lived to that epoch of old age beyond which life begins to be labor and sorrow, and just there passed away by no painful death, that he had spent a life full of accomplishment and results, that he had walked with God in near and nearer intimacy, these things surely are what, if anything, can take away sadness and gloom from death.

To the College, to its religious interests especially, his loss is exceedingly great, and as its oldest officer, I have felt it to be appropriate for me, once his pupil, then his colleague, and brought into near relations to him, to express on my own part, on that of my colleagues, and on that of the students, upon whom his hold was strong and close, our sense of the loss: Who shall fill the breach? What more earnest spirit of survivors, what new zeal of another and kindness like his own can perpetuate his influence? May God, who loves his own cause better than his servants love it, and has the resources of boundless wisdom, help where man fails.

ARTICLE IV.—HEBREW SERVITUDE.

ALL institutions are organic. They grow, and are the product of previous and present circumstances. At each period of their life, they embody the results of all their preceding history. Their character is like the flavor of fruit—dependent on germ, soil, climate and culture; and in order fully to understand, and correctly to estimate an institution, we must know its history; we must know the character of the original germ planted, the people among whom it grew to maturity, the religion, polity, and manners of that people, and the specific enactments pertaining to the particular institution under consideration. This is eminently true of slavery, not only because it has a history, but because, next to the domestic relations, the servile are the most intimate and influential. Next to the bond which unites husband and wife; which ties parent to child; the bond of bondage binds together the largest number of reciprocal influences. While, therefore, this intense reciprocity enables us to form a more correct estimate of the servile institutions found in each nation of past or present history, it becomes a fruitful source of error, in reasoning from the servile institution of one nation, to the servile institution of another. Slavery has been practiced by all the nations of the globe, but it would be very unsafe to infer that its character was as uniform as its prevalence has been universal. It would be as if a man should infer from the universality of marriage, that the practice in Eden corresponded with the practice in Utah: a mistake as vicious in logic as it would be pernicious in ethics. In discussing, therefore, the character of Hebrew servitude, we shall not seek for light or illustrations in the dark and heathen systems of Greece or Rome—full and accurate as is our knowledge of those systems;—neither shall we refer to American slavery, though it is a legally defined system and claims to be scriptural. For, save in the single abstract relation of servant and master, there is hardly a feature common to both—not

enough to make out even a family resemblance. The fruit of the two kinds, as we shall see, differing as much in form and flavor, as the pungent and woody crab-apple differs from the mild and luscious Baldwin or Belmont. There are analogies in the villenage of the middle ages, and in the serfdom of Russia, to Hebrew servitude; but neither with them shall we institute comparisons in order to arrive at a correct estimate of Hebrew servitude. All the materials necessary to its discussion and understanding, are within a small and accessible compass. The system is one legally defined and punctiliously regulated by inspiration. Its character, the circumstances of its origin, so far as these influenced the system, are bound up in the same volume, and everything requisite or legitimate to the discussion is confined to the Old Testament—we had almost said, to the Pentateuch.

What we need, to understand the subject, is not a knowledge of this institution among other people, but a knowledge of the facts among the Hebrews. To settle this question we need bring nothing to the Bible. The facts are all recorded there already, and are recorded by divine authority. We need simply to come with unprejudiced minds, unperverted associations, and an honest purpose to know the truth. All moral questions, among a Christian people, come finally back to the Bible—this is the divine constitution. The word of God is the last reason of the church. Find out the meaning of the Spirit, and then, among Christians, there will be an end of all controversy. With a view to the better understanding of Hebrew servitude, as it was constituted and approved by Jehovah, it will be necessary to revert briefly to the two most characteristic periods of its preliminary history—the patriarchal, and the Egyptian—periods of a little more than two hundred years each. Bible history is very explicit, as to the fact of servitude among the patriarchs. Abraham brought it with him out of the heathenism beyond the Euphrates. He took with him “Sarah his wife, Lot his brother’s son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and *the souls that they had gotten in Haran.*” (Gen. xii, 5.) And it is probable, that he held these “souls” by the same tenure, by which others, in

Mesopotamia, held them. Among the presents, which he brought with him from his sojourn in Egypt, were "men servants and maid servants." (Gen. xii, 16.) Among the possessions of Isaac, are enumerated "possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants." (Gen. xxvi, 14.) In the greeting, which Jacob authorizes the messengers to give to Esau, he says, "And I have oxen and asses, flocks and men-servants and women-servants." (Gen. xxxii, 5.) The *fact*, therefore, of patriarchal servitude, is clear; but the *character* of the relation is not so clear. It may, however, be safely affirmed, that the free spirit and free life of a nomadic people is incompatible with grinding bondage. So unnatural is the state of bondage, and so purely the creature of positive law, that chattel slavery, as a system, is unknown to savages and nomads. The very existence of the institution is evidence of that stage of civilization, in which might legally rules over right. The fact that Abraham armed three hundred and eighteen of his servants to rescue his nephew, (Gen. xiv, 14,) proves that they were bound to him more by affection than by power, and were not so much slaves as faithful retainers. In 2 Sam. ix, 9, 10, we have an illustration of the relation sustained at least by some servants,—they were liege-men. Then, too, it is nowhere recorded that the servants of the patriarchs were owned in fee-simple; and from the apparently careful manner in which "servants" are discriminated from "cattle and money," in those passages where wealth is summed up, as compared with those where greatness is described, it is a legitimate inference that servants were never "chattels," but were menials, hirelings and clans-men.* But however indistinct the notion of patri-

* Gen. xiii, 2. "And Abraham was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold." Comp. with Gen. xii, 16, "And he had (lit. there was to him) sheep, and oxen, and he-asses, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and she-asses, and camels."

Gen. xxvi, 13, 14. "And the man (Isaac) waxed great, and went forward and grew until he became very great: for he had (there was to him) possession of flocks, possession of herds, and ("possession" is not repeated) great store of servants."

Gen. xxx, 43. "And the man (Jacob) increased exceedingly, and had (there was to him) much cattle, and maid-servants, and men-servants, and camels, and

archal servitude may be, as to tenure, the covenant with Abraham brings into prominent relief some of the civil, religious, and domestic rights with which servants were endowed. Circumcision, which was the initiative into citizenship, and church and household membership, was the divine privilege and duty of every servant—whether “born in the house, or bought with money of the stranger.” (Gen. xvii, 12, 18.) It put them under the *egis* of the divine covenant, sanctified them as being in the messianic succession, and endowed them with the hope of citizenship in the kingdom of God. It is inconsistent with the nature of these domestic, civil, and ecclesiastical immunities, and utterly abhorrent to the gentle, pure, and noble associations which cluster about them, to suppose that men, women, and children, thus solemnly engrafted upon the family and the church of God, should be bought and sold in the markets; and that, too, by their covenant fathers and brothers. These family, state, and church privileges were the “*ses triplex*,” under whose protection the servant of patriarchal times followed the fortunes of his master, “not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved,” and a competent member of the household, a vital member of the state. With these prerogatives, they accompanied their masters into Egypt. During the two hundred years that Israel sojourned in the land of Ham, their own condition changed probably more than that of their servants. They, themselves, became tributary to Pharaoh, some of them became crown-slaves, and all of them, in a greater or less degree, bondsmen. But that they were slaves, in our sense of that term, there is not a word, or fact, on record, to prove. The following considerations will go far to show that serfdom or villenage may have been their condition,

asses.” We are led to the same conclusion by such passages as Gen. xii, 5, where *שְׁבָדִים* possessions, (C. V. “substance”) is carefully discriminated from *שְׁבָדָה* souls, i. e. servants. Also, Gen. xxxvi, 6, where *שְׁבָדִים* servants, are distinguished from *שְׁבָדָה* wealth. So, too, Gen. xiv, 16, distinguishes *שְׁבָדִים* (C. V. “goods”) (bis) from “the women,” and “the people,” (*שְׁבָדָה*) i. e. servants, (see Gen. xxxii, 7, 8,) where these two kinds of possessions are also kept apart.

but slavery never. They had exclusive possession of one of the best Egyptian provinces;* they owned lands and houses.† They had flocks and herds.‡ They maintained separate families in permanent dwellings.§ Their tribal rights were unimpaired.|| The domestic, social, religious, and civil laws, which they had brought from Canaan, remained to a great degree operative. They had advantages of schools; they cultivated the arts;¶ they had arms.** They ate, and drank, and wore of as good as the province afforded. Jewelry was common among them, and but for their vassalage, in some respects, to the crown, they were as free as we are.

Before coming to the main question, one more fact may be mentioned. Although it has been admitted that servants accompanied Jacob into Egypt, they are not alluded to as a separate class in Joseph's invitation, (Gen. xlvi, 10,) nor are they enumerated in the inventory of persons and things that went or were taken down. (xlvi, 5-7.) "Chattels" they were not, as is clearly proved by cf. xii, 5, and xxxvi, 6, with (רְכָב i. e. goods, substance,) xlvi, 6. They must therefore be included among the persons. Now in the Exodus were six hundred thousand men, (Ex. xii, 37,) above twenty years, (Ex. xxx, 14,) and this number included the servants, if there were any, as is clear from Exodus xii, 44, 48, there were; and that these servants were *persons* and not *things*, is manifest from the fact that they were numbered in the army, Ex. xii, 51, xiii, 18; that they partook of the passover; that they contributed the regular poll-tax for the building of the Tabernacle, (xxxviii, 26,) and that they each paid the half-shekkel "to make atonement for their souls." (xxx, 15.) But not only were they different from the "mixed multitude," (Ex. xii, 38, DeWette, *eine Menge Fremde*, עֲרָב רַב; Numb. xi, 4, "mixed multitude," DeWette, *Gesindel*, אֲסֻפָּה;) and "the foreigner," and "hired servant," (Ex. xii, 45,) and uncircumcised "stranger," (Ex. xii, 48,) but they were superior to them in the enjoyment of civil and religious rights. Slaves they certainly were not.

* Gen. xlvi, 11. † Ex. xii, 13, 23. ‡ Ex. x, 24. § Ex. x, 23, cf. xii, 3, 4, 7.
|| Ex. vi, 14-27. ¶ Ex. xxxvi, 1-4. ** Ex. xiii, 18.

These, then, are the men, and this is the character of that institution out of which Hebrew servitude grew and for which Jehovah legislated. Why God legislated *upon* rather than *against* such an institution, we shall be better able to judge after we have examined the laws themselves and their results. But let us bear in mind the proposition with which we started, that institutions are organic, and this very vitality of slavery, parasitic and paralyzing as it is, may render a gradual treatment surer and safer than one seemingly more prompt. Physicians sometimes find it better to discuss a tumor than to lance it. Some trees are soonest killed by girdling. And there may be diseased members in the body politic, which, like elephantiasis, cannot be cut off, but may be tied off. As Jehovah took the polytheistic word "Elohim," and purged it from all the associations of heathenism, till it stood for, and now stands for, the one only living and true God; so he may have accepted the institution of slavery, with all its hurtful realities and all its sinful possibilities, in order to purge it of its crimes and sins, and thus teach the church that between master and servant sin creeps and sticks as between buying and selling. The organic law of Hebrew Servitude was not *creative*, but *regulative*. It found serfdom among the chosen people, as is evident from the fourth commandment, (Ex. xx, 10,) and from the Statute of the Passover, (xii, 44,) but the institution needed a system of uniform and authoritative laws to ameliorate, if not abolish it, and to these ends this cardinal statute addressed itself.

In discussing this subject we shall endeavor to ascertain the legal status of a servant, in the Hebrew commonwealth. What his condition *became*, is a question of history, but not of the law. It is one which concerns the antiquary, but with which the moralist has nothing to do. As good men are better than the letter of the law, and bad men worse than its spirit, doubtless Hebrew servitude had its lights and shadows, according as the master was better or worse than the statute. But in our discussion as to what God meant that servitude among his people should be, we must look to the statute, and to that alone. The organic act of

Hebrew servitude, respecting native servants, is found Ex. xxi, 1-11. In Deut. xv, 12-18, the same law is repeated with specifications regulating the manner in which the servant was to be sent away, and including, by name, maid servants. Lev. xxv, 39-48, defines the bondage of the Hebrew servant during the jubilee or long period, the terms of his service and his release.

In Exodus xxi, 2, the limit is fixed beyond which no Hebrew could sell himself, or be sold. Six years and only six. Deut. xv, 12, Jer. xxxiv, 14, "to go out" (*אָזַע*) "free" (*אָזֵן*) "gratis," (*בְּזָבֵן*) This tautology is all in the interest of freedom. In this clause of emancipation, two conditions are expressly stipulated, both of which tend to set the servant's liberty in the clearest light, and on the firmest basis. In the *first* place, the servant "shall go out free," (*אָזַע לְחֻמֶּשׁ*) i. e. exempt from his master's authority.

The small and great are there; [Hades.]

And the servant is *free* from his master.—Job iii, 19.

Who hath sent out the wild ass *free*?

Or who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass?—Job xxxix, 5.

In the *second* place, "he shall go out for nothing," (*אָזַע זָמָן*) i. e. exempt from any and every indebtedness to his master, because of sickness, inefficiency, &c. Ex. xxi, 11, makes the phrase "without money," equivalent to *לְחֻמֶּשׁ*. Under no pretence could the master or lessee demand additional service, or the refunding of money from his servant after the expiration of his sixth year. (v. 3.) If he came in single he went out single—if he brought his wife in, he took her out. (4 v.) If he married one of his master's maid-servants, she and her children were retained. If a Jewess, till the end of her six years of service, (vid. vv. 7-11, infra.) if a Gentile, then until the Jubilee, when her husband and all his family would go out free. Lev. xxv, 10. But (v. 5) gave him the opportunity of preferring a state of bondage, alleviated by his wife, and children, and beloved master, to a state of freedom, without them. The marriage covenant was more sacred than the covenant of service. Even these ameliorations did not exhaust the plentitude of kindness embodied in the

system of Hebrew servitude. The servant was not obliged to choose between these two things—service in the bosom of his family to a beloved master till the jubilee, and such an empty handed freedom as would shortly and certainly again reduce him to a six years' bondage, but according to Deut. xv, 12–18, his choice lay between going out with a bonus (v. 14) or remaining a servant till the jubilee. (vv. 16, 17.) But even this long period, from jubilee to jubilee, was far from being as hopeless as, at first sight, it would seem. The whole time was forty-nine years. This included six whole years of rest, or Sabbath years. There remained, therefore, forty-three years of labor, with the reliefs of holy days, of which there were many. But if we consider, in the first place, that at the jubilee each Jew found himself in possession of his original patrimony, and how far that might carry him towards the next jubilee; and if we further consider that should he fail even in a few years, and all his property be gone, and he be in bondage, this state could last only six years; and then, in the last place, if we consider how far the bonus at the end of these six years (Deut. xv, 12–18) would bear him towards the year of release, even the longest period of Hebrew servitude could not be very long for a Jew, and dared not be severe. And remember it was only after these reliefs and relays that a Jew could become “a servant forever.” Certainly the shortest and most blessed eternity ever known to any system of bondage. Verse sixth, however, defines the manner in which, if unavoidable, this bondage “forever,” was to be entered upon—publicly, before an appointed officer, after distinct and repeated asseverations, and then not until the ignominious seal (Gen. xxxv, 4) had been affixed to his person. If the passage Ex. xxi, 7–11, refers to female servants, then, as we learn from Deut. xv, 12, 17, and Jer. xxxiv, 9–11, 16, after forty years these disabilities were removed and of course affected the cases under verse 4. But if we regard Ex. xxi, 7, as treating of maid servants generally, and the remaining verses as referring particularly to concubines—thus including both kinds of women servants—then it is probable that from the beginning (Jer. xxxiv, 13) the terms of service for male and female

Hebrew servants was the same, and of course verses 8-11 were designed to ameliorate the concubinage, which was and is a necessary adjunct to every system of slavery.

In this fundamental law there are three terms used, on the interpretation of which the character of Hebrew servitude, as a system of chattelism or apprenticeship, will depend. These three terms are (*עָבֵד*) "servant," (*קָנָה*) "buy," and (*עַדְלָם*) "forever." The individual—the tenure—the time. In accordance with the verbal poverty, but spiritual richness of the Hebrew language, the single word *עָבֵד* is applied to every kind of servant, from the prime minister to the maid at the mill. (Ex. ix, 20.) In Gen. (xxxix, 5, 9) Joseph is viceroy, in verse 17, he is an *עָבֵד* (bondman, servant.) In accordance with this wide range of signification, the LXX have rendered it variously : *τελέσις, οἰκεῖονς, (Gen. ix, 26-27,) θεράπων, (Ex. xiv, 31,) δουλος, (Eccl. v, 11,) γεωργός, (Gen. xxvi, 14.)* In English it is translated "bond-man," "servant," "man-servant," and once incorrectly, "bond-servant," Lev. xxv, 39, but "slave" never; that humiliating term is as alien to the scriptures, as it is to the constitution of the United States. In the original, it binds together the highest and the lowest kinds of service; the best and the worst; the most sacred and the most profane. The vital part of the term being the idea of *subordination*. Hence an *עָבֵד* might be a premier, or a menial; a wife, or a concubine; a high-priest, or a harlot.

Its derivatives had the same latitude of meaning. Jacob served Jehovah and Laban. He "worshiped" the former, he *wooed* the daughter of the latter. Adam served God and the garden, (Gen. ii, 15, *עָבֵד* i. e. dress,) and so, too, he is said to have served the ground, after he was expelled from Paradise. (Gen. iii, 23, *עָבֵד* i. e. till.) In Eccl. v, 12, *עָבֵד* is translated in C. V. "laboring-man," LXX *δουλος*, and in Ex. xx, 9, 10, it is opposed to the Sabbath rest. *Labor* is another element of the idea conveyed by *עָבֵד*. Therefore *labor in subordination to another is the meaning of "service;" and whether this service is in time, work, tribute, homage or worship*, the Hebrew has but this one word to express it. Gen. xxx, 26, "Give me my wives and my children, for whom I have served thee, and let me go :

for thou knowest my service which I have done thee." In verse 28, Laban asks Jacob to name the wages for which he would be willing to serve him. (xxix, 15.) These passages are enough to prove that if עָבֵד ever means a slave, it is not the normal or common meaning.

We come next to the tenure by which this servant was held. He was "bought," *חִזְקָה*,—not "bought with money," *מִכְּנָקָה* but simply bought.* This term "bought" is as comprehensive in Hebrew as is the word "servant." Prov. xxiii, 23 : "Buy the truth, and sell it not." Prov. iv, 7 : "Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get (buy) wisdom, and with all thy gettings, (buyings,) get (buy) understanding." Gen. xxxi, 18 : Jacob *bought* his wives and children and cattle. Eve *bought* her first-born from the Lord, and called him thence "Cain." (*רִפָּה*—purchased.) Gen. iv, 1. Boaz, after buying the property of Ruth's deceased husband and two sons, *bought* Ruth. (Ruth iv, 8, 10.) The Lord *bought* Zion. Psalms lxxviii, 54. In Gen. xlvi, 18–25, *selling*, the antithesis of buying, means leasing land for the fifth. In 1 Kings xxi, 20, it means to enter one's

* Ex. xxi, 21: "He is his money." This phrase has, we think, been sometimes rather wrested from its legitimate import, in order to prove that the servant was a piece of chattel property. But the language does not demand or favor so rigid and mercenary an interpretation. It is argued that the phrase "his money" means his property, and is the reason why the master should not be punished; but the servant of the 20th verse is the same as the servant of the 21st verse, and if in the one case the property relation shielded him, why not in the other?

We incline to think that this phrase is introduced for a very different purpose, namely, as an additional evidence that the master did not intend murder. This interpretation harmonizes best with the whole narrative and argument.

1. The subject here under immediate discussion is the condition of Hebrew, not heathen servants, and no one claims that the six years service of the Hebrew made him *his master's money*, in the sense of his absolute property. 2. If the servant here spoken of was a Hebrew servant, we get a definite instead of an indefinite punishment for maltreating the servant. He might be avenged by his kindred; such kindred the Hebrew servant had; but it is altogether improbable that a Gentile slave could have such redress. 3. This interpretation accords with the meaning of the term עֲבֹד nowhere else rendered "punish," but "avenged;" and this agrees with the doctrine of the avenger of blood, as laid down, Numb. xxxv, 28, 24. Gen. xxxi, 15, shows that to be sold, even *for money*, does not make one a "chattel," for in this case "the money" was fourteen years service, (xxix, 18–30,) and the selling was marrying off (xxix, 28) daughters.

service. Thns to buy wisdom, is to get it by study, or prayer. To buy a wife is to get her by a dowry of service, cattle, or money ; it is to betroth, or marry. To buy a child, is to have a child. To buy a city or a mountain, may be to conquer it by arms. To buy land, may be to take it on shares, and to buy a man may be no more than to obtain his services. Our word "get" is the nearest equivalent to the Hebrew קָנֵה (buy.) Our version uses eight different terms to express this word ; viz, attain, bny, got, own, possess, purchase, recover, redeem ; and even then "buy" is very frequently used in the improper sense, while "get" is very often employed, when a specific term would be better, so that the mercantile sense of buy is not very common.

The following sentence will convey a pretty adequate idea of the wide meaning of the Hebrew term קָנֵה.

A man gets (borrows) \$500 at bank, to get (hire) a carriage, to get (buy) a suit of clothes, and to get (redeem from the pawnbroker's) his watch, to get (marry) a wife, to get (lease) a house in the country, to get (recover) his health, hoping to get (own) the homestead,—and a great many other things. Now, one and all of these the Hebrew "buys."

Unfortunately for us, on the subject of slavery, we reason back from what we know exists *now* to what we suppose must have existed *then*. *All our associations with buying and selling men and women are mercenary and servile, and thus taint the Jewish institution with our debased association; and distort it with our morally illogical reasonings;* and without meaning to pervert the truth, we still do pervert it. A few moments with "forever," פְּרוֹתָא, and we shall be prepared to pronounce a judgment on the cardinal doctrine of Hebrew servitude. The word literally means "fullness;" then as applied to time, a circuit,—periodicity,—a return at regular intervals, as of ages or planets. Hence it is never applied to a variable quantity, as a man's life. When applied to servitude it cannot mean as long as the master lives, nor as long as the servant shall live, but as long as the fixed revolution of freedom shall make it,—that is, the Jubilee. When its golden wheels had performed their semi-centennial circuit, a "forever"

had come, and all Judea was free—free from labor, free from debts, free from bondage. A general bankrupt law, a general jail delivery, and a general emancipation act took effect. By whatever misfortune or crime the Jew had become a slave,—whether by debt, theft, poverty, sale, birth or inheritance,—he ceased to be a bondman with the declining sun of the forty-ninth year.

It may not be too remote from the line of our argument to mention the singular fact, that there is not in all the Scripture record a single authorized instance of the sale of slaves, or the sale of a third party as a slave. The following are the only cases of sale authorized. 1. Men were sold for theft. Ex. xxii, 3. 2. Men sold themselves and families for debt. Lev. xxv, 39, 42, 47, 48. 3. Parents sold their daughters. Ex. xxi, 7. Later in history (2 Kings iv, 1) sons are mentioned as claimed for their parents' debts, but it does not appear that, under the Mosaic legislation, such sales were authorized or practised. The sale of daughters was either for wives or concubines; Ex. xxi, 8-11; and if it be admitted that in such cases they were sold as slaves, yet could they not be resold as slaves, whether they were Jews (Ex. xxi, 8) or Gentiles. (Deut. xxi, 14.) 4. Man-selling is always spoken of as a punishment or a crime. (Ex. xxi, 16; Joel iii, 3-8; Amos ii, 6.) 5. Man-selling was man-stealing. (Ex. xxi, 16; Deut. xxiv, 7; Gen. xl, 15, compare with xxxvii, 28.) Now if chattelism was an organic part of the Hebrew commonwealth, it is certainly a remarkable circumstance, that the sale of slaves is not so much as mentioned a single time.

Now we ask whether the word “servant,” viewed in its own light, or by the light of the Hebrew term “buy,” and, above all, by the light of “forever,” suggests the idea of a slave,—a chattel,—a thing? This was a man. He not only *seemed* to own himself, but did own himself. He not only *seemed* to have a wife, but he had a wife; and his children, instead of being a mockery,—a torment,—some horrible nightmare, still more horrid to wake from,—were his real, dear children, radiant with the dawn of jubilee, as flowers at sunrise. If this is true of the longest term of servitude, and the hardest, how much less were *they* slaves, who went out every six years?

TREATMENT OF HEBREW SERVANTS.

Beside the ameliorations which the organic act introduced into Hebrew servitude, there were specific statutes regulating the slave's treatment, during the longer or shorter periods of his service. Passionate and excessive chastisement was restrained by pains and penalties ; (Ex. xxi, 20, 21;) maiming a servant, by destroying an eye, or a tooth, emancipated him ; (Ex. xxi, 26, 27;) and as these two members are the extremes, they embraced a score of franchises.

As the Hebrew citizen did not cease to be a Jew, when misfortune made him a servant, he still retained and exercised all the rights, civil and religious, secured to him by the covenant of circumcision. He was entitled to keep all the great festivals,—the seven days of the passover, (Lev. xxiii, 8,) the seven of Tabernacles, (xxiii, 34,) the seven of first fruits. The Sabbath of course was his. (Ex. xx, 10.) The Sabbatic year,—its rest and its spontaneous products, were his,—the vine, the olive, and the fig, the spontaneous wheat, and barley, and millet. (Lev. xxv, 4—6.) If he served for the long period, it was particularly charged that his service should be voluntary and not menial. (Lev. xxv, 39, 40.) If he went out after six years, his master was to give him a bonus. (Dent. xv, 13—15.) He was not to go out empty ; he was to be “ liberally furnished out of the flock, out of the floor, and out of the wine-press.” If he were apprenticed till the jubilee, then he and his children should not only go out free, but should return to their old homestead,—that dear refuge, from which poverty or sin had driven them. (Lev. xxv, 41.) Such were some of the humane laws that wrought within the system. They breathe love to man. They place the gentlest hands beneath the burden, and speak the kindest words to the servant. It is easy to see that these laws were not made *by* the master ; and it is just as evident that they were made *for* the slave.

EMANCIPATIVE POWERS IN THE SYSTEM.

There is another interesting feature in this servile institution ; it had emancipative powers. In the first place, an emancipation act was passed every six years. If the service became rigorous, it tended to freedom ; and the more rigorous, the more probably that freedom would follow. If anybody voluntarily hired himself till the Jubilee, then that would free him ; (Lev. xxv, 10, 13, 40, 54;) and if at any time he, or his friends, or his countrymen, wished to buy his freedom, the master could neither refuse the offer, nor make the price exorbitant ; both these conditions were fixed by law. There is something wonderful in the eliminating powers of this system. All its forces tended to throw off slavery. On this point, the parallels in Lev. xxv, 39-43, the relation of a Hebrew "servant forever" to a Hebrew master ; and Lev. xxv, 47-55, the relation of the Hebrew "servant forever" to a heathen master, are very significant.

It does not appear that the privilege of redemption obtained in reference to the Hebrew servant of a Hebrew master, because he came under the ameliorations of Lev. xxv, 35-38, and of Deut. xv, 12-18, which were as much better than redemption as the prevention of slavery is better than the cure of slavery. But should the poor Hebrew's circumstances decline so far that his only relief was the sale of himself and family, then three things were secured to him : 1. Exemption from harsh treatment. (vv. 42, 43.) 2. Exemption from servile labor. (v. 39, compared with v. 40.) 3. Release at the Jubilee. (v. 41.) When sold to a heathen master, or a foreigner, he always was redeemable, (a) either by his kindred or countrymen, (vv. 48, 49,) (b) or by himself. (v. 49.) The price of his redemption was according to the number of the unexpired years to the next Jubilee, (v. 50,) and according to the rate of a hireling's wages. (vv. 50, 51.) But if all these recuperative means failed, (v. 54,) and he still remained a servant, he was secured against servile toil, (v. 53,) and rigorous treatment, till the silver trumpets of the Jubilee proclaimed liberty to him

and his children. (v. 54.) How honorable such a servant's position must have been, and how just and gentle his treatment, is further evident from the fact that, if he fled from his master, there was no rendition of the fugitive. (Deut. xxiii, 15, 16.) But last of all, and most fatal of all to chattelizing man, was the law forbidding a Hebrew to sell himself out and out. Lev. xxv, 42 : "They shall not be sold (niphal,—*sell themselves*) as bondmen" out and out. They might sell their time and skill and strength, for a time, but could not sell their bodies and souls for life. Shall we call this slavery?—a system in which involuntariness, and absolute sale as to time and toil; body and soul—the very essence of slavery—are not only not found, but are straitly prohibited.

BARRIERS AGAINST THE SPREAD OF HEBREW SERVITUDE.

There are yet other considerations to be taken into the account, in estimating the spirit of Hebrew servile legislation. Whatever may have been the nature of servitude in the Jewish republic, it will be difficult to believe that, mild as it was, it was deemed a good institution, and to be perpetuated. This will become the more evident as we study the laws and precepts which were designed to ward off slavery. 1. In the first place, there was detailed legislation as to the manner in which grain fields, olive orchards, and vineyards, were to be harvested. The corners of the field, the gleanings of the orchards, and the stray sheaves, belonged to the poor, and the stranger, (Lev. xix, 9, 10,) the fatherless, and the widow. (Deut. xxiv, 19-21.) 2. The spontaneous increase of the Sabbath year belonged in common to the slave, (Lev. xxv, 4-6,) and those whose poverty was driving them towards the condition of slaves. (Ex. xxiii, 11.) 3. There was a triennial tithe, which was levied for the purpose of celebrating the festivals, and the excess of this revenue was the property of "the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow." (Deut. xxvi, 12-15.) 4. Lev. xxv, 35-38, and Deut. xv, 7-10, record another law, which acted as a barrier against servitude. If any one, Jew or Gentile, was unfortunate in business, or fell behindhand

through sickness, the wealthy were to aid him with money or other means, and were forbidden to take usury in money or kind. 5. A *fifth* statute which warded off slavery, was the death of all debts at the end of seven years, (Deut. xv, 1-3; Neh. x, 31,) or at least a prohibition against enforcing a claim during the Sabbath year. If, therefore, a man resisted servitude, he could hardly fall into it ; everything was for him, and nothing but indolence and iniquity, or some mysterious dispensation of sickness or misfortune, against him.

We have seen the humane character of the laws regulating Hebrew servitude ; it was easy service and quick release. We have considered some of the direct and indirect influences of abolition, and we have barely enumerated the obstructions which hampered the narrow path that led out of freedom into bondage. Thus far all breathes the spirit of freedom and humanity.

PENALTY AGAINST KIDNAPPING.

We proceed next to consider the law against reduction to slavery. This is the law against kidnapping. Ex. xxi, 16 : "He that stealeth a man and (or) selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Any one of these three crimes,—seizing, holding, or selling,—is capital. This statute flashes from the pen of inspiration like a thunderbolt. It cannot mean that man stealing was wrong only when Hebrews were the victims. (Deut. xxiv, 7,) since such infamous legislation is not only inconsistent with the general spirit of legislation towards the Gentiles, but is in flat contradiction to the express statute, "Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for one of your own country: for I am the Lord your God," (Lev. xxiv, 22,) as well as to the humane injunction, "And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him ; yea, though he be a stranger or a sojourner ; that he may live with thee." (Lev. xxv, 35.) The most it can mean may be, that the crime against a heathen was not capital, but never that it was not punishable. Religious, civil, and political laws were made sometimes to favor the Hebrews, or to keep them separate from heathen, but moral laws were uniform.

LAWS AGAINST RENDITION OF FUGITIVE SERVANTS.

The other law aimed at the system was the prohibition against returning a slave, or even holding him for his master,—nay, even encouraging to his concealment. Deut. xxiii, 15, 16 : “Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant that is escaped unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.” “Hide the outcasts, bewray not him that wandereth.” פְּנַצֵּד—fugitive—(Is. xvi, 3.) We need not stop to ask whether a system so difficult to get into, so lenient when one was in, so easy to get out of, and so criminal to be forced into,—we say, we need not stop to ask whether this is chattel slavery, or whether, from this institution, we have gathered our notions and associations as to the rightfulness or wrongfulness of American slavery. Both are legalized systems; both claim to be of divine origin, but beyond this, the two, we think, never meet again in this world or the next. Thus far we have considered Hebrew servitude in relation to Hebrews, and have only incidentally referred to the status of Gentile servants under the system. This part of the subject, while more difficult to treat, is the more necessary to be treated, because from the existence and character of heathen servitude among God’s people the rightfulness and even religiousness of the American system have been defended. Of the validity of this defense our readers may judge, after we have stated and commented upon the laws which regulated the service of heathen bondmen.

THE CONDITION OF GENTILE SLAVES.

The law concerning Gentile slaves is not announced so distinctly as that which defined the rights of Hebrew slaves. All that is said on the subject comes in connection with the law of the jubilee. First we have a general statute regulating the lease of lands, houses, servants, and services. With a single exception, and that carefully defined, (Lev. xxv, 30,) there was not

a single sale or lease of anything—land, house, or servant—that could be sold, or leased, for a longer term than till the next jubilee. On this general statute we might rest the question as to the perpetuity of heathen servitude. But there follow specifications under this general statute. First, of the land it is said, (v. 28,) “it shall not be sold forever. (בְּצִמְתָּה) De Wette, “*das es verfallen bleibe*”—forfeited. If the owner of land was obliged to sell a part of his estate, that part reverted to him again at the jubilee. (v. 28.) If misfortune still followed him, and he was obliged to sell all—his children, himself, and wife—when the jubilee returned, he, and his children with him, returned “to his family, and the possession of his fathers.” (v. 41.) This statute of emancipation was irrevocable, and without exception, save that *one* which proves the rule. (vv. 29, 30.) As this fifty years’ service was an exception, in the case of the Jew, its nature is defined. Ex. xxi, 6, simply states the *time*, but here the *kind* of service to be rendered, is the principal thought. The fifty year lease was a degradation, because it was the period of heathen slaves’ service, and because it was for menial services ; the labor as to kind could not be chosen, and might be both low and burdensome. This *long* apprenticeship was however not involuntary ; (v. 39;) “be sold ;” (נִמְכַר niphal—sell himself, vv. 42, 47,) but it was degrading, as was the voluntary submission to have the ear pierced. (Ex. xxi, 6.) But still, his master was “not to compel him to serve as a bond-servant,”—“*nicht Knechtes Dienst thun lassen.*”—De Wette. “οὐ δουλεύεις δοι δουλειαν οἰκτρού,” LXX lit. “Thou shalt not exact from him servile work,” (v. 39,) but his service should be that of a hired man ; he should choose his work, and be a man, not a mercenary. (v. 42.) After the analogy of v. 40, and as presenting another phase of the same idea, the 42d verse would read, “they shall not sell themselves venally.”

Now right in the wake of this law regulating the long servitude of the Jew, and in immediate grammatical connection with it, comes the law regulating heathen servitude—heathen servitude, during this long period. “Both thy bond-men and thy bond-maids which thou shalt have, shall be

of the heathen that are round about you ; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land, and they shall be your possession, and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession, they shall be your bond-men forever, but over your brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigor." (Lev. xxv, 44-46.)

This seems strong and explicit language as to the duty, right, severity, and perpetuity, with which the Jew might hold his heathen slave. "Shall" occurs eight times in this formidable passage, and six times it appears in the imperative sense. "Shall be," "shall buy," all affirmed of the poor heathen. "Bond" is repeated five times, and that, to our debased associations, is a servile word, while "forever" makes the service as hopeless, as the adversative particle "but" (v. 46) makes it rigorous. It is a very ungracious task to criticise our venerated English Bible ; but we must say that the translation, through this whole passage, is too strong—it is stronger than the version by the LXX, though the English was made in an age of liberty, and the Greek in an age of slavery. It is more severe than the Vulgate, dark as was the age in which that version was made. It is almost a contrast to DeWette's critical translation, which merely concedes the right of procuring servants, from surrounding nations, but finds no room for a single command. To us the authorized version sounds harsh because of our servile associations with its terms ; and, we doubt not, it grates on the heart of the reader. The exegetical proof of its severity is brief and plain, and we will therefore state it.

First, then, "shall" as imperative does not once appear in the original—and for the strongest of these imperatives (v. 44) there is no word at all in the Hebrew. The emphatic prefix, "bond," is as gratuitous as it is grievous ; "buy" is erroneously used in the sense of purchase, instead of acquisition, and carries this venal meaning over to the terms "possession" and "inheritance," while in (v. 46) "but" should be

"and," and "forever" should be limited by the jubilee. With these changes the statute will put on a milder aspect, and one in strict accordance with the spirit of Hebrew legislation. There never was a people whose alien laws were so generous and humane as were the laws for the treatment of foreigners among the Jews. His disabilities arose mainly from his being a heathen. Every proper inducement was held out to make him a proselyte, and to introduce him into full citizenship. Hence, he could not worship publicly any god but Jehovah. (Ex. xxii, 20.) Blasphemy was a capital crime, whether committed by a native or a foreigner. (Lev. xxiv, 11-16.) He was obliged to keep the Sabbath, (Ex. xx, 10,) the Sabbatic year, (Lev. xxv, 4-6,) and the jubilee. (Lev. xxv, 47-50.) And other religious disabilities there were: as the law to slay animals at the door of the tabernacle, the law forbidding blood, the law prohibiting strangled animals, &c. (Lev. xvii.) But he was entitled to the triennial tithe—a sort of poor fund. (Deut. xiv, 29; xxvi, 11-13.) He could, even as a slave, keep the great national festivals—Passover, Pentecost, and feast of Tabernacles. The septennial reading of the law was one of his privileges. (Deut. xxxi, 12-13.) He ratified the covenant, after entering the Holy Land. (Deut. xxix, 10-13.) In all civil cases, he came before the same tribunals with the Hebrews, (Deut. i, 16,) and was to be tried in the same manner, and by the same law as were God's people. (Lev. xxiv, 22.) The books of Moses are full of injunctions of kindness to the stranger. "The Lord your God loveth the stranger; love ye, therefore, the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." (Deut. x, 17-19.) One of the twelve curses thundered from Ebal, over the assembled hosts, after they had entered Canaan, was, "Cursed be he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger," &c. (Deut. xxvii, 19.) It is difficult to believe that a religion made for the weak, should, in its system of servitude, forget to show mercy, and make might the foundation of right. And unless it can be made to appear, from plain and express Scripture, that the Gentile servant was a piece of property, and not a person, we will not believe it. By inference, no man shall become a thing. Constructive chattelism is as much

more monstrous than constructive treason, as marring God's moral image is more heinous than marring man's civil character; and until it can be shown that strangers, in the commonwealth of Israel, had no rights, which Jews were bound to respect—the divine constitution must be interpreted as a charter of human liberty, and not as the inspired instrument of inhuman oppression—as a bill of rights, not a bill of sale.

And, now, let us turn again to the law. It has to do with servitude for the long period: its duration and nature. It forbids the Jew to sell himself venally, (v. 42,) and it forbids his master, even during the long period, to use him as a menial. (v. 39 and 40.) To this latter fact, doubtless, refers the singular expression, thrice repeated, (vv. 43, 46, and 53,) "Thou shalt not rule over him with rigor"—a phrase nowhere used but in connection with this law, and, doubtless, borrowed from Ex. i, 13, 14, where it is employed to characterize the treatment of the Hebrews in Egypt. There it marks their laborious and degrading toil, in the brickyards and potteries, and on the farm. Such services, and on such terms, it was unlawful for a Jew to offer or accept; but it was permitted to the Gentile to offer such service, and to the Jew to accept his offer. That the *kind* of service, not the *duration*, is the leading idea all through the passage from Lev. xxv, 39–55, becomes yet more evident by looking at the equivalent, opposite phrases, with which the expression from Ex. i, 13, 14, is contrasted and compared. The above passage presents to us the long period of service, in three different relations. (1.) We have the relation of the Jewish servant "forever," to his Jewish master. vv. 39–43. Of his service it is expressly declared that it shall not be the menial work of a slave, but the labor of a hired man. vv. 39, 40. (2.) We have the relation of the Gentile servant "forever," to his Jewish master. vv. 44–46. Of his service it is said, it might be menial. (Comp. the phrase נָגֵר בְּבָנֶיךָ with the last clause of v. 46.) (3.) We have the relation of the Jewish servant "forever," to his Gentile master. Of his service it is affirmed that it shall not be menial, and that his countrymen should be his guardians and defenders, in any such attempt at his degradation. v. 53. This, and other

statutes are a continual protest against every attempt or occasion to degrade a freeman of God to the condition of a slave. The jealousy of Jehovah, for the liberties of his redeemed and enfranchised people, glows from almost every page of the Pentatuch; while towards heathen servants this sentiment, in the divine breast, takes the form of the tenderest and most anxious caution to his people, to remember, in their treatment of the Gentile slave, their own bitter Egyptian experience, and to let the gratitude of their hearts continually sweeten the cup of bondage, always bitter enough, even when commended to human lips by the merciful God himself.

The servitude of the Gentiles, however, as appears from verse 47, was also voluntary, for, in many cases, they were citizens and large property holders. And, mark, it is not of the heathen, but of the children of these thrifty foreigners, (46 cf. 47,) that the perpetual bondmen as an inheritance are spoken of. It has already been clearly pointed out that "forever" (46) means the Jubilee period; (*Lev. xxv, 10, 40, 54*, comp. with *Ex. xxi, 6*;) but as much stress is laid on this word in this connexion, a few remarks further on its meaning may be called for. In the present passage, "forever" may mean, either that the permission to employ *Gentile* servants was a perpetual grant, or that they were to be perpetual slaves. The language favors the former, but we shall not now enter upon that question, only remarking in passing, that if that is its meaning, then, of course, the word "forever" determines nothing as to the duration of the bondage. But if we take the accepted construction, using "forever" as a predicate of "bond-men," then the word is to be explained according to its affiliations in this passage. It is very well known how wide and various are its meanings. The word is generally translated *forever*, but eternity is seldom, if ever, its meaning. Limited periods of future time are its most frequent subjects. And in these connections, *continuity* rather than *perpetuity* is its regulative principle. Gesenius says it "is sometimes put for the whole period of life," and in proof cites *Ex. xxi, 6*; *Deut. xv, 17*; *1 Sam. xxvii, 12*; *Job xl, 28*; *xli, 4*. But these citations are

not pertinent, because Ex. xxi, 6, and Deut. xv, 17, comp. with Lev. xxv, 10, 40, 54, prove incontrovertibly that “forever” (לִפְנֵי תְּלִמְדָּשׁ) means not the whole period of the slave’s life, but the whole period till the jubilee. 1 Sam. xxvii, 12, and Job. xl, 28 (xli, 4,) are merely quotations of this phrase and must be so interpreted. That the phrase “servant forever” (עֲבָד עַד לִמְדָּשׁ) had a definite meaning, and one which became technical, appears from the fact, that in the passages cited from Deut., Sam. and Job, עַד לִמְדָּשׁ has the force of an adjective, and is so rendered by the LXX in Job δοῦλος αἰώνιος—“a perpetual servant,” i. e., till the Jubilee. There is only a single passage: 1 Sam. i, 11, comp. with v. 22, where “forever” seems to mean “lifetime,” and here, we get a better meaning, if we render “forever” permanent or abiding, because the mother would not take her child up to the tabernacle, till she could *leave him there*. But another reason against putting such a meaning on לִמְדָּשׁ is that there was a common and idiomatic phrase to express the whole period of life. (כָּל יָמֵי חַיִּים) (all the days of a man’s life.). This is the approved expression in the Pentateuch. If it was designed in any case to make the service of a slave “life long,” this was the proper phrase, but if it was intended to express its periodicity—(its duration and the point of cessation,)—then the uniform and universal analogy of the language required עַד לִמְדָּשׁ. The word has inherent capacity for such a meaning, as its relation to לִמְדָּשׁ and לִמְדָּשׁ prove. But waiving all advantage that may be fairly drawn from these facts, let us bear in mind that “forever,” as applied to Hebrew servants, had a technical meaning, before it was applied to Gentile servants, and we cannot resist the conviction that as such, whatever it designated, in the former case, it must designate in the latter. It was a *legal* expression, used logically, not rhetorically, and is to be interpreted as a legal, not a poetical phrase. As it meant, not endless, nor as long as the slave lived, when applied to the Hebrew servant, but till the Jubilee; so when affirmed of the heathen slave (Lev. xxv, 46) it must mean not endless servitude, nor bondage for a lifetime, but till the Jubilee. The morale of the Jubilee

demanded the release of Gentiles as well as Jews. It was the year of universal remission,* and as it was thus the symbol of the Gospel dispensation—as Christ, in preaching the acceptable year of the Lord, preached to Gentiles and Jews; so the symbolic perfection of the Jubilee required that *all the inhabitants of the land*, whether Jew or Gentile, bond or free, should be embraced in “the shadow of good things to come,” not less than in the “very image of the things.” If, however, it should be thought that the expression, “and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you,” (v. 46,) meant more than “forever,” it may be replied, first, that grammatically they stand in opposition. And, secondly, that it is equivalent to the expression, “the stock of the stranger’s family,” (v. 47,) which clearly did not hold possession, beyond the year of Jubilee. (v. 54.)

* The Septuagint translates both לְבִיאָה (Jubilee,) and קֶרְבָּנָה (Liberty,) by ἐλεύθερία; remission, i. e. of debts, servants, sins, &c. Both terms seemed consecrated to so high a service, that they never fell to common uses. This is particularly true of קֶרְבָּנָה. It is only employed by four authors, and two of these use it only once each. It is impossible to mistake its sacred and exalted associations. In Ex. xxx, 23, it is applied, not inadvertently, to the free flowing “myrrh of the holy anointing oil.” Its use by Ex. xlvi, 17, reflects in a strong light the miserable character of the law of release; while Jer. xxxiv, 8, 15, 17, brings before the mind the solemn nature of this law of universal liberation. But it is in the figurative application of words, that their true glory shines outward by this test, קֶרְבָּנָה stands apart, and in the vocabulary of freedom, is without a peer, or a rival. Isaiah (lxii, 1,) selects it as the only fit word to set forth that glorious liberty “wherewith Christ shall make his people free.” The Scripture dialect of freedom has many silver-tongued daughters, but none whose voice is as pleasant as the voice of this one. Its notes have sounded through the centuries, and in that prayer, which shall only cease when the kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of God and of his Christ, this echo is heard, Matt. vi, 12—“forgive (ἐλέεσ) us,” &c. We do not feel at liberty to restrict this gracious word to the narrow compass of the Hebrew servant; we believe that its sound proclaimed liberty to the Gentile servant too. On the studded buckler, which Jehovah held over the liberties of his people, this was the thickest boss. And while it was intended first to defend the Jew, its protecting shadow also fell upon the Gentile, and for us to rule out the heathen slave from the blessings of this word, would be to re-enact that bigotry of the Jews, which gave the Gentiles no portion in the Messiah—the great Liberator of the human family.

These, then, are the points of resemblance and difference between Jewish and Gentile servants. The regular period of service for a Hebrew slave was six years; for Gentile slaves, till the Jubilee. The Hebrew might sell himself and family, under exceptional circumstances, into bondage, for the long period, but not as a menial—with little choice as to toil or price; there was no such restraint imposed on heathen. But both classes became free in the Jubilee. Both classes were protected against violence, (Ex. xxi, 20,) both were emancipated, if maimed in the least member of their body. (Ex. xxi, 26–27.) If born in the house, or bought for the long term, (Gen. xvii, 12; Ex. xii, 43, 44,) the heathen became a citizen and church member, with all the franchises of a Hebrew. He could marry into his master's family and become an heir. (1 Chr. ii, 84.) In many particulars his circumstances and hopes were superior to those of the hireling or sojourner. (Gen. xvii, 12; Ex. xii, 43–48.) What circumcision effected for the males, marriage or adoption did for the females. (Ex. xxi, 7–11.) The whole tendency of the system, as it operated on heathen bondmen, was to make them Jews and freemen. In our sense of the word, a slave could not be found in all Canaan, and if he fled within its consecrated limits, he not only became an honest freeman, but an honored guest, and cherubic words flashing defiance and death towards his pursuers, were his body guard. A slave-pen could not pollute the redeemed soil, and if such a monster as a slave dealer ever came near its hallowed precincts, it was to gaze into the sacred enclosure, as Satan lighting on “Niphate's top,” glared into Eden.*

We are aware that some men's philanthropy leads them to denounce the very relation of master and servant, and to reject the Bible because it presumes so far to acknowledge this rela-

* Deut. xxiii, 15, (16,) **לֹא־נִשְׁׁרֵךְ** which is rendered, “deliver,” does not give the right shade of meaning, it is too strong, and weakens the force of the law. The idea is that the fugitive shall not be held in durance, for recaption by his master. That *durance*, and not *delivery*, is the meaning of this statute, is evident, no less from the 16, (17,) verse than from other passages, where **לֹא־נִשְׁׁרֵךְ** stands in similar connections; 1 Sam. xxiii, 7–20; Job xvi, 11.

tion as to regulate it. But it seems to us that the system of Hebrew servitude—aimed, as it was, against poverty, crime, and heathenism, and holding sacred the three cardinal rights of all men, right of property, right of marriage, and right of worship—not only bears marks of divine supervision, but furnishes proofs, neither few nor weak, of even the inspiration of the Bible. The institution was reformatory, ameliorating, and civilizing. What we try to secure by many laws, and with but partial success, Hebrew servitude did simply and efficiently. Hebrew servitude put a poor man in bonds and honorable work; we put him in the poor-house and dishonorable ease. Hebrew servitude made the debtor an apprentice to honest toil; we put him in jail to do nothing and perhaps become a felon. Hebrew servitude made the thief a useful member of society, by giving him work; we send him to the State's Prison, or a penal colony. And as for making safe citizens out of ignorant foreigners and degraded heathen, we doubt whether we have anything as good as Hebrew apprenticeship. As a naturalization process, it was immeasurably better than the Roman mode of recruiting the state; or even the English system of fortifying decaying royalty and nobility. Hebrew servitude was a divine plan to convert the pestilent, and virulent, and feculent masses into profitable members of society. It apprenticed the honest poor to honorable industry. It bound the criminal to remunerative and reformatory labor. It trained the heathen to virtue, freedom, and religion. The system of Hebrew servitude was like the periodic overflow of the Nile. What the Nile did for the agriculture of Egypt, that Hebrew servitude did for the commonwealth of Israel. In the river's annual rise, many proprietary marks were submerged, and temporarily obliterated; but when its waters again sought their accustomed channels, one by one the former landmarks rose to view, and gave back to each freeholder, not only his old patrimonial limits, but an increase of corn and wine—each worn out, and feeble acre smiling with a double yield. Like these turbid waters of the Nile, so the bitter waters of Hebrew servitude gradually stole over the lower strata of society, submerging for a season many

cherished rights ; but when at length the scepter of the Jubilee was stretched over its proud waves, the tide of power fell at once to its decreed level ; and domestic, civil, and religious rights budded and blossomed with a new vigor, and a double increase. And where the dark waters of crime or misfortune rolled the deepest, there rose the noblest franchises. Once again, the poor had ceased from the land, debts had died, and crimes were expiated. Heathen and proselytes ceased to be “aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world ; and became fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.” If Egypt saw a god in her river, and hailed his divine presence in the flow of its victorious waves, much more should we see a God in Hebrew servitude, and hear his voice in the silver notes of the Jubilee. When we look upon a water lily, we forget the slime and darkness out of which the divine chemist has elaborated its fragrance and purity ; so when we look at the results of Hebrew servitude, we forget the servile processes by which the Jew and the pagan were blessed and sanctified ; for we feel that the divine end always sanctifies, if it does not explain, the divine means. But for this very reason, in matters of so high regard, as disfranchising our fellow men, we should shrink from attempting God’s method, without God’s sanction ; lest in sacrilegiously presuming to guide the divine chariot, we should set the world ablaze, and put man’s double curse—American slavery—in the place of God’s double blessing—Hebrew servitude.

[The conductors of the *New Englander* are quite willing that the learned author of the foregoing Article should express his views in all freedom, but they feel obliged to say that one point which he makes is doubtful. We refer to the view

which he defends that *foreign* slaves were by the laws of Moses manumitted at the time of Jubilee. The point requiring attention in regard to foreign slaves is whether the passage in Levit. xxv, 45, 46, is so to be interpreted as to allow the application of the law of Jubilee to this description of persons. In that passage it is said of bond-men who are not Hebrews, "ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bond-men forever." Now it may be very true, as our contributor affirms, that the words "forever" in themselves determine nothing; but the words "for your children after you to inherit them for a possession" are not so easily disposed of. What if the bondmen had been bought two or three years before the Jubilee: how could these words have been applicable to them? Is there not a marked distinction between the tenure of such bond-men and of Hebrew servants whose time of service expired by specific limitations in the law. If authority may be appealed to, we add that all the writers whom we have had leisure to consult, as Josephus Winer in his *Realwoerterbuch*, Knobel in his recent commentary on Exodus and Leviticus, Mielziner in a work just published at Copenhagen on Hebrew servitude, and especially Saalschütz in his *Mosäisches Recht*, regard the foreign bond-men as held by a tenure to which the law assigns no limit.

There is, however, a question which can fairly be asked, to which unhappily our scanty knowledge of Hebrew law and usage furnishes no certain answer. It is this: whether the foreigner or his posterity on a change of religion from idolatry to Judaism would not be ultimately absorbed in the Hebrew commonwealth? Would the *status* through generations in this case be that of foreigners, or was there a naturalization going on, of which we have no record? The analogies of other states of antiquity; the mild spirit of the law towards co-religionists; the fact that in the Exodus there must have been many foreigners included who *seem* to have been part and parcel of the people; (Comp. Numbers xi, 4;) the fact that foreign slaves sometimes married daughters of the family,

(1 Chron. ii, 34-41,) and left children of full birth ; and the fact also that certain persons were excluded from entering the congregation, implying that all others might so enter,—these considerations make it probable that some naturalizing process was going on, by which the foreigner who worshiped Jehovah and lived in the land could belong to one of the tribes and become to all intents an Israelite. We notice that Saalschütz inclines to accept such a naturalization as a fact, but it cannot be confidently affirmed. Such a usage would, if common, in the end put all slavery on the same ground, for it cannot be supposed that the foreign slave and his offspring would cleave long to their native religion, so long as the Jews themselves kept up their faith in their own.]

ARTICLE V.—ARE THE PHENOMENA OF SPIRITUALISM SUPERNATURAL?

Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World, with Narrative Illustrations. By ROBERT DALE OWEN. Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott & Co.

It is a striking illustration of the prominence gained by the modern school of *Spiritualism*, that its newly coined use of that term is recognized in the latest editions of the two rival Anglo-American dictionaries. Ten years ago the term Spiritualism was confined to a theory of mental philosophy, and was hardly known to the unscientific world. It was vaguely used as the opposite of *Sensationalism*, and more particularly to denote the Idealism of Berkeley, or the Egoism of Fichte. Cousin gives the term a somewhat wider range. He speaks of opposing the "modern *Sensualism*" of Locke, with the "modern *Spiritualism*" of Reid and Kant ; and he characterizes the philosophy of Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, and their successors, in general terms, as "the *Spiritualistic school*" of the seventeenth century.* Chalybäus speaks of Descartes,— "the originator of a Platonizing view of the doctrine of innate ideas,"—as having adopted "the *Spiritualistic tendency* in philosophy."† Cudworth styles those "*Spiritualists*" who "allegorize away the facts of Christianity." Brande limits the term *Spiritualism* to the idealistic refinements of Berkeley and Fichte.

Thus restricted, and indeed hardly legitimated by usage, "*Spiritualism*" was, till recently, a technical term of mental science. Now, however, the new edition of Dr. Worcester's Dictionary authorizes the use of this word for "the doctrine that departed spirits hold communication with men." And the appendix to the new edition of Webster's Dictionary states

* Cousin, *History of Modern Philosophy*, Sec. 11th, 12th, and 25th.

† Chalybäus, *History of Speculative Philosophy*. Introd.

that "this term is now often applied to the doctrine that a direct intercourse can be maintained with departed spirits through the agency of persons called *mediums*, who are supposed to have a peculiar susceptibility for such communications." A doctrine which has thus early won for itself a place in the vocabulary of psychological science, and which has given a new and almost exclusive meaning to a dormant term of philosophy, can hardly be treated as ephemeral or insignificant. Whatever pretensions and impostures may have been put forth in connection with modern Spiritualism, the system presents phenomena that demand thorough scientific investigation, and it has also theological and practical bearings that cannot be disregarded. The Mythical theory—which would resolve the miracles of the New Testament into popular legends, or into "unconscious fictions" of the Evangelists, whose imaginations were kindled by "religious enthusiasm,"*—does not more directly assail the authenticity and authority of the Bible as a revelation from God, than does the tendency of modern Spiritualism to refer non-natural and unexplained phenomena to supernatural interference; or the mechanical theory of Supernaturalism, which regards such ultra-mundane interference as periodical, if not systematic, and in accordance with some *law* of variations, which, though it cannot be defined, is as real as that which appears in Babbage's calculating machine. The last is the theory that Mr. Owen favors in the volume which we propose to review.

Mr. Owen's work is divided into six books, but consists really of four principal parts. Of these the first is devoted to the question of the possibility of "ultra-mundane interference," which the author argues with much apparent candor, but with more of subtle ingenuity, through a hundred pages. The second part consumes the next hundred pages in a discussion of certain phases of sleep, especially somnambulism and remarkable dreams. The third part consists mainly of narratives touching mysterious disturbances, hallucinations, and apparitions of the living and the dead, with their physical and

* Strauss.

mental consequences. These are classified in three books, and cover one hundred and fifty pages. The fourth part, which is the author's sixth book, presents the results of his discussion in his theory of "the change at death," and the nature and occupations of the future state. We shall not attempt to follow him minutely over all the ground thus traversed in five hundred closely printed pages, but shall confine the discussion chiefly to certain fundamental principles of supernatural agency, and the philosophical tests of the facts alleged in his narrative.

In discussing the relations of man to the supernatural world and of supernatural agencies to man, it is of the utmost importance to define terms with accuracy, and to lay down the principles of evidence by which the supernatural must be tested. This Mr. Owen attempts to do in his first book. In the first place he distinguishes between the supernatural and the miraculous, and meets Mr. Hume's objection to miracles by rejecting the common notion of a miracle, that it is "a temporary suspension, by special intervention of the Deity, of one or more of the laws which govern the universe." In other words, Mr. Owen does not believe that a miracle, in the common understanding of the term, has ever occurred; but regards the phenomena called miracles as ultra-mundane events projected into the sphere of our world by some law of the spiritual world, which first manifests itself to our apprehension through these phenomena. And, secondly, he distinguishes between the supernatural and the ultra-mundane; or rather, if we understand him, he rejects entirely the idea of the *supernatural*, in any proper sense of that term, and believes simply in "appearances or agencies of an *ultra-mundane character*." After alleging that "Spiritual agency, if such there be, is not miraculous," he affirms that its phenomena "are as much the result of natural law as is a rainbow or a thunder-clap;" and that "believers in their existence should cease to attach to them *any inkling of the supernatural*."^{*} Again, he says, that "if the Deity is now per-

* p. 88.

mitting communication between mortal creatures in this stage of existence and disembodied spirits in another, He is employing *natural causes* and general laws to effect his object; not resorting for that purpose to the occasional and the miraculous.”* To provide for such phenomena, Mr. Owen argues that “there may be laws not yet in operation,” and, also, “change-bearing laws,” or “laws self-adapted to a changeful state of things.”† His reply to Hume’s sophism with regard to human testimony is in some points admirable; but when he goes to the extent of making almost any alleged marvel credible by the supposition that it is *not* supernatural but only some new phase of universal law, Mr. Owen as really denies the *miracles* of the Bible and their testimony to a Divine Revelation, as does Mr. Hume himself. Mr. Hume rejects the miracle as *un-natural*; Mr. Owen sinks it in the merely natural. Our discussion at the outset, therefore, concerns the fact of the Supernatural, and the nature and characteristics of a miracle.

We hold that nothing is more natural to man than a belief in the Supernatural. Hardly does the soul awake to consciousness, when it begins to question itself as to its possible relations to a spiritual world. And deep and earnest are those questionings, even in the rudest minds. The thinking essence within us, the conscious *ego*, early learns to distinguish itself from the body through which, and the material objects upon which, it acts. Finding in its own properties the proof of a substance distinct from matter, it argues the existence of a spiritual Power superior to matter, the Author of the material universe and its laws. Knowing that its own existence is not self-derived, but is proof of a superior Power, it knows also that that Power must be Spiritual. Paul reasoned thus with the Athenians, from their own philosophy. “Certain of your own poets have said, We are also his offspring. Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like to gold or silver, or stone, graven by art and man’s device.” In an important sense it is true

* p. 89.

† p. 80.

that "we can know God only as we know ourselves;"* that is, "it is only through some general analogy of the human with the Divine nature" that we come to even an approximate conception of the Deity. "It is the knowledge which we have of ourselves, as spiritual beings, which suggests the idea of God, who is a Spirit."† But this conception the soul gives as one of the first results of the analysis of its own existence, properties, and powers. Hence the idea of a supernatural being or power is developed in all minds; and theology—the doctrine of God—is almost the first form of all literature.

Beyond this partly intuitive and partly inferential conviction by which the soul is inspired with a belief in the existence of something above the sphere of itself and of the world of matter, Imagination is at play in the sphere of the invisible, peopling that with spiritual existences and powers, and clothing with a supernatural character those natural phenomena which reason cannot explain. Thus in the ruder ages of the world, and in the primitive stage of any people, the wind, the forest, the stream, the thunder, the stars, and all unusual phenomena become voices of invisible spirits to the soul of man. As the child loves to personify inanimate objects—as a doll or a toy—so the mind of the race, in its infancy, affected by external appearances; conversing mainly with the outward world, many of whose phenomena are mysteries; "mistaking physical effects for independent or voluntary powers;" supposing that everything in nature must possess some principle of life like that in man; "ascribes every unusual appearance or agency to a distinct being or power operating directly or immediately in that event."‡ Hence the general belief of the ancients in *demons*, in good and evil spirits encompassing the earth, producing events beyond the power of man, influencing the minds of men, and guiding their destinies for good or evil, holding direct intercourse with men, and officiating as

* Hamilton.

† McCosh, *Intuitions*, p. 435.

‡ See this illustrated in Eschenburg's *Manual of Classical Literature*, (Fiske,) p. 84, seq.

messengers between men and the gods—in a word, directing and controlling all the unexplainable events and forces in nature.

But this belief, though more prominent in the infancy of a people than in an advanced stage of intellectual culture, is by no means confined to ignorant minds. Socrates believed that his genius, or demon—a supernatural being having him in special charge—prescribed for him his lot, whether pleasant or adverse, and told him what to do and what not to do.

Germanicus, as Tacitus narrates, was bewitched by means of images and billets on the wall, into the idea that he was doomed to die, and under that fatal impression expired in agony. Even the exhumed remains of human bodies seemed to haunt his chamber with presages of a doomed soul.* Thus a general, distinguished alike for his valor on the field and his calm and equable temper in private affairs, was vanquished by the images of his own fancy. Lord Baeon shared in superstitious fantasies which his philosophy could not explain.

This power of the Imagination to vivify the belief in supernatural agency, is seen also in the phenomena of *dreams*. Mr. Owen regards these as of so much importance to his argument for ultra-mundane interference, that he occupies nearly a hundred pages of his book with the mere narration of remarkable dreams, from which he does not even attempt to draw a philosophical conclusion. He implies, however, that the Biblical doctrine that "in the visions of the night men occasionally receive more than is taught them throughout all the waking vigilance of the day," is verified by the experience of modern dreams. Nothing is more common in that experience than incongruous combinations of material forms and substances; and also the sensation of being uplifted, as it were, from the body, and of performing acts such as flying, which are impossible in the flesh. Indeed, in sleep the mind seems often to come into direct contact with the spirits of the absent or the departed. Virgil's "two gates of sleep" still open in our dreams—"true visions" flying heav-

* Tac. *Annals*, ii, 69, 70.

enward, while the "infernal gods" send false dreams into the soul, through "a shining portal of ivory."* The Egyptians regarded dreams with a religious reverence, as communications from the gods. Even Bishop Taylor refers some dreams to demons, good or bad. And every one has felt at times a strange power over his nervous system, proceeding from his last night's dream, or has marked some coincidence as its fulfillment.

"This trow I, and say for me,
That dremes significance be
Of good and harm to many wights
That dreme in their sleep o' nights
Full many things covertly,
That fall after all openly."—CHAUCER.

Of the same class are mysterious mental suggestions or forebodings, and sudden coincidences of events with our thoughts, our wishes or our fears; as when while thinking of an absent friend one suddenly meets him; or while unaccountably troubled on his behalf receives news of some catastrophe to him. These occurrences, so frequent in our experience, give to the imagination a wide sphere of activity in the spirit world, and foster in many a belief in a supernatural agency concerning the minutest affairs of life.

The death of a friend sometimes clothes these impressions of the supernatural with a living presence and power. When a loved one has passed into the invisible, the heart's affections torn out by the roots, like the tendrils of plants that live on air, shoot forth eagerly upon every side, that they may imbibe some exhalation from that spirit world, and fasten themselves again upon the now impalpable object of earthly love. In such a frame the mind becomes in a measure lost to the material world around it, and absorbed in that spiritual world to which its dearest hopes and affections have been transferred. Tennyson, in his matchless lament for his lost friend, gives utterance to the cherished thought of grief, that the lost one is still nigh.

* Eneid, vi, 895.

No visual shade of some one lost,
But he, the Spirit himself may come,
When all the nerve of sense is numb,
Spirit to Spirit, Ghost to Ghost.

Thus that belief in the supernatural which is common to mankind, becomes intensified through the influence of imagination, of visions, and of grief, until in certain phases of experience or emotion the mind is prepared to look upon everything outside the pale of present knowledge as a manifestation from the spirit world. Priestcraft and jugglery, taking advantage of this tendency, have in all ages found credulous adherents and unconscious victims. In particular, this tendency to a belief in the supernatural has been turned to account by the priests of idolatry, in impressing the vulgar with their own sanctity as the confidants of the gods. The Egyptians were accustomed when any part of the body was afflicted with disease, "to invoke the demon to whom it was supposed to belong, in order to obtain a cure. In cases of greater moment oracles were consulted." An old papyrus found in Egypt mentions divination through a boy who acted *as a medium*, and who practised his art by means of "a bowl, a lamp and a pit," as do the modern magicians of the country. It also contains recipes for obtaining good fortune, for discovering theft, and for causing misfortunes to an enemy. It is supposed also by some that the ancient Egyptians had a knowledge of animal magnetism, and used this in their magic.*

With the ancient Orientals, the magician and the soothsayer were regular attendants at court. The Israelites were forbidden to tolerate "one that used divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer." To pervert the belief of mankind in the supernatural into an agency of superstition, falsehood, and idolatry, was an "abomination to the Lord." Yet this offense has been repeated in almost every age of the Christian era.

Christ himself predicted that pretenders to his name and power would "show great signs and wonders, and, if

* Wilkinson and Lane.

possible, deceive the very elect." Paul describes the apostate Anti-Christ as coming with "signs and lying wonders." Passing over the legendary miracles of the early Christian centuries, we trace the rise and growth of the Papal delusions and the Mohammedan imposture; we find the most civilized nations of antiquity conducting wars and other enterprises according to omens in the heavens or voices from the gods through the augurs; we find in the Middle Ages astrology deciding the fortunes of individuals and of empires; we find our Saxon ancestors in England holding communication with the invisible world through witches and mysterious symbols; we find the clergy using supposed supernatural agents as a means of intimidating and governing the laity; and in Puritan New England we find, according to Cotton Mather, examples of "witch" agency that surpass even the marvels of modern Spiritualism. It is evident, therefore, that a belief in the Supernatural is one of the strongest influences affecting human thought and action. Perverted as this has been to subserve the vagaries of Fanaticism and the terrors of Superstition, it becomes of the highest importance to the philosopher and the divine to restore this faith to its normal action:—to mark the boundary between a rational belief in the Supernatural and that fanciful or superstitious interpretation of mere natural causes and effects which has made religion itself the minister of fear or of lust.

We cannot set aside the phenomena of modern Spiritualism by ignoring its alleged facts, or by denying the possibility of a supernatural event. The absolute disbelief of the Supernatural is contrary to man's nature. Goethe describes himself as "destitute of faith, yet terrified at skepticism." "Skepticism," says Mazzini, "is the suicide of the soul." Man must believe or his soul dies. The invisible world surrounds us as an atmosphere, and the soul can no more exist in perpetual unbelief than the body can exist in a perpetual vacuum. To shut up the soul within its material confines, giving no vent to imagination and faith, compelling its heaven-kindled fires to feed upon grosser objects of sense, is like shutting up the body in a cabin without a flue, to warm it with the

fumes of charcoal. A delicious calm steals over the senses ; care and trouble are forgotten ; the subtle vapors close the ear against the noise of the tempest without ; and all that could stir the activities of nature is hushed in the stupor of approaching death. Activity is the law of life to the soul. The stupor of skepticism is not the antidote it needs for wayward fancies and superstitious fears. That which is alleged to be Supernatural must be tested by laws of evidence which reason can apply. It is the aim of this Article to lay down such laws or principles as shall fairly test the phenomena of Spiritualism in comparison with the miracles recorded in the Bible.

I. We must agree with Hume, that the uniformity of the course of nature creates a strong presumption against the occurrence of a miracle, and therefore any testimony to a supposed supernatural event should be subjected to the most careful scrutiny. But when Mr. Hume goes beyond this, and affirms as a maxim of philosophy, that "no human testimony can have such force as to prove a miracle," he begs the whole question by assuming the *impossibility* of a miracle, which is the very point in dispute. To prove that there never has been a miracle, he stoutly *asserts that there never has been a miracle!*

True, he limits the remark by adding that "a miracle can never be proved so as to be the foundation of a system of religion." But that does not alter the question of fact; for if the miracle can be proved *at all*, it certainly can be made to serve as the foundation of religion, quite as well as any other fact *not* miraculous. To take his own illustration.

"I own," he says, "that otherwise there may possibly be miracles or violations of the usual course of nature, of such a kind as to admit of proof from human testimony. . . . Thus, suppose all authors, in all languages, agree that from the first of January, 1600, there was a total darkness over the whole earth for eight days : suppose that the tradition of this extraordinary event is still strong and lively among the people : that all travelers who return from foreign countries bring us accounts of the same tradition, without the least variation or contradiction ; it is evident that our present philosophers, instead of doubting the fact, ought to receive it as certain, and ought to search for the causes whence it might be derived.

"But suppose that all the historians who treat of England should agree that on the first of January, 1600, Queen Elizabeth died ; that both before and after her death she was seen by her physicians and the whole court as is

usual with persons of her rank; that her successor was acknowledged and proclaimed by the Parliament; and that, after being interred for a month, she again appeared, resumed the throne, and governed England for three years; I must confess that I should be surprised at the concurrence of so many odd circumstances, but should not have the least inclination to believe so miraculous an event. I should not doubt of her pretended death, and of those other public circumstances that followed it; I should only assert it to have been pretended, and that it neither was, nor possibly could be real. You would in vain object to me the difficulty, and almost impossibility of deceiving the world in an affair of such consequence; the wisdom and solid judgment of that renowned Queen; with the little or no advantage which she could reap from so poor an artifice: all this might astonish me; but I would still reply that the knavery and folly of men are such common phenomena that I should rather believe the most extraordinary events to arise from their concurrence, than admit of so signal a violation of the laws of nature.”*

Now the fallacies of this position are manifold. Foremost of all is the assumption that there can be nothing in the universe that David Hume does not understand; that nothing is possible to Almighty power that does not fall within the range of his philosophy.

Next is the fallacy of making the non-experience of one man a test of the experience of another. “No amount of testimony,” says Mr. Hume, “could make it credible that one rose from the dead, since that would be contrary to the universal experience of mankind.” But the very point in dispute is whether such a fact *has* fallen within the experience of those who testify that they have seen it. The testimony of a thousand men that they did *not* witness a certain phenomenon cannot silence the testimony of ten men that they *did* witness it, unless the thousand were present at the same time and place with the ten, and with the same facilities of observation. No amount of testimony from people who were asleep in their beds, could weigh against the testimony of watchmen and others as to the fact of a great meteoric shower in the year 1833. The question, in such cases, is not one of non-experience against a strange experience, but one of the credibility of the witnesses and their competence to judge of that to which they testify. And here comes in a consideration which Mr. Hume entirely overlooks, but which is vital to the

* Hume's Inquiry on Human Understanding, Sec. x.

whole question, viz., Does the occasion warrant the alleged miracle? The reasons for incredulity, in the supposed case of the resurrection of Elizabeth, are valid, not because human testimony could not prove such a miracle, but because there is no object that should call for such an act of Divine power; and God does not trifle with his creatures, or amuse them with shows. If we believe in *God*, as Mr. Hume professed to do, then He who created man has power to raise a dead man to life; and if God should do this, the fact would be capable of being testified to; the difficulty, therefore, in believing the supposed resurrection of Queen Elizabeth would not lie in the impossibility of such an event—for it is clearly within the power of God—nor in the impossibility of supporting it by *testimony*, if it did occur; but in the absence of any reason comporting with the Divine nature that should seem to warrant the miracle, and therefore the suspicion of some deception, or of a trance or other state simulating death. But the miracles recorded in the Bible were wrought upon occasions and for objects grand enough to warrant such direct interference of Divine power, to challenge attention to the event or the truth, and to certify it as from Him. The *moral* reason for the miracle, which appears in the nature of the circumstances, so far removes the antecedent improbability, that the miracle is as fair a subject of testimony as any other event.

Mr. Owen's reply to Hume, while in some points quite forcible, fails through his attempt to reduce the miraculous within the sphere of general laws. He contends that "no human experience is *unalterable*," and that it is hazardous to say that in any given particular, human experience "has hitherto been *unaltered*." He denounces as "monstrous" Hume's assertion of the infallibility of his own experience. But at the same time he affirms that "accumulating experience discredits the doctrine of occasional causes and the belief in the miraculous." Hume rejects the miracles of the Bible as incredible; Owen accepts as facts the events recorded as miraculous, but refers them to a general law, which he seeks to establish as well for the phenomena of modern Spiritualism. The moral argument just stated, corrects both these extremes;

but while it maintains the Scriptural miracles in their integrity as *miracles*, it precludes the idea of supernatural agency in the phenomena of Spiritualism.

II. Our second canon or criterion is this: When the manner, the substance, or the object of a professed revelation is unworthy of the dignity of the Divine character, or of the proper dignity of man himself, as a religious being, there is good reason to suspect that the communication is not supernatural. In the miracles recorded in the Bible there is nothing that strikes one as beneath the character of the Supreme Being. These miracles are never frivolous in themselves, and are never performed for an insignificant object. But the moment we pass beyond the canon of the Scriptures, we find in the marvels adduced to confirm any so called revelation an air of the puerile and the ridiculous. In the legends of heathen mythology respecting gods and heroes, in the legends of the Jewish rabbins respecting Adam, Abraham, and Moses, in the legends of Mahomet, his birth, his visions, his miracles, and his death, and in the legends of the saints in the Church of Rome, there is a combination of the marvelous with the frivolous which contrasts strongly with the simple yet sublime and awe-inspiring impression of the miracles narrated in the Bible. In the Scriptures, when God communicates with men, it is by visions grand and startling, or beautifully simple; by a bodily appearance of resplendent majesty; by fire from heaven, or light more effulgent than the sun; and the communication is made in an audible voice, and with articulate sounds, or by the inspiration of thought, of which the subject is made conscious by the miraculous power attending it. But in modern instances, where Mr. Owen regards the spirit world as in communication with the physical, this is revealed by "ultra-mundane" knocks, or by "ultra-mundane" antics of the furniture, or by impalpable and unverified apparitions. Indeed, upon first view, the contrast between these classes of phenomena is like that between Moses and the Adrians, the Blitzes, and the Andersons of his time. According to the Scriptures, when God would communicate with men he writes his law upon tables of stone, that all may read it—his glory,

the meanwhile, visible to assembled thousands—or he makes known his will by a vision, or other special revelation to some prophet whom he clothes with miraculous power, in proof of his commission, and that prophet speaks openly and intelligibly, in the name of the Lord. But in other systems where man claims to have received a communication from God, or to have established a connection between himself and the spirit world, he goes to an obscure place, without witnesses, and there digs up plates covered with mysterious characters; or he puts somebody into an artificial sleep, and by a series of well-ordered questions elicits sundry cabalistic and oracular responses.

According to the Scriptures, when God makes a special communication to man it has respect to something of sufficient importance to justify an interposition by miracle; the destruction or salvation of a city or a nation—the success of a conflict in which the honor of Jehovah as the representative Deity of the nation is concerned—the fulfillment of promises or predictions already made, or the utterance of some new promise of yet higher moment to mankind; or chiefly, it relates to the deliverance of man from sin and misery, and to his future and eternal blessedness. For such reasons has God at times interrupted the course of nature, and by miracles arrested the attention of the giddy, pleasure-loving world. But in later “ultra-mundane” manifestations, disembodied spirits are brought into communication with men, that they may answer such inquiries as are within the compass of mountebanks and strolling fortune tellers; such as how old one is, what was the age of one’s grandmother, or his great grand-aunt when she died—whether she died of influenza, or the gout—whether one has been or is to be married—or whether there shall be a storm to-morrow. Communications which so belittle both man and the world of spirits, have been fitly styled, by a great satirist, “a rat-hole revelation.”

III. A third criterion by which to test supernatural communications, is that they should not conflict with antecedent revelations which have been attested by miracle and confirmed by experience. God must always be consistent with himself.

Truth revealed from God must always be consistent with itself. But what is the character of the revelations that are spelt out, syllable by syllable, or, rather, letter by letter, from the alleged rappings of invisible spirits? A mongrel jargon made up by combining the book of Revelation with the fantasies of Swedenborg. Where they accord with the Bible they fall vastly below its sublime conceptions; but they often contradict the Bible, and equally contradict each other. The new revelations do not advance upon the Bible as the New Testament is an advance upon the Old;—they contradict its explicit teachings; they cannot be reconciled with its philosophy of a future state and its principles of morality. Either these are false, or the Bible is false. Either these are false, or God is a deceiver; for he cannot deny himself. What new idea or truth fitted to reform and elevate mankind, what view of God, of moral purity, of the future state, of the world of spirits, *in advance of what the Bible reveals*, has come to light through any “medium” of modern Spiritualism? Much of the reported conversation of spirits would be a bore in any respectable company, and would cause them to be sent to the lowest form in a *Grammar* school. How contrary is all this to the style and subject-matter of the Scriptures!

If we apply these three canons to the alleged supernatural communications of Spiritualism, we find that they cannot bear such a test. There is nothing in the nature or the occasion of these communications to remove the antecedent presumption against supernatural interference in the affairs of this world. There is nothing in the manner or the tenor of these communications which answers to the dignity of a revelation from God to men. And the general purport of these communications is not in harmony with antecedent revelations from God, whose claims are authenticated by miracle and experience.

In criticising more narrowly the phenomena of Spiritualism we notice,

1. Their remarkable *uniformity*. They all lie within a

limited range of physical effects ;—knockings and rappings from unknown causes, the mysterious moving of tables and other articles of furniture, the spelling out of words, sentences, questions and answers by responsive knockings ; an irresistible impulse to write upon some “ultra mundane” theme or in an “ultra-mundane” style ;—these and similar phenomena, varied by an occasional apparition or mesmeric vision, or second-sight, recur in all the records of modern Spiritualism. This uniformity—provided the phenomena are real—points toward some law, to be ascertained by induction—whether, as Owen argues, an “ultra mundane” law, or one developed in due course of nature, remains to be seen. But the Supernatural events recorded in the Bible cover a wide range of effects both in the physical and the Spiritual world. Seldom do these repeat themselves. They do not run in cycles, nor follow any apparent law. Each miracle has its own immediate occasion, as well as a general connection with the whole chain of evidences for a Divine Revelation. Each miracle is complete in itself as a Supernatural event, apart from any series of such events ; and the miracles taken as a whole contravene in almost every particular the course of nature—the laws of fire, air and water, of bodily sustentation and disease, of dew and rain, of day and night and the annual seasons, of planetary motion, of growth and decay, of life and of death. The miracles of Christ prove him to have been Master of the worlds of matter and of mind, of all living organisms, of all physical laws and occult causes, and of a power superior to these, and able to modify, to suspend, or to direct each in its own sphere. These phenomena of Spiritualism are the merest parody upon the Supernatural element in the Bible.

2. There is nothing in these phenomena at all parallel to the effect of a miracle upon the course of nature. Hume defines a miracle to be “a transgression of a law of nature by a particular volition of the Deity, or by the interposition of some invisible agent.” Mr. Owen justly criticises this definition as failing to express the ordinary conception of a miracle, and proposes to amend it in these terms: “A miracle is a suspension, in a speeial emergency and for the time only, of a

law of nature, by the direct intervention of the Deity." At the same time he discards the notion of any such direct and extraordinary supernatural intervention, and refers all "ultra-mundane" manifestations to cyclical or to "change-bearing" laws. He quotes approvingly the saying of Archbishop Tillotson, that "it is not the essence of a miracle (as many have thought) that it be an immediate effect of the Divine Power. It is sufficient that it exceed any natural power that we know of to produce it." This tendency to depreciate the singularity of Biblical miracles by referring them to general laws, has been quite evident in the tone of some modern Christian apologists. A writer in the *Quarterly Review** affirms that "the Christian miracles are not—properly speaking—violations of the Laws of Nature, but departures from the *present* ordinary course of Nature, in conformity with an arrangement originally so made as to let these be *signs* evidencing a Divine mission." Hase in his "Life of Jesus" admits the historical evidence of the miracles of our Lord, and remarks,—

"The means which Jesus used may have stood in some relation to magnetic phenomena. But the miraculous power of Jesus appears far more like intelligent mastery of nature by the soul. The soul of man originally endowed, with dominion over the earth, recovered its old rights by the holy innocence of Jesus, conquering the unnatural power of disease and death. Here, there was no violation of the laws of nature, but, on the contrary, the disturbed order of the world here recovered its original harmony and truth. Even the wonderful power exercised over external nature may be reduced under the same law, and be understood according to the analogy of an accelerated process of nature."†

Such a view of miracles divests them of authority as the distinct seal of God to a Revelation. Unless we maintain that "an extraordinary divine causality belongs to the essence of the miracle,"‡—that a miracle is an effect which arrests, suspends, or contravenes all known laws of nature within the sphere of the miracle, and, therefore, an effect which only the immediate power of God could produce—there is no longer any force in the appeal of Christ to his miracles as a final proof of his Divine mission. If miracles are only an opportune

* Oct, 1859.

† Life of Jesus, Sec. 48.

‡ Trench on Miracles, cap. 2.

conjunction of "ultra-mundane" laws with the course of Nature as known to us, or the manifestation of some higher law in the cycle of events,—as the great clock of Strasburg not only points out the hours, but also at long intervals tells the signs and motions of the heavenly bodies—then the whole idea of the active personality of God in human affairs is lost from our theology. Uniformity of sequence in the natural world argues a *law* of Nature. But God is neither "a part of nature, nor a personification of the powers of nature;" and, therefore, if God should at any time suspend or interrupt the known course of nature, this would not be, as Trench unhappily concedes, merely "a higher and purer *Nature*, coming down out of the world of untroubled harmonies into this world of ours"—"the lower *law* neutralized, and for the time put out of working by a *higher*"*—but the immediate *power* of God—his direct volition as distinguished from the laws which he has ordained—visibly suspending or counteracting all the known *laws* of Nature within the sphere of that interposition. All the miracles of the Bible will stand this test. None of the phenomena of Spiritualism can abide it. Christ three times raised the dead, under most diverse circumstances;—once from the bed of death, once from the bier, once from the grave—in each instance by his own *volition* counteracting all the *laws* of death and decay. Spiritualism can produce nothing parallel to this control over Nature, which argues the direct interposition of the Divine Will. The miracles of Christ "form no coherent cycle of phenomena," but were distinct, immediate, occasional acts of Divine Power.

3. The alleged supernatural phenomena of Spiritualism are often exhibited for mercenary ends or to gratify curiosity; but neither imputation lies against the Supernatural in the New Testament. Who could conceive of Peter and Paul as giving exhibitions of "ultra-mundane" power at two shillings a head; or inviting a select circle to observe the "ultra-mundane" phenomena of which they were the accredited Me-

* *Miracles*, Chap. IV, Olshausen says, "The real miracle is *natural*, but in a higher sense;" yet he finds its cause in "the immediate act of God."

diums? Their treatment of Simon Magus, of Elymas the sorcerer, and of the Pythoness at Philippi, shows what attitude they would assume toward modern miracle-mongers. No air of mystery is thrown over the supernatural events recorded in the New Testament; no declaration makes them conspicuous; the miracle is never an ultimate object, but always has a benevolent or moral end. In the miracles of Christ, "there are no thaumaturgical displays, such as we always find with professed wonder-workers. There are no marks of violent effort. He never, in performing a miracle, seems to go out from his usual and normal condition. So far as his methods of action are concerned, there is nothing to separate these from his other works."* The phenomena of Spiritualism shrink from comparison here.

4. Besides, these phenomena and their results are insignificant and unavailable for good. We have already characterized the narrow and really mundane cycle in which they move. They serve no purpose beyond the wonder of the hour. Mr. Owen admits, touching a large class of these phenomena, that "whether coming to us from another world or from this, not a few of them contain a large mingling of falsehood with truth, and a mass of puerilities alternating with reason."† But who would dare affirm of any miracle of the Bible that it was either trivial or worthless?

5. The "ultra-mundane" developments of Spiritualism produce no permanent, useful impression; but the system itself has led to gross immoralities of life. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is a test of moral systems as well as of personal character. The legitimate tendency of the Bible is always to produce intellectual enfranchisement and moral purity. This is because its system is the truth of God certified as only God could certify it. But Mr. Owen admits concerning the manifestations of Spiritualism, that

"It is one thing to determine the ultra-mundane origin of a communication, and quite another to prove its infallibility, *even its authenticity*. At times communications alleged to be ultra-mundane disclose evil passions; oc-

* Morison, *Notes on Matthew*, p. 127. † p. 38.

casionally they are characterized by profanity ; and some of them, even where no fraud or conscious agency is presumable, exhibit unmistakable evidence of a mundane origin or influence ; as all candid, sensible advocates of the spiritual theory, after sufficient experience, freely admit. Hence, under any hypothesis, great danger to the weak-minded and the over-credulous. This danger is the greater, because men are wont to take it for granted that, when we shall have demonstrated (if we can demonstrate) the spiritual character of a communication, there needs no further demonstration as to the truth of the facts alleged and the opinions expressed therein.”*

The effect of a system which is authenticated from such doubtful sources and by such exceptionable evidences, and yet which claims a supernatural or ultra-mundane origin and sanction, must be demoralizing to the intellect, the conscience, and the life. Upon this point we have the emphatic testimony of a most philosophical and eloquent expounder of Spiritualism, Rev. T. L. Harris of New York. In a sermon preached in London—which was erroneously reported as a recantation of Spiritualism—Mr. Harris thus enumerates “some of the avowed teachings of latter-day spirits, received, avowed, and practiced by some of their associates.”

“First, that nature is God. Second, that God is an undeveloped principle in process of evolution. Third, that the Jehovah of the Bible was an unprogressed, ferocious human Spirit, who deceived ancient media. Fourth, that the Lord Christ was but a natural man, possessed of the ordinary mediumistic faculty of spiritual clairvoyance. Fifth, that our Lord’s theological and physical teachings were but the reproduction of false mythologies. Sixth, that he held His power, great or little, because under the influence of spirits of departed men.

“Shall we go farther in this catalogue? We open, then, another series of spiritual teachings. First, that all things originate in nature. Second, that man is a development of the animal. Third, that the first parents of the human race, born of brutes, were themselves but savages of the most degraded type. Fourth, that all things and beings are governed by natural necessity ; that man possesses no freedom in the moral will. Fifth, that there is no retrogression, through moral disorders, either of the individual or of the species. Sixth, that vice is virtue in its unprogressed or germinal condition ; that sin is an impossible chimera. Seventh, that self-love is the very center and fountain-head of all human affections, the chief inspirer of all human or spiritual actions. Eighth, that the Spiritual World is but a theater for the continued evolution of human spirits, under the perpetual force of nature working through self-love.

* pp. 38, 39.

"Or again, turn to another series: First, that the Scriptures are not the Word of God, and that the Divine Spirit never vouchsafed utterance to man. Second, that the Messiah, our Redeemer, is not in any sense a Saviour of the soul from sin, death and hell. Third, that He never met in combat our spiritual foe; that He never overcame or cast out destroying spirits from their human slaves; that He never made an atonement or expiation for sin; that He never rose in His re-assumed humanity from the grave; that He never ascended, glorified, to Heaven; that He never communicated the Holy Ghost.

"Or again, to another: that there is no judgment to come beyond the grave, wherein the Lord shall adjudge the departed according to their deeds, the good to eternal life, the evil to everlasting punishment and the second death. That all men, irrespective of formed character for evil here, become the delighted and immortal inhabitants of a perpetual elysium. That broad is the way and wide is the gate that leadeth unto life eternal, and that none can help to find it.

"Or again: and now as touching a moral point, of social interest. Spirits declare that there is no marriage, as a natural law, but that polygamy, or bigamy, are as orderly as the monogamic tie. But, if this be not frequently inculcated, what shall we say to the broadly put forth declaration of spirits, that the marital tie is the result of natural affinity, and that where two are legally conjoined, and the wandering inclinations of either rove to another object, the new attraction becomes the lawful husband or the lawful wife.

"Now, as a man of honor, I pledge myself, and stand committed to the assertion, that, through mediumistic channels, all these things are taught as emanating from the spirits; and worse is taught, if possible, to those who penetrate the inner circles of the gloomy mysteries, where the old magic is born again.

"If I strip the veil from this horrer, I have a right, as a Christian teacher, so to do. I but reiterate matters which the best informed of Spiritualists are as fully acquainted with, as that media speak, or that tables move. I do it, not for the purpose of exciting prejudice against the spiritual movement of the age, but rather because I view these things as the confused shapes and images of darkness, rolled up from Infernus, to delude as many as possible into a corrupt and ruinous belief in spiritual sorceries and delusions; and so to disgust all, whom they cannot thus infatuate, as to induce them to remain *neutral* in the great coming fight between the Spiritualites of Heaven and the Spiritualites of Hell. Murder, adultery, suicide, and the most revolting blasphemies, may be traced directly to the communications and puttings forth of impure spirits, both in ancient and in modern times. But those which the meet external observer can thus trace, serve merely as the visible bubbles that show the current of the dark, deep stream."

This is no caricature of modern Spiritualism, no slander upon it from an enemy. Mr. Harris has not renounced his belief in "physico-spiritual manifestations from the spirit world." On the contrary, he goes to the extent of asserting, from his personal knowledge, that through angel-messengers

the seemingly dead are kept from being buried alive, and mariners saved from shipwreck on the wide ocean, and travelers preserved from equal perils—from fire, or from explosions, or from the fall of buildings, or the infection of pestilences, on land ; that *invisible hands strike from the grasp of the physician unsuitable medicines that might affect the life* ; and the sick are healed through the presence and influence of angels. He believes that “there is a Divine element in the spiritual manifestations of our day,” and that God is restoring to believers the apostolic gifts of miracles and of disarming spirits. And yet, with this firm faith in the system as a whole, Mr. Harris says, expressly, “Within my own observation, *by far the greater portion of physico-spiritual manifestations have been connected with a very palpable dishonesty on the part of the spirits.*” He fully believes in demoniacal influence, and that this is chiefly exercised through the medium of the Spiritual “circle.”

“And, so far as I am able to judge, the majority of such instances are traceable to the habit of attending séances. I earnestly call attention to this point. The man of iron nerves may say that he feels no change of state. He may laugh down the idea of peril. With him it is but a question of time. The vitriol that eats in a day through iron wire, has but to continue the process to eat through the iron bar. It is slow, this poison, but it is sure. I lift the alarm ery of danger. It is not safe, unless there is a Divine use and value in the act, and so unless it is in the order of Providence, either to submit to a spirit’s influence, or to participate in circles for spirit-manifestations.

“As with a voice from the secret chambers, where the fair, the young, the virtuous, the unsuspecting, from the mere habit of attending the séance, have felt the foul contact of the larva from perdition, I cry to all, ‘Shun the séance, where the unregenerate, or giddy, or worldly, or volatile and careless medium, officiates as the middle stander and opener of the door between the natural and unseen worlds. If you do not wish to become yourselves demoniacs, shun the place and shun the occasion.’ To the pure, to those who would remain pure, I can hint such reasons as, if uttered, would make every ear tingle. From what Heathen Spiritualism, before Christ, was, we may infer what modern spiritual intercourse, pursued in an irreverent, or curious, or worldly spirit, is liable to become.”

Of the class of Spiritualists who frequent the séance, Mr. Harris declares that “the vast majority of them have been morally injured and degraded by the practices of their faith.” This

testimony is unprejudiced and unimpeachable. Mr. Harris insists that all spiritual manifestations must be tested by the "Biblical doctrines of the fall, and of the redemption through the incarnation of a Redeemer." He maintains "the absolute Divinity of the Christian religion." And yet he adduces these doubtful and pernicious manifestations to illustrate and confirm the Divine Word. This eloquent Irvingite—for such he seems to be—appears to lose himself in the "fire-rainbows and opalescent gleams of his own inner nature." He tells us that while he would not deny "the possibility of communications through media, beings of a high, pure, and truthful character," yet, that wit, humor, the love to mystify and torture, fondness for dramatic display, huge self-esteem, and ever-changing states of chimerical speculation, often distinguish them ; that gossip and small talk, with the perpetual desire to intermeddle in human relations, are also characteristics ; that those spirits whom results prove deceptive, are able to simulate virtue and give advice to a good life—which is often the case on earth ; and that spirits profess every shade of religious doctrine, whether Pagan or of the various denominations in Christendom ; while *no profession is a guarantee for the purity of their aims or the sincerity of their declarations.* This testimony relieves us from the responsibility of pronouncing upon the moral character of the system.

IV. It only remains that we should suggest some possible modes of accounting for the phenomena of Spiritualism without resorting to the theory that they are supernatural. First of all, it should be noted that the alternative does not lie between explaining how these phenomena are produced and recognizing them as products of a supernatural agency. The unexplainable is not necessarily supernatural. Mystery and miracle are not synonyms. Mr. Owen himself condemns the unphilosophical habit of "talking of wonders and miracles, when there is a question only of natural, even if ultra-mundane phenomena ; and the indiscriminate mixing up of the reliable with the apocryphal."* Many of the feats of Hou-

* p. 22.

din, the French magician, were mysterious and marvelous, even to the most acute and vigilant spectators. But he has now revealed, in his autobiography, not only that these were mere tricks—which every intelligent person knew before—but also how, in many instances, the trick was performed. Some of his feats were the result, mainly, of astonishing power of memory, and calculations in which Houdin and his son had exercised themselves most studiously. They had studied all manner of coins, the alphabets of all languages, the names of all principal characters, the dates of all important events, and had acquired the power of taking in at a glance all the objects in a room in their relative positions; then by some secret communication between themselves, which Houdin admits but does not explain, he and his son were enabled to perform feats of "second sight" which rival all the marvels of clairvoyants and mediums. The unexplainable is not of necessity supernatural. We would not class the alleged phenomena of Spiritualism indiscriminately with Houdin's performances; but we know of nothing among these phenomena which cannot be referred either to *Imagination*, to *Trickery*, or to *Occult Causes in Nature*.

The power of imagination to invest the Supernatural with a seeming presence, and to associate the Supernatural with unexplained phenomena, has been sufficiently adverted to. One notable illustration will suffice. Hardly any body in this age doubts that the Salem witchcraft was a sheer delusion, fostered by imposition; or that the judges and divines who dealt with it as a supernatural phenomenon took leave of common sense under an excited imagination. One who should now declare his belief that the madcap doings of the Salem witches were the result of supernatural agency, would himself deserve to be condemned as a witch and consigned to Bedlam. But what were the phenomena which were then ascribed to supernatural agents? Cotton Mather gravely narrates such as the following:

"Bricks, sticks and stones were often thrown at the infested house by some invisible hand; a long staff danced up and down in the chimney; and when two persons laid it on the fire to burn it, it was as much as they were able to do, with their joint strength, to hold it there. An iron crook was violently, by an

invisible hand, hurled about ; and a chair flew about the room until at last it lit upon the table, where the meat stood ready to be eaten. A chest was by an invisible hand carried from one place to another, and the door barricaded, and the keys of the family taken, some of them from the bunch where they were tied, and the rest flying about with a loud noise of their knocking against one another. While a man was writing, his ink horn was by the invisible hand snatched from him ; and being nowhere able to find it, he saw it at length drop out of the air down by the fire. A woman went down into a cellar, when the trap-door was immediately, by an invisible hand, shut upon her, and a table brought and laid upon the door, which kept her there until the man removed it."

Thus the very performances which are now adduced to prove the agency of spirits, were in vogue among the witches of Salem two hundred years ago. Indeed, the craft do not seem to have made any progress in two centuries. We would not affirm that all these alleged occurrences were figments of the imagination ; some of them probably took place by the skill of impostors ; but the terrific power of imagination and of nervous excitability showed itself in persons who fancied themselves possessed of a devil, and who reported as actual occurrences what were shown to be only the excited fancies of their own brains. And the credulity of the age is seen in the testimony of judges and divines to such facts as proof of the devil's agency. The present generation look upon the Salem witchcraft as a miserable imposture and delusion. Yet "the thing that hath been, it shall be." Mr. Owen forbears to cite the Salein witchcraft in evidence of his theory of " ultra-mundane interference;" yet there is nothing so complete and pertinent as a parallel to Spiritualism, and nothing that is better accredited by the number and character of the witnesses.

The power of imagination and of nervous sympathy to engender or simulate extraordinary appearances, is strikingly displayed in the physical phenomena of the Irish revival. Ignorant and excitable persons wrought up to an intense pitch of emotion by powerful exhibitions of truth or by a pungent sense of guilt, show symptoms of hysteria, or, in the vividness of their conceptions, behold Christ and Satan as engaged in a personal struggle for the soul. Bystanders find themselves strangely affected by these phenomena, and sometimes become subjects of a nervous influence which they were

regarding merely as spectators. The contagiousness of belief so frequent in spiritual "circles," *en rapport* with a well-trained medium, may often be explained upon the same principle of nervous sympathy. Some bodies seem to be strung with "ultra-mundane" nerves.

The power of imagination to enact its own conceptions is shown in some of the dreams recorded by Mr. Owen—especially in Smellie's vision of his friend Greenlaw upon the anniversary of his death ;—"the longing of the day having engendered the vision of the night." Many of the cases of "apparitions," "hauntings," "reappearances after death," &c., cited by Mr. Owen, rest upon the authority of a single witness, and are certified only by the pertinacity of his belief. Few of them are better attested than that recent phenomenon familiarly known as "The Ghost of the Astor Library." That the staid and unimaginative Bibliopole who has charge of that institution should have encountered at midnight, in an unfrequented alcove, the shade of a deceased physician, almost a stranger to the library and the librarian, and that the apparition should have been thrice repeated, on successive nights, may be a question either of optics, of psychology, of pneumatology, or of mere indigestion. No one but an avowed Spiritualist would think of treating this optical personification of the deceased Doctor as a genuine apparition from the spirit world. Yet not one-half of the facts adduced by Mr. Owen in proof of "ultra-mundane interference," have so respectable a sponsor as the custodian of the Astor Library, or so much claim upon our faith as has the specter of its alcoves. We do not doubt that there are scores of persons of a certain temperament, who, if led silently and timidly through those gloomy corridors, could now be made to see the very apparition which thrice confronted the undaunted librarian.

Coincidence is a feature upon which the imagination seizes with avidity. The occasional correspondence of an event with a dream, a mental suggestion, or the revelation of a Medium, is remarked as a proof of some mysterious if not supernatural connection between the two ; while the lack of correspondence or even the positive contradiction in the

majority of cases is quite overlooked. This is a consideration of much importance in comparing the phenomena of Spiritualism with the supernatural events recorded in the Bible. Paley calls attention to the fact that the alleged miracles of Paganism and of Romanism are *tentative*; "that is, where, out of a great number of trials, some succeed; and in the accounts of which, although the narratives of the successful cases be alone preserved, and that of the unsuccessful cases sunk, yet enough is stated to show that the cases produced are only a few out of many in which the same means have been employed; as in ancient oracles and anguries, in which a single coincidence of the event with the prediction, is talked of and magnified, while failures are forgotten, or suppressed, or accounted for."* Many of the phenomena of Spiritualism belong to this class.

That there is *trickery* connected with some of the alleged manifestations from the spirit world, will not be denied. Messrs. Harris and Owen both admit this; and the impostures of professed Mediums have often been detected and exposed. We are far from affirming that *all* the alleged phenomena of Spiritualism are deceptions, or that all who are concerned in the exhibition of these phenomena are in collusion with the Medium. On the contrary, we concede that even the professors and actors in spiritual *séances* may be as honest and sincere in their faith as we claim to be in ours. Nor can we doubt that if Judge Edmonds, for example, should become satisfied that Spiritualism is but a systematic imposture, he would be as forward to renounce the system and expose it to the world, as was Cicero to abjure the college of Angurs, when he found there tricks and deceits that his noble nature spurned. We cannot impeach the veracity of so many independent witnesses to the same class of facts. *Some* of these effects, doubtless, are produced by causes other than the collusion of interested parties to impose upon the spectator. But a large proportion of the alleged phenomena of Spiritualism shrink and disappear before a truly scientific investigation.

* Evidences, Part I, Prop. 2, Chap. 1.

When a Committee of the French Academy investigated the claims of the wonderful Medium, Angeline Cottin, she utterly failed to meet the tests of science. Chairs and tables which had frisked about the room in the presence of a common class of spectators, became suddenly decorous when the Committee proposed to scrutinize their movements. The needle that had vibrated to her invisible magnetism, refused to stir. A like result appeared upon the scientific investigation of Spiritualism in Cambridge. In well-attested instances persons have feigned a leaden sleep, and by sheer force of will have endured without a sign of sensation the test of ammonia applied to the nostrils, and the surgeon's probe puncturing the hand. Such well-sustained impostures warrant us in moderating our faith in a class of phenomena produced only in certain circles, and commonly in the dark. With respect to very many of the spirit communications of these times, the simple tests proposed by the poet Saxe, are all sufficient:

"If in your new estate you cannot rest,
But must return, Oh, grant us this request ;
Come with a noble and celestial air,
And prove your titles to the names you bear.
Give some clear token of your heavenly birth ;
Write as good English as you wrote on earth ;
And, what were once superfluous to advise,
Don't tell, I beg you, such egregious lies."

Occult natural causes offer still another explanation for the phenomena of Spiritualism. This theory admits the reality of certain phenomena, but refers them to unknown laws of nature. That certain physical effects are produced without any assignable cause must be admitted. And to admit such facts and to confess our ignorance of their solution, is the part of true philosophy. In the world of matter and in the world of mind "there are phenomena which, though unable to refer to any known cause or class, it would imply an irrational ignorance to deny. Yet some have obstinately disbelieved phenomena in themselves certain and even manifest, if these could not at once be referred to already recognized causes, and did not easily fall in with the systems prevalent at the time.

. . . . There are two sorts of ignorance; we philosophize to escape ignorance, and the consummation of our philosophy is ignorance; and the pursuit of knowledge is but a course between two ignorances, as human life is itself only a traveling from grave to grave. The highest reach of human science is the scientific recognition of human ignorance. The grand result of human wisdom is only a consciousness that what we know is as nothing to what we know not, an articulate confession, in fact, by our natural reason, of the truth declared in revelation, that *now* we see through a glass darkly.”*

Had Prof. Morse or Prof. Henry, with his knowledge of magnetism and its powers, lived in the Middle Ages, when a belief in supernatural appearances was well-nigh universal, how easy would it have been for him to have worked upon the superstitious fancies of the ignorant; to have run a telegraphic-wire around a cathedral and have made this indite messages from the spirit world; and thus to have kept up a correspondence between the faithful on earth and their friends in purgatory! How such a contrivance would have replenished the coffers of Leo X! Any natural philosopher who had discovered a law of nature unknown to the multitude, might impose *ad libitum* upon their fancies and their fears. And so there may be *occult* causes, causes which no philosophy has yet discovered, but which some future Franklin or Morse may detect, which will explain phenomena that now perplex men of science, and that some call supernatural. We should not be in haste to bring in elements from the invisible world to solve the passing events of this. It is more philosophical to suspect a natural law than a supernatural interpolation. Only when the moral reason is great enough to demand such intervention, may we trouble ourselves to sift the testimony as to an alleged miracle. Mr. Owen himself has well discriminated between the belief of facts and the acceptance of theories. “It is one thing to refuse credit to the reality of the phenomena, and quite another to demur to the interpreta-

* Sir W. Hamilton.

tion put upon them. We may admit the existence of comets, yet deny that they portend the birth or death of heroes." We may admit the phenomena of Spiritualism without thereby admitting that they are the result of a spiritual agency exterior to our world. Mr. Owen does not pretend to have established his theory of "ultra-mundane interference" by the philosophical method of induction. After wandering through so many pages we are led to this impotent conclusion—"As to the proofs of the agency upon earth of these Invisibles, I rest them not on any one class of observations set forth in this volume, not specially on the phenomena of dreaming, or of unexplained disturbances, or of apparitions whether of the living or the dead, or of what seem examples of ultra-mundane retribution or indications of spiritual guardianship, but upon the aggregate and concurrent evidence of all these. It is strong confirmation of any theory that proofs converging from many and varying classes of phenomena unite in establishing it."* But Mr. Owen's facts, many of which are most feebly attested, fall far short of his theory. Others may already be classed under known physical or psychological laws. How much of the mystery of animal magnetism is dispelled by recent experiments in hypnotism by means of a shining substance, holding the eyes steadily aquint toward the ridge of the nose? Some equally simple experiment may solve much that appears mysterious in Spiritualism. For the rest, we shall not invoke the Supernatural, even under this lucid exposition from Mr. Harris.

"Divinely given vision is not to be confounded with the faculty of perceiving odyllic emanations of the magnet or of the human body. The latter is merely natural sight, carried to a finer degree. The magnetic and electric emanations, which play, with coruscating flash and sparkle, around all natural objects, are themselves a finer quality of diffused matter. But this refined and diffused matter, however brilliant, is not of the quality of spiritual substance; therefore, when the Holy Spirit opens the eyes of the spirit-man, these fire-rainbows and opalescent gleams of inner nature, are still below the visual plane; he sees over them, past them, and through them—nor is he bewildered by the intervening substances."

* pp. 508, 509.

We fear that we are doomed to abide in "the visual plane" of mundane realities. The reticence of the Bible upon all details of the future state and the spirit world is worthy both of our respect and of our imitation. The Scriptures never address themselves to mere curiosity, nor attempt to interpret the "unutterable things."

When Lazarus left his charnel-cave,
And home to Mary's house returned,
Was this demanded—if he yearned
To hear her weeping by his grave ?

Where wert thou, brother, those four days ?
There lives no record of reply,
Which telling what it is to die
Had surely added praise to praise.

From every house the neighbors met,
The streets were filled with joyful sound ;
A solemn gladness even crowned
The purple brows of Olivet.

Behold a man raised up by Christ !
The rest remaineth unrevealed ;
He told it not ; or something sealed
The lips of that Evangelist.—TENNYSON.

We cannot break that seal of silence by knocking at the door of death, nor can we believe that it is given to spirits to break it by knocking on the other side. God has spoken, and if we hear not Moses and the prophets, neither would we be persuaded though one rose from the dead. The belief that Mr. Owen derives from the spirit world would obliterate those sharp distinctions of moral character upon which the Bible so much insists; would efface from the calendar of the Future the Day of Judgment and retribution; and would leave all men to a progressive law of development through Hades into Heaven. The moral lessons of his theory would alone condemn it as not of God.

ARTICLE VI.—WORCESTER'S DICTIONARY.

A Dictionary of the English Language. By JOSEPH E. WORCESTER, LL. D. Boston: Hickling, Swan & Brewer. 1860. 4to. pp. 1786.

The publication of an original, comprehensive Dictionary of the English language, is no ordinary event. No lexicographer can throw off such a work, *sans pede in uno*. The enormous labor of adjusting the almost endless details of orthography, etymology, orthoepy, definition, illustration, etc., demands a lifetime, or at least no small portion of a lifetime, for even a tolerable performance of the task. Johnson's memorable "seven years" of toil must be regarded as a marvel of expedition, considering the amount of work he accomplished. Abundantly indebted to Bailey as he was, his own Dictionary, nevertheless, was essentially an original production, and certainly, for the time devoted to it, a most creditable one. His task, all things considered, was, for that day, well done; so well, that his Dictionary became at once the acknowledged standard, and as edited and enlarged by others, held its rank in public estimation for nearly a century, or until supplanted in this country, if not in England, by Webster's.

The great "American Dictionary," like Johnson's, was in many important respects an original work, and it involved the labor, not of seven years only, but of a lifetime, or, considering the aggregate of associated effort expended upon it, of much more than a lifetime. Notwithstanding its American origin, however, its great and obvious merits, particularly as a defining Dictionary, were long since most fully recognized on both sides of the Atlantic. In this country, especially, it has attained extraordinary circulation and influence.

We have now before us a new competitor for public favor, in the attractive quarto of Dr. Worcester. We say new, for although its author has previously prepared dictionaries of

smaller size, which his publishers have sought to put in competition with Webster's, this, nevertheless, as the grand resultant of its author's lexicographic life-work, must be regarded as the only one that can reasonably claim to take rank with the well known "Webster's Unabridged."

That this beautiful volume is a monument of industry and enterprise, on the part of both author and publishers, is obvious at a glance. And that it is, on the whole, an elaborate, comprehensive, and valuable Dictionary of the language—such an one as will meet all the ordinary wants of those who are in the habit of consulting such a work—even a cursory examination is sufficient to show. In respect to external form, type, paper, page, and general arrangement, it leaves little to be desired. As to literary execution and subject matter, it is, in the main, a well digested presentation of existing lexicographic materials, with the addition of many new words and significations, especially of archaic and scientific words, with a more discriminating orthoepic notation than that generally employed, and sundry improvements in miscellaneous details, which add to the convenience and attractiveness of the work. On the whole, it is a Dictionary that will meet with favor, and doubtless some, for one reason or another, will prefer it to Webster's. But it is by no means an original work, in the sense in which Bailey's, Johnson's, and Webster's were original. It makes no great onward stride in lexicography, such as they made, or such as the public were encouraged to expect. The best dictionaries, it is true, confessedly and in the nature of things, are, and can be, only an approximation to what is desirable. Webster is no exception to the remark. Yet granting this, with the foundations of so many other men to build upon, and with their errors as a warning, Worcester, we think, has scarcely succeeded in producing a work as free from faults as was reasonably to be expected.

In saying thus much we have expressed in general terms our estimate of the merits of the new Dictionary, both relative and intrinsic. But as claims have been set up in its behalf, which we cannot concede, and it has been brought forward as rightfully taking precedence of all others, if not, in-

deed, as well nigh perfect, we feel constrained to run our notice a little more into particulars.

Of course no work of this nature can wholly escape errors of typography; and defects of this sort, which have attracted our attention, we are disposed to pass without notice. When they alter, or even reverse the sense, however, they become important, and should receive correction. We find *Cavalier* defined in Worcester as signifying both "A partisan of Charles I, of England, as opposed to a Roundhead," and also, in the next clause, as "an adherent of the Parliament." Both definitions cannot, of course, be historically correct. The substitution of a *comma* for the semicolon between the two clauses, would correct the error and make the latter clause simply epexegetical of Roundhead in the former, instead of a new definition of Cavalier, in flat contradiction of historic truth. So the statement under the article *Precession*, that the motion of the equinoxes is at the rate of 50' 10" annually, would sadly mislead the inquirer who should rely upon it for this astronomical datum. The quantity intended was doubtless 50". 10. But enough of this. There are spots even on the sun.

Worcester is commended for the fullness of his vocabulary. Doubtless a full vocabulary of suitable words is a desideratum. But its quantity may be increased at the expense of its quality. Barren acres add little to the value of a man's farm. No small portion, if we mistake not, of the words in Worcester not to be found in Webster, are either words wholly obsolete, such as belong only to the rude and formative era of the language; or imported neologisms which died out with the writers who introduced them; or compound terms, self-explanatory from their very components; or else belong to that swarming class of barbarisms—terms neither English nor classical, but useful and significant enough in their places—which the prolific nomenclatures of modern science have of late years poured in upon the language.

It is often, indeed, a puzzling question for a lexicographer to decide what words he shall admit into his vocabulary. Shall he include *all* the words of the language, written and spoken, and of every age? If so, his work must necessarily expand into

a vast Polyglot, embracing not only English, but all the languages and dialects, dead and living, from which the English has been historically developed or compounded. It must shade back beyond the crabbed vocables of Chaucer and his cotemporaries into the tough roots of the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic, and by other channels into the Norse and Norman, and, in short, through one channel or another, into all the members of the great family of languages to which our own is in any way allied. Such a plan, successfully carried out, would produce a grand, universal Polyglot, terminating historically only at Babel, or at Eden, and including in its circle every human tongue.

The truth is, a dictionary for general use has no such scope as this. It should be devoted primarily to the living language. The words it includes should be those in use by the speakers and authors of the day, and the authors of the past whose works have escaped oblivion and go to make up the great body of our accessible literature. Archaic and wholly obsolete words belong to special glossaries, such as must always be used by students of an extinct dialect. Partially obsolete, or obsolescent terms, should be retained; and so, perhaps, should some that are wholly obsolete, when they furnish the instructive etymons of living words, or otherwise throw special light upon terms in actual use, or when, for their intrinsic value, they seem worthy to be invited back to a new life in our literature. There are multitudes of words in even our best dictionaries, as useless and cumbersome as dead branches on a living tree. The fullness of Worcester's vocabulary is in no small degree owing to words of this class. Is it not time that such defunct terms as *abatude*, *apeire*, *apheta*, *apparaille*, *arace*, *attry*, *atterly*, *avoutrie*, *awreke*, *auntrous*, and many hundreds of the sort, were pruned from a general Dictionary of English?

As to scientific and strictly technical terms, it is more difficult to fix a rule. Many such terms come at once into general use, and are as much to be considered a part of the language, as words that have come down to us from the past. Besides, many of our most familiar words, such as those of the more common industrial arts, are strictly technical, though

not recognized as such, only because familiar. *Buckle, bridle, pan, gridiron, chisel, mallet, soap, bread*, as much belong to this category as do the most unctuous, and to the common reader unintelligible terms of architecture, mining, or navigation. The scientific and technical words of geography, grammar, and arithmetic, are familiar to every one; those of chemistry and the natural sciences are not. If the former go into the dictionary, should not the latter? The present tendency, both in this country and in Great Britain, judging from the later dictionaries, is towards an affirmative answer. There is a manifest disposition to sweep into the vocabulary, as with a drag-net, all scientific and technical terms, of whatever sort or origin, as fast as they can be caught. The old stock of "English undefiled" is thus in danger of being overwhelmed and crushed out by a multitudinous irruption of barbarous and unsightly terms which not a soul can take the least interest in except the student of special science; nor even he, for he will seek them, not in a general dictionary, but only in his scientific manuals and special glossaries. The scientific names of genera and species in botany and other branches of natural history afford abundant material to swell a vocabulary. That many such terms should be admitted, especially those belonging to objects of general interest, and hence likely to be met with in general literature, is sufficiently obvious. But beyond this, we are inclined to think they should, in the main, be excluded. Worcester's vocabulary is plethoric with such terms. *Acanthaceæ, accenorinae, apteriginae, bucerotinae, buteoninae, cacaturinae, campephaginiæ, crotophaginiæ, furnarinae, gallinariæ, indicatorinae*, and hundreds of the sort, which go to swell the work, might well be spared from a general dictionary.

And so might a large class of compound terms admitted by Worcester, the significations of which are too obvious, from their components, to need further elucidation. If *apron-string* is to find place in the vocabulary, and *shoe-string*, why not *cap-string*, *kite-string*, and all other *strings*? If *baked meats* deserve a place, why not *baked beans*, *baked pies*, *baked puddings*, and all other *baked* articles?

The truth is, there are plenty of good words in the language, which have never yet been seen inside of a dictionary, and there is no necessity of resorting, for materials to swell the vocabulary, to these doubtful or objectionable classes. If any one in an hour's reading of any sort, especially if it is scientific, will note all the words that are not "dictionary words," he will be surprised, both at their number and character. The reputable new words in the Pictorial Webster, and in Worcester also, which were never before in a dictionary, sufficiently sustain this remark. There are plenty more of these uncaged vocables yet on the wing, which neither of these eminent word-fanciers has ever yet captured. A few of the many of this kind, which we have ourselves lately caught, almost by accident, or with very little attention, we give in a note, as specimens.* There exist much better ones, doubtless, outside of our casual range.

Worcester has many good words which are not in Webster, and they add materially to the value of the work. But, on the contrary, Webster has probably as many, or more, equally good, which are not in Worcester. Among these are some which have been specified as given only by the latter. For example, a critic represents that Worcester only elucidates for him the oriental terms Dacoit and Dacoity as applied to a system of gang-robbery in India. A reference to the last edition of Webster, however, would have given him not only the terms, but all the light respecting them which Worcester affords. Of the many words in Webster which Worcester fails to give, a few examples are inserted in a note.†

* Actualization, Adiabatic, aerodynamic, appeasal, bummery, braming, burnettizing; bisexuality, bugaboo, charismatically, churchliness, conspecific, disheartenment, disempower, desilverizing, developmental, engraftation, farmstead, foot-pound, filicide, foretime, (n.) hullgull, hybridizable, homographic, holocryptic, irrealient, ingeneration, isodiabatic, kaleidophon, mosaism, metacenter, monetization, negate, neoterically, nomology, normacy, orgiastic, paramagnetism, puppet-valve, phosphrogenic, perpetual, remontoir, spatial, sensile, substanceless, sist, selflessness, slackjaw, shoring, (n.) tautegorical, teleologist, etc.

† Air-engine, assertional, astrolithology, atavism, babbit-metal, bagman, calorimetry, caloriduct, charism, calibrate, calibration, gerrymander, gib, gyroidal, hachure, hair-spring, hunting-watch, hydrometeor, hydrometeorology, hy-

In respect to Worcester's etymologies, we see little, so far as we have examined, to justify any strong claim to originality or special merit. He has gleaned industriously, and in the main judiciously, from preceding writers; but any particular improvements, if such have been made, have escaped our notice. If the derivation given of the word *blunder* is to be taken as a sample, it is hardly calculated to inspire confidence in this department of the work. To derive *blunder* from "Dutch *donder*, to thunder," affords, certainly, a better illustration of the *meaning* than of the *etymology* of that term.

Again, as to definition—the great essential of a dictionary, and Webster's especial forte—has Worcester in this the pre-eminence that has been claimed for him? After a somewhat careful examination, we answer decidedly in the negative. A large part of his definitions, doubtless, will compare favorably with those of other dictionaries. They are, in the main, sufficiently accurate, and, for the most part, well arranged,—not often original, yet, now and then, showing the hand of a master. But, on the other hand, very many of them, as in the author's previous dictionaries, are merely definitions by synonyms; many are defective or inaccurate; many important ones are omitted; many (as in most dictionaries) are superfluous, either as founded merely on a figurative use of a word, or, as defining not the word itself, but a whole sentence, or quotation, in which it happens to occur; and not a few appear to have taken shape under at least a sort of inductive influence from Webster. Not that there has been direct borrowing, perhaps, in such a way as to raise a question of copyright. Such borrowing, the author, in his preface, distinctly disavows. But Webster, not of his own choice indeed, has an *alias*, or more than one. In Great Britain, his work, *verbatim et literatim* nearly, figures, not as the American, but as the "Imperial Dictionary." It would not be strange, then, if the

etal, hyetography, hypozoic, impackment, (*Kane*.) imperilment, imperturbability, impressibleness, impulsiveness, impunctate, philandering, (*Dickens, Kingsley*.) precessional, roll-call, rotoscope, rheostat, scientist, thermodynamic, thermodynamics, thermology, thermotype, thermochrosy, typhonometer, top-hamper, torrential, torsional, etc., etc.

free use of this work, or of some other under which Webster has been masked, should have imparted to Dr. Worcester's dictionary, unintentionally, doubtless, on his part, occasional characteristics, which it would not otherwise have possessed. Now and then, also, if we mistake not, where Webster's definition is obviously just right, Worcester's is, apparently, only Webster's altered for the worse. The identity is gone, though a family resemblance is left.*

To illustrate our remark, that Worcester defines by synonyms, and contrast it with Webster's more discriminating method, we cite the word *Aversity*. Worcester's definition is, "Affliction ; calamity ; misfortune ; distress ; severe trial ; suffering ; trouble :"—Webster's, "An event, or series of events, which oppose success or desire ; misfortune ; calamity ; affliction ; distress ; state of unhappiness." Take, also, the word *Assuage*—what is its meaning ? Worcester says, "To mitigate ; to soften ; to moderate ; to allay ; to appease ; to soothe." Webster says, "To soften in a *figurative sense* ; to allay, mitigate, ease, or lessen, as pain or grief; to appease or pacify, as passion or tumult. In strictness it signifies rather to *moderate*, than to quiet, tranquilize, or reduce to perfect peace or ease." These two examples, we think, are fairly representative of the two works, touching the point in question. They might be multiplied to any extent, if we had room. This loose method of defining by synonyms, is largely that of Johnson, and of most other lexicographers who preceded Webster. Webster's was the first dictionary in which fullness and discriminating completeness of definition were made a prominent feature. He aimed, as far as was practicable, to *state the idea* which a word represents, and thus strictly *define* its meaning, rather than leave the idea and definition to be inferred, or guessed at, from some other isolated word or words, each embodying a different, though perhaps related idea. The great step onward taken by Webster, in the matter of

* Compare, for example, in Worcester and Webster, the words, Aaronical, Basifier, Basify, Basined, Basket, v. a. Barlow, Baste, Bat, (4 and 5,) Bathos, Bath-brick, Batesman, Batracophagous, Barrow, Base-mindedness. These and many more occur within the compass of a very few pages.

definition—his method, and, in the main, his successful execution of it—is what has chiefly given to his dictionary its well deserved popularity and influence.

We said that Worcester's definitions are many of them defective or inaccurate. An *advertiser*, he tells us, is "One that gives intelligence or information." But are reporters, news-collectors, editors, lecturers, historians, scientific writers, returned travelers, as such, all *advertisers*, in the proper sense of the term? They all "give intelligence or information." If this definition be complete, the term ought no longer to be monopolized as it is, by the commercial gentlemen and others who figure in the advertising columns of our newspapers. A *hoe*, Worcester tells us, is "A tool used in gardening." Very true; so is a spade; so is a rake; so is a watering pot; but neither of them is a hoe. Besides, a hoe may be used outside of a garden, in a corn or potato field, without ceasing to be a hoe. What is it then? Webster says, "A farmer's instrument for cutting up weeds and loosening the earth in fields and gardens. It is in shape something like an adz, being a plate of iron, with an eye for a handle, which is set at an acute angle with the plate;"—a sharp description, from which a mechanic could readily make a hoe if he had never seen one—but not from Worcester's. Under *Spinster*, in Worcester, we have, as the third meaning: "(Law.) The addition given to an unmarried woman, in legal proceedings, and in conveyancing; a single woman;"—a very bungling way, surely, of expressing what Webster states much better, thus: "In law, the common title by which a woman without rank or distinction is designated; an unmarried woman." Under the word *Bardesanists*, a statement is made of the characteristic tenets of that sect, and *Hook* is named as authority. But Hook makes no such statement, and Neander's is quite the reverse. One of the significations of the word *Spirit*, in Worcester, is, "That which is apparent to sight, but usually not otherwise perceptible;" a definition as applicable, certainly, to a star, a planet, the moon, the milky-way, the zodiacal light, the aurora borealis, a color, or a typographical error, as to a spirit, if not more so; for each of them is "that which is appar-

ent to sight, but usually not otherwise perceptible." No one would ever guess the thing intended, but for the citations, or the appended synonyms; "an apparition; a ghost; a specter." There is no corresponding definition of spirit in Webster.

This defectiveness, or incorrectness, of definition, is particularly noticeable in some classes of technical terms. A distinguished geologist and mining engineer has cited, in proof, those of mining. A *buddle*, for example, is not necessarily square, nor made of boards, nor used for tin ore, but a machine for "separating ore of a particular fineness." A *gad* has no "long wooden handle," nor any handle at all, but is a kind of wedge. *To cob* is not simply "to break; to bruise;" but "to break up into small fragments, or *cobs*." A *drift* is "a passage dug under the earth," indeed, but not necessarily, "between one shaft and another;" and a *shaft* is not well described as "a long pit or opening into the earth, as in a mine;" rather, it is a vertical or inclined opening—not a level, nor an adit. In a *stope*, there is not necessarily a "series of steps." If such be formed in getting out the contents of a vein, it is a thing purely incidental, or accidental, not essential. But, not to go through the list, these citations, taken at random, sufficiently sustain our point. If Webster, in respect to some terms of this sort, is also at fault, it is only so much the more a reason why a lexicographer who comes after him should have avoided or corrected his errors.

We might extend our citations of defective and wrong definitions indefinitely. But we are aiming not to make an array of isolated or accidental blemishes, but to point out characteristic or prevailing faults. For this purpose the specimens we have given will suffice. Whoever desires more may examine for himself almost any page of the work. The very learned and mechano-technical definition of *Torsion* (simple twisting) in Worcester—as "The lateral displacement or detrusion of the opposite parts of a solid, in opposite directions, the central particles only remaining in their natural state"—we note simply as a fair offset to a citation, which many may have seen, from Webster, of a corresponding medico-technical definition of *Boil*. (q. v.)

We have said that, in Worcester, important significations, which one would expect to find, are omitted. We have space to notice but a few instances. Under *bobbin*, there is nothing respecting the best known of all bobbins, those used in spinning. The reader of a Coast Survey Report, if in doubt as to the meaning of *heliotrope*, as a geodetic instrument, would have to go to Webster, instead of Worcester, for information. An unsophisticated gentleman, little versed in mechanics, seeing a patent "horse-power" advertised, would be puzzled to understand how a patent could be obtained on "the power or strength of a horse in draught," or on the old unit of power for steam engines, the thirty-three thousand pounds avoirdupois raised one foot in a minute, which are the only meanings Worcester gives. The machine, so called, is ignored. The definition of *hypnotism*—as mere "sleepiness; lethargy;"—but poorly answers to the very curious and interesting psychical or physiological phenomena known under that name, and covered also, by the broader term, animal magnetism. It is explained in Webster. *Petrography*, as "a description of rocks," is not in Worcester. Webster has it.

We said, also, that Worcester's definitions are often superfluous. The same is true, indeed, of Webster's. This is one of the points where, in our view, his dictionary is most obnoxious to criticism. Johnson's is equally faulty. And in no respect, perhaps, does our lexicography stand more in need of reform than in this. These superfluous definitions arise sometimes from mistaking the figurative use of a word for a separate sense, and sometimes from framing a definition, not of the word itself, but of the whole sentence in which it occurs. The word absorbs and monopolizes, for the occasion, the meaning of its associates. For example, Worcester gives as one meaning of *dust*, "A tumult; a commotion, or uproar; as, 'To kick up a dust.'" But this is plainly a definition not of the word *dust*, but of the whole sentence. It is the explanation of a metaphor.

If dust, here, means "tumult," &c., then, in the phrase, *to throw dust in one's eyes*, it must mean, *blindness, dullness of perception, or want of sagacity*; in the phrase *to lick the dust*,

it will mean *defeat* or *death*; and so, every metaphoric use that can be made of the word must give it a separate meaning and definition. This principle, carried out, would only limit the number of separate definitions of a word in a dictionary, by the number of passages that might be gathered in which it occurs, or, at least, by the number in which it has a distinct and separate metaphorical or other figurative use. Idiomatic phrases and figurative expressions, which contain a fixed meaning different from the literal one, should of course be explained in a comprehensive dictionary, as well as words. But no individual word in them should be allowed to monopolize the meaning of all the rest, and carry it into the dictionary as a separate sense, belonging exclusively to itself. If the figurative use of a word is merely temporary, answering for the occasion and vanishing, it is not entitled to be honored with the formality of a separate definition. But if such usage becomes settled, and the new idea takes on the word as its permanent representative, then clearly, as the word has acquired a distinct meaning, that meaning should be recognized by the lexicographer. Thus, in the couplet of Pope :

Swift roll the years, and rise the expected morn,
O! spring to *light*, auspicious babe be born;

the word *light*, if not used in its strictly literal sense—as we think it is—at least borrows its figurative sense only for the nonce, and does not deserve to take on the permanent signification of “life, animated existence,” as in Worcester. The whole phrase “spring to light,” doubtless contains this idea, but the word *light* does not, except by mere metaphor, or as it borrows it from its associates. But when the same word, by a figure, comes to signify distinctively, “anything that gives light,” as a lamp, a star, &c., or when, again, it comes to signify “a pane of glass,” (from its admitting light,) as in the expression, “a window with twelve lights,” then clearly these fixed and distinctive significations are fully entitled to recognition. Yet, it must be allowed, that in multitudes of cases it is exceedingly difficult to discriminate between the literal and the figurative, or between the casual and

the permanent senses, and the largest charity is due to the faults of any lexicographer, who has waded, with even tolerable success, through the ocean of perplexing toil, which must attend the preparation of such a dictionary as either of the two before us.

There is another fault in the matter of definition, which has crept into some of our later English dictionaries, but is in none more prominent than in this of Worcester's;—the expansion of a *definition* into an *article*, or the superadding to a definition of a mass of information (more or less correct, indeed, but wholly out of place) on the subject to which the term defined relates. A dictionary is not an encyclopedia. We go to it for a definition of words, not for a discussion of themes. For facts and principles in science, literature, history, etc., we consult a cyclopedia, or special treatises. The two should not be confounded. Some words, it is true, can only be defined by describing the things which they represent. So far as the facts of science or of history are necessary for the purposes of mere definition, they may properly be used. But to go much beyond this, is really to benefit no one. Condensed and learned scientific statements are by the uneducated not understood, and by the educated are not wanted. To both alike they are a superfluity and an impertinence. There are in Worcester many elaborate articles of this kind, which are well enough in themselves, but which would be more in place in a cyclopedia than where they are. To refer to them as giving a superiority to Worcester over others, is simply to say that others have not gone quite so far as Worcester in forgetting the true functions of a dictionary and making it an encyclopedia.

Not to enlarge, for want of room, on several other points which have arrested our attention—such as misplaced or inappropriate citations, the useless array of names as authorities, often of ambiguous or third-rate names, etc.,—we cannot refrain from saying a word on the important subject of *synonyms*. Webster, we believe, was the first to introduce into a general dictionary any analysis or discrimination of synonymous words. His original plan was more fully carried into

execution by the distinguished editor of the recent editions of the dictionary, the lamented Dr. Goodrich. One of the latest labors of this most active and indefatigable scholar was the preparation of the extensive table—treatise it might be called—of synonyms, in the Pictorial Edition of that work. His quickness and vigor of intellect, sharp power of analysis, delicacy of literary taste, ripe and varied scholarship, habits of close observation, thorough experience in matters of lexicography, and remarkable facility of expression, all combined to render that table of synonyms in many respects one of the most valuable in the language. Had his declining health permitted him to revise and extend it, as he had designed, it would seemingly have left little to be desired in this department of the work. Worcester has also introduced, occasionally, the discrimination of synonyms. The wide difference, however, between the two works, in this particular, whether as regards method, accuracy, or thoroughness of treatment, can only be made apparent by citations, which our limited space forbids. The general meagreness, superficiality, and looseness of the one, and the characteristic thoroughness, point, and correctness of the other; the prevailing lack of originality in Worcester, and the obviously independent treatment in Webster, will be strikingly manifest to any one who shall make a careful comparison of corresponding articles; or, indeed, to even the most superficial observer.

We had intended to say something on the disputed matters of orthography. A word must suffice. Worcester aims to give the current usage irrespective of the analogies or tendencies of the language. Webster, also, claims to represent usage, but with a sharp eye to the indications of analogy, and a leaning towards and disposition to favor any tendencies of the language towards greater simplicity and uniformity. That the latter course is the more philosophical and commendable of the two, would seem to be too obvious for argument. Our language—in fact every language—is, like the human body, in a process of perpetual growth and development. Its component particles, the elementary sounds and words of which it is organized, constantly subjected to the action of the vital forces which animate it, are incessantly coming in, changing

character and passing off, affecting variously the strength, utility, symmetry, and beauty of the language in its several parts and functions, according as the process of growth is modified, either accidentally by the force of circumstances, or designedly by the guiding hand of intelligent culture. The true lexicographer is not merely an anatomist of the language, but incidentally at least, its physician. His function is, not simply to dissect and analyze its parts, dry and label them, and set forth their condition and uses, but also to study it as a living organism, and as opportunity serves, to foster its healthy tendencies, counteract its diseases, help it to slough off excrescencies, straighten its crooked limbs, and in all ways, as its professional custodian, aim to assist nature in developing the language into a symmetrical and vigorous body, such as befits the soul of literature, science, and civilization, of which it is the appropriate receptacle and organ. Worcester repudiates the latter function entirely, and in his preface obscurely alludes to its exercise as "tending to corrupt the language." But we think the general judgment of the literary world is the other way.

The actual differences of orthography between Worcester and Webster, as is well known, are very few; much fewer than is generally represented; much fewer than they would be had not Worcester, yielding to the current of reform, adopted many spellings which were not in vogue a few years ago, and which have been extensively regarded as among Webster's innovations, albeit none of these so called innovations, or next to none, are in reality innovations at all, or in fact of Webster's proposing, but were many of them in use long before Webster was born. Webster's advocacy of many of these changes and simplifications of orthography has doubtless contributed to hasten their general adoption; and Worcester has sanctioned the wisdom of that advocacy by adopting the results which it helped to produce. Had his own dictionary, with its present orthography, been published a generation earlier, it could not have escaped the same charge of innovation. He has dropped the *k* from *heretick*, and *l* from *fulfill*; the *e* from *deposit*, the *u* from *honour*, etc., and we cannot but think that had he gone only a step further, and recognized the clear

drift of present usage, he would have dropped an *l* from *traveller*, transposed the *re* in *theatre*, and made the few other changes necessary to put an end to existing diversity on this point, promote simplicity in the language, and honor what we conceive to be the judgment and wishes of the great body of enlightened scholars. We should like to say more on this point, but must refrain.

A word as to the *pictures*. This feature of a dictionary, though little esteemed by some, we are disposed to think, when properly executed, one of very great importance. It is nothing new, however. Bailey's English Dictionary, one of the most celebrated, was thus illustrated early in the last century. A neat cut or diagram will often give a better definition of a term than a page of letter press. Worcester's pictures are scattered through the vocabulary. Webster's are in a body by themselves. In respect to size, completeness, mechanical execution, and variety of subjects, Webster's are unquestionably the best. Worcester's, though many of them are well enough, are, on the whole, a failure. They are very small, many of them are obscure, and the assortment ill-proportioned. Ornithology, somehow, achieved a singular monopoly in their allotment. Of 973 cuts in all, 324, or one-third, are birds or fragments of birds; and of this 324, no less than 191 are merely heads or bills of birds. Botany has 144; Quadrupeds, &c., the same; Fishes, 77; Mathematics and Mechanics, together, about 100; Architecture, 80; Miscellaneous, Domestic Arts, &c., 70; and Physical Science, a few. Reptiles and Insects are as rigorously excluded as from Ireland.

We cannot close our notice of the new dictionary without a word on the fact that it intentionally ignores (for purposes of citation) all editions of Webster later than that of 1841, or the last published during Webster's lifetime. The citations in respect to orthography, orthoepy, &c., are professedly from that edition only. This gives an opportunity, it is true, to attribute some things to Webster's Dictionary which the dictionary known and received as such by the public, does not contain. As examples of this, compare the pronunciation of *Aerie*, *Aid-de-camp*, *Anti-splenetic*,

Antipodes, and many other words. The edition of Dr. Goodrich, it is well known, is the only one now published under that title, and of course the only one proper to be cited. That it embodies, in addition to all that was excellent in Webster's great work, the fruits of the faithful criticism, sound judgment, and scholarly culture of so able an editor, is surely no satisfactory reason why it should be ignored. To do so, is at least disingenuous, and what we should hardly have expected from a fair minded competitor.

And this reminds us of what has been termed the "Battle of the Dictionaries,"—a contest into which we have no disposition to enter. That there should spring up a brisk competition between two rival works, is to be expected. And as a generous rivalry must tend to the improvement of the works themselves, so an honorable competition must tend to increase the sale and circulation of both. There is no occasion for hostility; much less for a war of extermination. It will not do, it is true, to have more than one Bible, in a Christian country. But in respect to dictionaries, there may be greater toleration. However desirable may be uniformity, whether in matters of faith or of spelling, there always has been, and always will be, diversity in respect to both. To enforce uniformity, is impossible. So far as the two dictionaries differ on certain doubtful or disputed points, there exist corresponding differences of opinion, or of taste, in the community, to give a basis of friendship for each. And so far as each possesses characteristic or peculiar excellencies not belonging to the other, scholars, and those who have most occasion to use a dictionary, will, according to their wants, be inclined to become possessors of both. The country is broad enough, and the wants of the community urgent and various enough, to tolerate, if not to welcome, the two. Let there be, then, no quarrel between them. The man is well enough off, perhaps, who possesses either; and he is to be congratulated who is able to own both. But if a man can have but one, in our judgment Webster's is the one for him to choose. For on the whole, we are forced to conclude that great as are the merits of Worcester, they by no means eclipse those of Webster, but, on the contrary, themselves suffer eclipse.

ARTICLE VII.—COMMON SCHOOLS AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

A Course of Study for Primary Public Schools. An Address delivered in New Haven, February 4, 1860, before the Common-School Visitors of the County and the Common-School Teachers of the City. By DANIEL C. GILMAN, Chairman of the Visiting Committee of the Public Schools of New Haven.

THE address, whose title we have placed at the head of this Article, was intended to meet the immediate wants of the town in which it was delivered, yet the subject is one of general importance. Its object is to show that efficiency is lost in many Public Schools by neglecting to establish a definite *course of study* and allowing scholars to be promoted from one grade to another without passing an appointed examination. This subject has been too little regarded by the friends of Common Schools, and the consequence is, in the opinion of the writer, that *scholarship*, meaning by that thorough mental discipline, is considered by the public in very many towns, as of quite secondary importance, when compared with showy edifices, good order, punctual attendance, and other like attainments. As the subject deserves the attention of the friends of education in all parts of the country, we transfer to our pages a few of the statements, as we find them in the address.

"The State of Connecticut has a high reputation for school keeping. In the distant portions of our country, people seem to have a notion that the land of steady habits is possessed by a race of schoolmasters. They send to us for all grades of teachers, from Presidents and Professors in Colleges, and Superintendents of Public Instruction, down to the dullest hirelings who "board around and chop the wood" in the most impoverished school districts. Indeed, if the popular voice were to speak we are not sure but that the birch would supersede the vine on our old escutcheon.

"We feel persuaded that not even our older sister Massachusetts can compare with Connecticut in the number of teachers born or bred within the State, and sent out as the torch-bearers to every portion of the land. Washington Irving describes a Connecticut pedagogue in "Ichabod Crane," and although that humorons sketch is not very complimentary to us, we must accept it as an indication that at least in his opinion this was the proper home for a hero in didactica. We are not among those who regret this reputation. If "on earth there is nothing great but man, and in man there is nothing great but mind," then they who train the mind have the noblest calling, and the State which excels in the education which it furnishes, and in the instructors whom it sends to other portions of the country, is performing a work in which every citizen may fitly take delight and pride.

"We accordingly rejoice in the fact, which we believe is generally acknowledged, that within a few years past the common schools of Connecticut have made decided progress, and that this is especially true in the larger towns like New Haven, where the graded or classified system has been adopted. As a proof of this assertion it is only necessary to refer to the popularity of the present establishment, which is not merely supported as a necessity, like the alms-house and the jail, but is maintained with a liberality indicative both of confidence and satisfaction on the part of the public.

"But still a desire to excel makes us willing to admit that our schools are very far from perfection; and to deem it quite worth the while, instead of permitting ourselves to be delighted with spacious houses, admirable apparatus, punctual attendance, tidy dress, good order, and almost military precision in marching and countermarching, to raise the question whether the children whom we are training are becoming the very best sort of men and women; or, in other words, whether the plan of study which is now pursued is fitted theoretically and practically to make good scholars.

"After an acquaintance somewhat intimate with schools in different parts of the State, I frankly admit some serious misgivings on this subject; and I am free to add, that although

the whispers are not yet very loudly uttered, there are many friends of public education, both teachers and committee men who have their doubts as to whether we are yet accomplishing results with which we can be satisfied.

"In school houses we far surpass the corresponding edifices of every other country. There is a like superiority in our furniture. Apparatus and text books are abundant and good. In administration and discipline our best schools at least have attained the utmost precision. The teachers who are employed are not only intelligent and willing, but are for the most part trained for their work.

"All this is excellent, so far as it goes, but it is not enough. It has not yet produced results so much in advance of those which proceeded from the old fashioned schools, as to warrant the outlays which have been incurred; and the time is fairly come when we must ask with earnestness if we cannot accomplish more.

"Brick and mortar, however put together, cannot make a good school. That depends on the amount of culture which the pupils receive,—and that again on the course of study which is appointed, and the fidelity with which it is pursued. This truth is so obvious that every one will admit it, upon seeing it stated in this formal way, and yet in practice it is far too often overlooked, if not totally forgotten.

"We are not without a good excuse for attending to other things first. A little while ago we had no trained teachers, and a great deal of thought and energy was bestowed on the establishment of a Normal School, the influence of which has already been most salutary on every portion of the State. Then the several towns were reluctant to be fairly taxed, and a great deal of patient and annoying labor was put forth to arouse the community from its protracted lethargy in respect to public education. Then new buildings, properly arranged for the new methods of classification, were absolutely essential, and their construction was not the work of a day. In gaining all this we have certainly made progress since the hour when in a foolish fit of economy we virtually banished from the

State one of the most wise and public spirited of our citizens, because he urged a school reform.

"Indeed, the State as a whole, and many separate towns and school districts, are to be congratulated on the rapid advancement of educational interests, within the last ten years. A few battles have been fought which will never be fought again. They are our Waterloos. Let us thank and honor those by whom the victories were won. But let us also press forward in their spirit, and overcome with corresponding energy the difficulties by which we are still beset."

Mr. Gilman then proceeds at some length to show that the "chief want" of our Common Schools at present is a "**WELL ARRANGED COURSE OF STUDY.**" He presents a variety of practical suggestions with regard to the course of study appropriate to such children as are usually found in attendance upon our Public Schools between the ages of six and twelve years. He remarks, however, that the scheme which he suggests is only intended for present use, as it falls far below what he believes can be carried out a few years hence, if the public will only demand a higher degree of discipline.

As an aid in determining what may be done, we offer a few suggestions respecting a single branch of study.

Among the different compartments of knowledge embraced in a Common School education, the study of the English language is one of the most important. As words are the clothing of our thoughts, language evidently lies close to the mind itself.

We propose to consider the parts which make up this study, hoping that, if these parts are rightly distributed and clearly distinguished from each other, some useful hints may suggest themselves.

I. The first requisite in such a course is *the Spelling Book*. The object of the spelling book is to teach the correct pronunciation and orthography of the English language. It consists in a mechanical arrangement of the sounds of the language in such an order, that the young pupil may learn to spell the word which he is accustomed to use, and to pronounce the written word, when he meets with it. It is merely

an instrument in the hand of the teacher. The leading spelling books before the community are Webster's, and quite recently Worcester's. These writers have continued faithful to the legitimate object of the spelling book; while many others have sought to introduce foreign matter, which has proved injurious to the main object.

No important change has been made in this branch of instruction for more than fifty years. Yet in this period much has been written on the formation of articulate sounds, on the causes of our irregular orthography, and on the etymology of the words which we use. Is there no room for improvement in the naming of the letters, in the phonetic adjustment of the lessons, and in a more philosophical arrangement of the materials? It seems as if each generation grudged to the succeeding the avoidance of any labor or toil which it had itself sustained.

It will not, we hope, be thought presumptuous in us to state in what particulars we think improvements may be made.

1. To the common alphabet might be added some of the more important Indo-European alphabetic sounds, with their simplest notation. As these sounds, together with the notation of them, have been introduced somewhat into English writing, it would be a convenience both to teacher and pupil to have them thus appended.

2. The letters *h*, *w*, and *y*, might be named *he*, *we*, and *ye*, according to the general analogy of the other names, instead of the present uncouth names, *itch*, *double u*, and *wy*.

3. Besides the traditional arrangement of the alphabet, the same letters might be arranged in another table *philosophically*, or according to the natural order of their development. The pupil would thus become acquainted with the classification of the letters after their organs.

4. The different alphabetic sounds might be illustrated by lessons, in this natural or philosophical order, instead of the incidental order, depending on the usual arrangement of the alphabet.

5. According to this order, the five or six short vowels would come first, then the long vowels and diphthongs, then

the semi-vowels, then the mutes according to their organs as labials, dentals, or palatals.

6. As letters in combination often have a different sound from what we should expect from the simple letters, such digraphs might be specially noticed. Much of the irregular orthography of the English language would be explained in this way.

7. The *mute e final*, so called, as in *name, tide*, should be regarded as a mere orthographical expedient to keep the preceding vowel long. Whatever may have been its original purpose or design, this is the only force which it has at present. See Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, I. Th. III. Ausg. p. 880.

8. The doubling of certain consonants in inflection, as *entrappling, kidnapping*, should be regarded as a mere orthographical expedient to keep the preceding vowel short.

9. *Ai* and *ay*, *ei* and *ey*, *oi* and *oy*, *ui* and *uy*, should not be regarded severally as distinct digraphs, but as the same digraph differently written, according as it occurs at the end of a word or in the beginning or middle. This will save much room in the statements.

10. Two tabular views should be given; the one representing all the different sounds to each character, and another representing all the different expressions for each sound. The two tables should be made to tally exactly.

11. The usual table of words pronounced alike, but spelled differently, should not be omitted.*

As an accompaniment or sequel to the Spelling Book comes in here the *English Reader*. Our literature abounds with works of this kind. Many of them are very excellent.

II. The next requisite after the Spelling Book and Reading Lessons is the *English Accidence*. The pupil has learned to speak and to read, as it were, mechanically. He is now called upon for the first time to study for himself. He is led to reflect on the words which he is accustomed to use, the changes which they undergo, and the use he makes of these

* See Connecticut Common School Journal for January, 1860.

changes or inflections. The *accidence*, as the name implies, has reference to the inflections or accidental changes of words in continuous discourse, as opposed to the more permanent changes which are seen in etymology or the formation of words.

The limits of the *Accidence* are easily defined. It discusses the kinds of words, or parts of speech, and their subdivisions. It embraces the declension of nouns and pronouns, the comparison of adjectives and adverbs, and the conjugation of verbs. It embraces also the principles of concord, government, and collocation. All this should be exhibited continuously at one view, and not piecemeal. This branch of study has suffered much from the broken and fragmentary state in which it usually appears.

This is the leading portion of grammar, and a necessary part of every grammar. The grammars now in use embrace other topics; but the teacher will find it useful to give this a distinct consideration.

The pupil is enabled by his *Accidence* to go back to the ground-forms of words, and to go through the process which is technically called *construing* and *parsing*.

The object of the *Accidence* is to guard the pupil against the palpable errors of the looser colloquial style. There are, however, many forms of construction concerning the propriety of which it is difficult to give a positive decision.

Something remains to be done in the judicious selection of useful, as well as pertinent examples.

The common fault of most grammars on this topic is, that they treat the ancient declension of nouns, and the ancient conjugation of verbs, as irregularities, and thus give to the learner a distorted view of the language. This is felt as soon as the pupil passes to the study of other languages.

A learned work on this topic, by giving the origin of the inflections, would of course avoid this error; but there is no need that a popular work on the subject for beginners should lead him astray.

The *English Accidence*, it is easily seen, must precede in the order of study, the *Verbal Analysis*.

A work covering this ground might be called an *Elementary Grammar*, or the *Rudiments of Grammar*.

III. The next requisite is a work on *Etymology* or the formation of words, referring to the permanent changes in the forms of words. It might be called the *Verbal Analyst*.

Such a work should give an account of pronominal elements and verbal roots, of stem-words and their formation by internal inflection, of reduplicate forms, of suffixes and prefixes in all their variety of form and meaning, of compound words and the relation of the parts to each other. It should above all distinguish between words of Teutonic and those of Latin or Greek origin. It should give the character both of Latin and Greek roots, the changes to which they are subjected, and also the Classic suffixes, and prefixes, and compounds.

We know of no monograph covering the whole field. Many feeble attempts have been made to fill this vacancy, as it respects Classical words, but no one has sustained itself before the public.

The (London) *Penny Encyclopedia* did well on the subject of etymology. So the *Encyclopaedia Americana*, by the aid of Drs. Duponceau and Pickering, and it is to be hoped that the *New American Cyclopædiste* will yet do something for the advancement of this science. Our periodicals touch etymology, if at all, very lightly. The whole subject is almost ignored in our proudest seats of intellectual culture; no proper provision being made for either in the common school course, the preparatory course for college, or the college course itself. How few persons, as they are now educated, can analyze off-hand such words as *uproar*, *noisome*, *fulsome*, *careless*!

As a book of reference, and as an accompaniment of this branch, we need an *Etymologicon Anglicum*, or a *Vocabulary of English Roots*. There are models of such works in German; but the modern English mind hardly forms a conception of such a thing.

IV. The next requisite is the *Analysis of Language considered as Thought*.

Here everything depends on our having a clear conception of what is expressed, or intended to be expressed, in language.

In language or continuous discourse we have occasion to speak of two kinds of notions, and twelve kinds of relations of these notions, and these are all. This last circumstance we wish to be noticed.

The two kinds of notions are notions of *existences* or things conceived of as such, and notions of *activity* in its different forms of development. These are the opposite poles in language.

The two first relations with which we are concerned are relations of notions of activity to notions of existence; viz, the *predicative* and the *attributive*.

The *predicative* relation is when we predicate an activity of an existence in such a way as to make one thought. We weld, as it were, the activity on to the existence.

The *attributive* relation is when we refer the activity to the existence in such a way as to make one idea, and that the idea of an existence. The activity is supposed to be already welded on to the existence.

The next relation is the relation of the existence to the activity, and is called the *objective*. In this relation the existence is referred to the activity in such a way as to make one idea, and that an idea of activity. In these three relations observe the opposite polarity of the factors.

We come now to relations of ideas of existence to the speaker.

The first of these relations is the relation of *personality*. The speaker brings all existences under three heads; (1.) the person speaking, (2.) the person addressed, and (3.) all other existences as merely spoken of.

The second of these relations is the relation of *quantity*. Quantity is not an inherent attribute of an existence. It refers rather to our mental conceptions of it.

We come now to relations of activities to the speaker. The first of the relations is that of *modality*, that is, whether an activity is actual or not actual, possible or not possible, necessary or not necessary. All these may be comprehended under the general term *potentiality* or modality.

The next relation of activity to the speaker is the familiar

one of *tense* or time. The time of every activity is related directly or indirectly to the time of the speaker.

The next relation of activity to the speaker is that of *place*. The activity may be considered as having a local position or direction in relation to the speaker.

The next relation of activity to the speaker is that of *intensity*, which inheres not in the activity itself, but lies in our conception of it.

We come now to the relations of thoughts to the speaker and to other thoughts.

The relation of thought to the speaker is the *mood of assertion*, that is, whether the thought be expressed in the Indicative, Negative, Conjunctive, Conditional, Interrogative, or Imperative mood.

The two remaining relations are those of thoughts to other thoughts, whether in the way of *subordination*, when the two thoughts become one thought; or in the way of *coördination*, when the propositions maintained have an independent existence.*

Having developed these two kinds of notions and twelve kinds of relations of these notions, we are supposed to have analyzed all that is found in language as such.

That this topic is to be studied in a vernacular, rather than in a learned or foreign language, is now generally admitted.

On this branch we have a detached work by Prof. Samuel S. Greene, of Providence, R. I., entitled, *A Treatise on the Structure of the English Language*. Philadelphia, 1854. It has been and continues to be very popular.

V. The next requisite in a course of English study is *Semasiology*. This relates to the force and meaning of words, especially to their transition from one meaning to another. Notwithstanding the importance of this subject to lexicography, we know of no full scientific essay devoted to it. It is passed over in our grammars, although it would form an interesting and useful section.

We have anticipated some suggestions as to lexicography in the February number (1860) of our Journal, p. 226.

* See *Massachusetts Teacher* for Sept. 1859, p. 332.

There is one branch, however, under this head, to wit, *Synonymic*, which has been labored with especial care, by George Crabb, (1810,) Wm. Taylor, (1813,) John Platts, (1845,) B. F. Graham, (1846,) William Carpenter, (1842,) and Prof. C. A. Goodrich, (1859,) as an addition to Webster's Quarto Dictionary. We regard this last monograph by Prof. Goodrich as the best on the subject. He aims at the leading distinctions, as being founded on etymology and as being those which are more fully ascertained.

Dr. Worcester's Dictionary also contains a very judicious and practically useful condensation of what had been written on the subject.

Here come in *Dictionaries*, as books of reference, with which the school-room should be well provided.

A School Dictionary, which shall clearly and unmistakably distinguish between Teutonic and Classic words is still a desideratum. The older dictionaries were accustomed to make this distinction.

The class of works called *Definers*, are, for the most part, meagre performances. A teacher may easily dispense with them by a judicious use of the School Dictionaries.

VI. The next topic is *Syntaxis Ornata*, or an account of the Figures of Speech. There is a good work by Stirling, an old writer, on this subject, which would bear republication. Prof. Fowler, in his Grammar, has made a full collection of the figures of speech, and illustrated them by beautiful and pertinent examples; but he has made no attempt at classification or philosophical explanation. The monograph of David N. Lord (*The Characteristics and Laws of Figurative Language*, New York, 1854, 12mo.) has been well received, and would have been still more useful, if he had not distorted it, as it were, to support his peculiar views of biblical interpretation.

A just view of the figures of speech should be based on a just view of the normal forms of language.

VII. The next topic is *Versification*, or the doctrine concerning verse. This constitutes almost a distinct science by itself. Edwin Guest has written a learned and exhaustive work on the subject, (*A History of English Rhythms*. 2

vols. 8vo. London, 1838.) But we know of no monograph on the subject adapted at all to schools. In Dr. Webster's Grammar there is a neat and accurate section on English versification, written by the poet Trumbull. This section has been enlarged in subsequent grammars, but without any substantial changes. The later Grammars of R. G. Latham, (London, 1843,) and Prof. W. C. Fowler, (New York, 1855,) go sufficiently into the detail. This topic, now almost entirely neglected in practical instruction, might, in proper hands, be made very useful. If the pupil were freed from the trammels of the Classical metres, he might be trained to appreciate the spirit and beauty of the modern versification. As the matter now stands, our literary men are better acquainted with the Classic than with the English metres.

VIII. The last topic, which from its very nature must follow all the rest, is the *Written Language*, or the mode of presenting language to the eye. It embraces the principles of orthography, and what is commonly called *punctuation*, and should be added to grammar as an appendix. We have a beautiful monograph on *Punctuation* by John Wilson, (Boston, 1850.) It is thorough, so as to embrace his whole topic, and critical, so as to exclude what does not belong there. If it were preceded by a few rules on English orthography, it would cover our whole ground. We would not deny, however, that a deeper philosophy might be applied to the subject.

Although this topic is in part anticipated, perhaps necessarily, in the earlier elementary works, yet it seems desirable to give it a separate place, and to make Wilson, or some other work, the standard or court of appeal.

Works on *Elocution* and *Rhetoric* might be added here, but they would carry us beyond the limit of the Common School Series.

These suggestions, if carried out, may enable the earnest teacher to discriminate the different branches of English study, to place them in their natural order, and to meet the wants of the school-room by furnishing the proper books, whether as class-books or books of reference.

ARTICLE VIII.—THE MARBLE FAUN.

The Marble Faun: or, The Romance of Monte Beni. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, Author of the Scarlet Letter, etc., etc. Two Volumes. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

A NEW work by Hawthorne is an event in the literary world of no ordinary significance. It has been known for some time, since his residence abroad, that he has been engaged in preparing for the press a new volume, although the precise character of the production has not transpired. The author of "The House of the Seven Gables," and "The Scarlet Letter," has achieved so almost unexampled a popularity, (for people will read Hawthorne, whether they admire or censure,) that anything fresh from his pen is looked for with peculiar avidity. Whether, like his former narratives, the scene of the romance would be laid in the atmosphere of New England, or amid the charms of Italian landscape, was alike unrevealed.

One thing was certain, that with the taste already formed, and which the author himself had, perhaps, chiefly contributed to form for his works, the public mind would not be satisfied with one draught from the fountain, but like the visitors in the "Twice Told Tales," who imbibed rills of refreshing coolness from the "Town Pump," would be eager for more. The singular spell which the accomplished story-teller had contrived to weave round the imaginations and feelings of his readers in his previous productions, proved conclusively that the days of "Salem Witchcraft" were not over; it remained to be seen whether the new romance would retain the same characteristics of a writer already distinguished for his profound insight into human nature and his merciless dissection of the human heart.

The result of these labors is the volume before us, published simultaneously in Boston and London, in the last named city under the prosaic and more appropriate name of "Transformations," in the former under the poetic title of "The Marble

Faun: or, the Romance of Monte Beni." The imprint of the American publishers, Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, is a guarantee of its real merit, no less than of its typographical execution.

At the outset we are arrested by the Preface. It is in its way a Gem. Prefaces are intended to afford to the author an opportunity of an informal introduction to his readers; they are, for the most part, either explanatory or apologetic; in the one instance often tedious, in the other needless, having as little relation to the work which they accompany, as would be true of the architect who should build an house on account of a porch, rather than the porch for the sake of the house. The latter is the case with Hawthorne. In the work before us he has "built him a new pleasure-dome, all of Etruscan marbles and Roman mosaics," which he has christened by the name of "The Romance of Monte Beni," and added thereto a porch wreathed round with foreign exotics, the whole enclosed by a hedge, the material of which, as well as of the shrubbery lining the entrance to the edifice, nay, even the edifice itself is—*Hawthorne!*

"The Marble Faun," which we have carefully read and of which we propose to give a brief analysis and criticism, is a "purely speculative romance," and takes its origin in the old fable credited by the ancients in regard to divinities inhabiting the woods in the golden age of Arcadian innocence. It is an attempt to convey the idea of the transformation of an individual neither wholly man nor yet animal, into an intelligent human being, by means of a catastrophe powerfully affecting his entire nature. The title of the work is derived from the celebrated Faun of Praxitiles, between whom and the principal actor in the romance, a young Italian—Donatello—there is, or is supposed to be by his companions, a certain strange resemblance which forms the key-note of the narrative. The other characters in the story are three individuals—Miriam, Hilda, and Kenyon—all artists, whom in company with Donatello, who has just joined them, the opening chapter represents as congregated together in a sculpture-gallery in Rome, engaged in viewing the works of art exhibited there, and in discussion on their merits. To these is added another personage who

will be mentioned afterwards. The Faun of Praxitiles is thus described :

"The Faun is the marble image of a young man, leaning his right arm on the trunk or stump of a tree; one hand hangs carelessly by his side; in the other he holds the fragment of a pipe or some such sylvan instrument of music. The form, thus displayed, is marvelously graceful, but has a fuller and more rounded outline, more flesh, and less of heroic muscle than the old sculptors were wont to assign to their types of masculine beauty. The mouth, with its full yet delicate lips, seems so nearly to smile outright, that it calls forth a responsive smile. The whole statue—unlike anything else that was ever wrought in the severe material of marble—conveys the idea of an amiable and sensual creature, easy, mirthful, apt for jollity, yet not incapable of being touched by pathos."

Vol. I, pp. 19, 20.

Again,

"Praxitiles has subtly diffused throughout his work that mute mystery which so hopelessly perplexes us whenever we attempt to gain an intellectual or sympathetic knowledge of the lower orders of creation. The riddle is indicated, however, only by two definite signs; these are the two ears of the Faun, which are leaf-shaped, terminating in little peaks, like those of some species of animals."

Vol. I, p. 21.

The following is a description of Donatello, and refers to the particular point of resemblance between himself and the Faun :

"‘Donatello,’ playfully cried Miriam, ‘do not leave us in this perplexity! Shake aside those brown curls, my friend, and let us see whether this marvelous resemblance extends to the very tips of the ears. If so, we shall like you all the better!’ ”

‘No, no, dearest Signorina,’ answered Donatello, laughing, but with a certain earnestness, ‘I entreat you take the tips of my ears for granted.’ As he spoke the young Italian made a skip and jump light enough for a veritable faun; so as to place himself quite beyond the reach of the fair hand that was outstretched as if to settle the matter by actual examination.’

“Donatello’s refractoriness as regarded his ears had evidently cost him something, and he now came close to Miriam’s side, gazing at her with an appealing air, as if to solicit forgiveness. It was difficult to make out the character of this young man. So full of animal life as he was, so joyous in his deportment, so handsome, so physically well developed, he made no impression of incompleteness, of maimed or stinted nature. There was an indefinable characteristic about Donatello that set him outside of rules.” Vol. I, pp. 25, 26.

In the course of the narrative, an incident occurs in a visit of the party to one of the subterranean catacombs of Rome, which lends a thrilling interest to the story, at the same time

that it has much to do with the catastrophe to which we have already alluded. This is nothing less than the appearance of the Specter of the Catacomb to Miriam, (spoken of before in the story as having something strange in her character, heightened by the mystery which was thrown round her origin,) who is lost in the vaults, which occasions the solicitude of her companions, till her sudden reappearance in the circle. Between the two individuals there seemed to be some singular bond of union, painful in its nature, not fully explained. Donatello, who, with the brute instincts of the animal, has some gleams of human intelligence, has already formed a strong attachment to the maiden on account of her extraordinary beauty, which she, on her part, is inclined to reciprocate, but a nameless terror arising from her connection with the mysterious stranger, prevents her for a time from yielding to his solicitations. Miriam—but the author shall describe her as forming the original of her own portraits—

"She was very youthful, and had what was usually thought to be a Jewish aspect; a complexion in which there was no roseate bloom, yet neither was it pale; dark eyes, into which you might look as deeply as your glance would go, and still be conscious of a depth that you had not sounded, though it lay open to the day. She had black, abundant hair, with none of the vulgar glossiness of other women's sable locks; if she were really of Jewish blood, then this was Jewish hair, and a dark glory such as crowns no Christian maiden's head. Gazing at this portrait you saw what Rachel might have been when Jacob deemed her worth the wooing seven years, and seven more; or perchance she might ripen to be what Judith was, when she vanquished Holofernes with her beauty, and slew him for too much adoring it.

'Then you like the picture, Donatello?' she asked.

'Oh, beyond what I can tell!' he answered. 'So beautiful! so beautiful!'

'And do you recognize the likeness?'

'Signora,' exclaimed Donatello, turning from the picture to the artist, in astonishment that she should ask the question, 'the resemblance is as little to be mistaken as if you had bent over the smooth surface of a fountain and possessed the witchcraft to call forth the image that you made there! It is yourself.' Vol. I, pp. 65, 66.

Hilda is a New England girl of a very different constitution, physically and mentally, from Miriam, and an artist in a widely different sphere of art. She is thus delineated:

"Sometimes, a young artist instead of going on with a copy of the picture before which he had placed his easel, would enrich his canvas with an original portrait of Hilda at her work. . . . She was pretty at all times in our native New England style, with her light brown ringlets, her delicately tinged but healthful cheek, her sensitive, intelligent, yet most feminine and kindly face. But every few moments this pretty and girlish face grew beautiful and striking, as some inward thought and feeling brightened, rose to the surface, and then, as it were, passed out of sight again; so that, taking into view this constantly recurring change, it really seemed as if Hilda were only visible by the sunshine of her soul." Vol. I, p. 83.

Hilda, like Miriam, had come to Rome with a view to improve a native talent for pictorial art; but, like many others, after a brief residence in the Eternal City had been contented to acquire a more substantial fame, by becoming an accurate and self-sacrificing copyist of immortal antiques, in some cases surpassing the original. Hilda had taken up her residence in a ruined tower, in which was an image of the Virgin, her aerial habitation being called the Dove Cote, from the tribe of those birds who inhabited it, whence or from the purity of her nature she had derived her appellation of the Dove, and though a Puritan maiden, had devoted herself to the labor of keeping the lamp perpetually burning before the Virgin's shrine.

To return to the course of the story. Availing himself of a careless appointment of the former, Miriam and Donatello meet in a suburban villa, where Donatello again pressing his suit, Miriam at length reluctantly yields, and the happy pair indulge in a brief period of innocent hilarity and enjoyment. The chapter describing this scene, for gracefulness of narration and felicity of expression is one of the best in the book.

"'What are you, my friend?' she exclaimed, always keeping in mind his singular resemblance to the Faun of the Capitol. 'If you are in good truth that wild and pleasant creature whose face you wear, pray make me known to your kindred. They will be found hereabouts, if anywhere. Knock at the rough rind of this ilex tree and summon forth the Dryad! Ask the water-nymph to rise dripping from yonder fountain, and exchange a moist pressure of the hand with me!'

"Donatello smiled; he laughed heartily, indeed, in sympathy with the mirth

that gleamed out of Miriam's deep, dark eyes. But he did not seem quite to understand her mirthful talk, nor to be disposed to explain what kind of creature he was, or to inquire with what divine or poetic kindred his companion feigned to link him.

'Why should you love me, foolish boy?' said she. 'We have no points of sympathy, at all. There are no two creatures more unlike, in this wide world, than you and I.'

'You are yourself, and I am Donatello,' replied he. 'Therefore, I love you! There needs no other reason.'

'You have had a happy life, hitherto—have you not, Donatello?'

'Oh, yes,' answered the young man. 'But never so happy as now.'

'In these delightful groves?' she asked.

'Here, and with you,' answered Donatello. 'Just as we are now'

'What a fullness of content in him! How silly, and how delightful!' said Miriam, to herself. Then, addressing him again, 'But, Donatello, how long will this happiness last?'

'How long!' he exclaimed, for it perplexed him even more to think of the future than to remember the past. 'Why should it have any end? How long! Forever! forever! forever!" Vol. I, pp. 101-105.

Kenyon is a young American artist, who, like the others named above, has set up his studio in Rome, and has hitherto been successful in the department of art to which he has devoted himself, that is, sculpture. The author introduces us to his work-shop, and in the course of the narrative, in the list of statuary which the sculptor has in hand, or has already completed, takes occasion to pay a handsome compliment (which must be as gratifying to the individuals as it is justly deserved) to the works of two well known American artists, viz., "The Pearl Diver," by Paul Akers, and the magnificent bust of "Cleopatra," by W. W. Story. The former, to the merits of which we can heartily subscribe, is delineated in the following passage:

"Miriam admired the statue of a beautiful youth—a pearl-fisher—who had got entangled in the weeds at the bottom of the sea, and lay dead among the pearl-oysters, the rich shells and the sea-weeds all of like value to him now.

'The poor young man has perished among the prizes that he sought,' remarked she. 'But what a strange efficacy there is in death! If we cannot win pearls, it causes an empty shell to satisfy us just as well! I like this statue, though it is too cold and stern in its moral lesson; and physically, the form has not settled itself into sufficient repose.'" Vol. I, p. 150.

Again, referring to some painful reminiscences of her former history—

"As he [the sculptor] attended her through the ante-chamber, she pointed to the statue of the pearl-diver.

'My secret is not a pearl,' said she, 'yet many a man might drown himself in plunging after it.' " Vol. I, p. 165.

We regret that our limits will not permit us to transcribe the passages relating to "Cleopatra," for a description of which the reader is referred to the volume.

Between Hilda and Kenyon an attachment subsists like that between Miriam and Donatello, which forms a sort of minor episode in the narrative.

But we may not linger in this part of the work, fascinating as it may be, but hasten on to Chapter XVIII, entitled "On the Edge of a Precipice,"—the catastrophe to which we have before alluded, and which occurs in this wise. Donatello, enamored as he is of Miriam, has an equal hatred of her model—the personage mentioned as the Specter of the Catacomb, whose reappearance she has learned to dread, and whom she regards with positive aversion. Understanding from her the real state of the case, and the impossibility of ever severing the painful tie that binds Miriam and this man together, and instigated by her, in the first place, to commit the crime, he suddenly hurls his victim headlong from the Tarpeian rock, who becomes a mangled corse in the valley below. Chapter XIX is entitled "The Faun's Transformation," and portrays graphically the effect produced by the committal of the murderous deed, on the character of the Faun, raising him, through the influence of remorse on its account, from an individual neither man nor animal to an intelligent human being. In this part of the work the reader is forcibly reminded of the scene in "The Scarlet Letter," between Hester Prynne and Arthur Dimmesdale, which is rendered still more striking in a subsequent part of the book. We transcribe the opening passage :

"The door of the court-yard swung slowly and closed itself of its own accord. Miriam and Donatello were now alone there. She clasped her hands and looked

wildly at the young man, whose form seemed to have dilated, and whose eyes blazed with the fierce energy that had suddenly inspired him. It had kindled him into a man; it had developed within him an intelligence which was no native characteristic of the Donatello whom we have heretofore known. But that simple and joyous creature was gone forever.

'What have you done?' said Miriam, in a horror-stricken whisper.

The glow of rage was still lurid on Donatello's face, and now flashed out again from his eyes.

'I did what ought to be done to a traitor,' he replied. 'I did what your eyes bade me do, when I asked them with mine, as I held the wretch over the precipice.'

'Did you not mean that he should die?' sternly asked Donatello, still in the glow of that intelligence which passion had developed in him. 'There was short time to weigh the matter, but he had his trial in that breath or two while I held him over the cliff, and his sentence in that one glance when your eyes responded to mine! Say that I have slain him against your will—say that he died without your whole consent—and in another breath you shall see me lying beside him.'

'Oh, never,' cried Miriam, 'my one own friend. Never! never! never!' "

Vol. I, pp. 216-218.

This part of the story is worked up by our author with wonderful power, and in vigor of description and pathos is not surpassed by anything in Mr. Hawthorne's preceding volumes.

The usual effect of the commission of crime, is next shown, in the mutual wretchedness of its perpetrators, more, however, in the case of Donatello than of Miriam, whose pride enables her to keep up the semblance of a mind at ease, while Donatello is completely overcome by the terrible consciousness of the deed. The result of this is a separation, resolved on between the two, at the instance of the latter, since they can no longer live together, so repulsive has become their dreadful bond of union. This is succeeded by a similar estrangement and divorce between Miriam and her friend Hilda, who is involuntarily an eye-witness of the tragedy, and who can no longer regard Miriam with the feelings which she has been wont to entertain towards her, leaving her to struggle alone, in utter hopelessness of companionship or relief. She is burdened with a dreadful secret, which she is either unable or unwilling to reveal, the effect of which, on her highly sensitive and

pure nature, is to make her, physically and mentally, almost as miserable as Miriam herself.

The scene next changes to a tower in the Apennines, whither we are transported by the wand of the (Salem) magician, where the sculptor, Kenyon, makes a visit to the proprietor, who turns out to be our old acquaintance, Donatello, or, to give him his real title, "The Count of Monte Beni." Here he is received and entertained for some time as a guest, and partakes of the good cheer which his host has provided, in the shape of a particular and choice wine made from the vineyards of Monte Beni, from its peculiar exhilarating qualities called "Sunshine," and which is delineated in the chapter entitled "Sunshine." In the course of his visit he learns that the Count and his domestics are not the only occupants of the castle, but that a female, unknown to the Count, inhabits an apartment of the building, inclosed in its gloomy precincts, whom the reader at once understands to be our old friend—Miriam.

Vol. II opens with an account of the pedigree of Monte Beni, which is only a reproduction of the traditional legend respecting the house traced back to the time of its first ancestor, who is represented as having formed a union with one of the fair divinities inhabiting in the earliest times the Arcadian forests, whence the origin of the Faun—Donatello. This part of the book is very interesting, and is in Hawthorne's best vein, showing a highly poetic and imaginative genius on the part of the writer. At the suggestion of Kenyon, with whom Miriam contrives to have an interview, a reconciliation is planned between the estranged though not divorced lovers, which is consummated at length by the reunion of the pair, by appointment, in the great square of Perugia, where they receive the benediction of the Bronze Pontiff, (the Statue of Pope Julius III.) Here again we are forcibly reminded of the thrilling scene in "The Scarlet Letter," where Hester Prynne and Arthur Dimmesdale with little Pearl, the offspring of their guilty intercourse, stand together in the open moonlight in the public square to make public acknowledgment and do penance for their mutual offense. Hilda, who still carries locked up in her

breast the murderous secret, weighed down with the sense of a burden which becomes too heavy to be borne, at last finds relief at the Confessional at St. Peter's—the World's Cathedral. In this connection we have incidentally from our author some valuable art-criticism, which, as well as his observations on the Coliseum, will be recognized by all who have ever visited Rome. An interview next takes place between Hilda and Kenyon, which leads to the planning of an appointment which fails to be realized, owing to the sudden and mysterious flight of Hilda the Dove from her Dove-cote, announced by the extinction of the lamp before the virgin's shrine.

The next chapter (XIX) is taken up with a description of the sculptor's search for Hilda, during which, after some mishaps, he encounters in an assumed disguise a peasant and contadina, (our old acquaintances Donatello and Miriam,) who give him a clue which eventually conducts him out of the labyrinth. At length Hilda re-appears in the midst of the celebration of the Carnival, the scenes in which are depicted with as much force as vivacity, and form an agreeable relief to the gloom and suspense of the preceding chapter. The book closes with an attempt to explain some phases of Miriam's past history, particularly her connection with the mysterious model, who turns out to be a Capuchin friar; as also the probable cause of Hilda's mysterious disappearance, supposed to have been brought about by religious interference; her union with the sculptor Kenyon, who has long since won the heart of the pure maiden; while in regard to the ultimate fate of Miriam and Donatello, he is left in a state of mind which may be described as not despairing if not hopeful.

Such, briefly analyzed in detail, is the "Romance of Monte Beni." It has no regular plot—indeed, it is not so much a romance as a "poem in prose," or to speak more accurately, an "Art-Novel." The two most interesting characters in the work are Donatello and Hilda—the Faun and the Dove, for we do not think the writer has succeeded in making Miriam or Kenyon in an intellectual point of view very attractive to the reader. We agree with a critic who says that "the character of Donatello alone is one of the subtlest conceptions of modern genius."

Hilda is also a pure creation of the author, and the almost ethereal nature and spotless soul of the sweet heretic, as exhibited in the severe conflict going on in her mind, after having come into possession of the dreadful secret, suffering for the sins of another, pointing the moral that the consequences of crime are not confined to the one who commits it, will long make her image linger in the reader's imagination. The Specter of the Catacomb, as we have seen, turns out to be a mortal man. Yet no particular interest attaches to the dead Capuchin, but that connected with his awful fate, and though an attempt is made to account for his singular conduct on the plea of insanity, he continues to be a specter, and naught beside. The story is nothing but a reproduction of "The Scarlet Letter," save that the scene is transferred from New England to Italy; at the same time, as a romance, the work exceeds the latter, while the reading public is a gainer by the transportation.

In a dramatic point of view we think the book to be imperfect, not so, however, in an artistic point of view. Were the art-criticisms with which it abounds the only thing in the volume, it would still be intrinsically valuable. "The whole work is steeped in Italian atmosphere," and could only have been written by one whom long residence in Italy had made familiar with the master-pieces of modern and antique art. We have alady retransferred to our pages one of these unique criticisms having reference to the productions of our American artiste. One chapter, entitled "The Emptiness of Art-Galleries," contains thoughts worthy to be pondered by our aspirants to artistic fame, and particularly by those would-be connoisseurs who often throw away a reputation for common sense, as well as coin, through inability to judge accurately of the value of a true work of Art.

Though the web of the Romance of Monte Beni is slightly woven, yet underneath is solemn truth. It is an attempt to discuss the problem, old and yet ever new, which has baffled so many minds in respect to the permission of evil and its relation to the Divine providence. The reader, we think, will hardly be satisfied with Mr. Hawthorne's solution of the question. By one who has attentively perused the story, some

idea of it may be guessed at, though the dim religious light in which it appears scarcely makes it manifest. In one instance he does, indeed, hint at the infinite evil of sin as needing an infinite atonement, but the sentiments which he puts into the mouths of his principal characters, as in the case of his liberal views of the catholic creed of the confessional, evince the entertaining of thoughts which a healthy intellect as well as a healthy conscience could never for a moment permit itself to entertain.

Thus speak Miriam and Kenyon on this point :

" You stir up deep and perilous matter, Miriam," replied Kenyon, " I dare not follow you into the unfathomable abysses whither you are tending."

" Yet there is a pleasure in them ! I delight to brood on the verge of this great mystery," returned she. " The story of the fall of man ! Is it not repeated in our ' Romance of Monte Beni ! ' And may we follow the analogy yet farther ? Was that very sin, into which Adam precipitated himself and all his race—was it the destined means by which, over a long pathway of toil and sorrow, we are to attain a higher, brighter, and profounder happiness than our last birthright gave ? Will not this idea account for the permitted existence of sin, as no other theory can ? "

" It is too dangerous, Miriam ! I cannot follow you," repeated the sculptor. " Mortal man has no right to tread on the ground where you now set your feet." Vol. II, p. 250.

The same peculiarities of style which characterized Mr. Hawthorne's former works are even more apparent in the *Romance of Monte Beni*. This is distinguished by simplicity, purity, and beauty. " Melancholy—a quiet pensiveness like the faint light of an autumn afternoon is the atmosphere of Hawthorne's writings." He has been called " The Tennyson of Prose." " There is an indescribable grace about his sentences and a particular rhythm in their construction, which falls on the ear like the voice of some one who is dear to us." His writings are characterized by a remoteness and picturesqueness of idea, which is equally striking in the delineation. " Every word tells, and there is no word that does not tell." Such perfection of style can only be the result of a felicitous gift of nature, combined with great and laborious practice, and according to an irreversible decree in the world of letters, is the precious amber which must embalm his thoughts and preserve them to posterity.

ARTICLE IX.—THE CRIME AGAINST THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

In a free commonwealth it is the duty of every citizen to care for the welfare of the state; and it is his right to speak his honest thought wherever he can find a hearing. The duty of remonstrating against public evils, and of contributing to correct them, is not incumbent on magistrates and legislators only, but on every citizen. Against every peril hanging over the commonwealth, an appeal may always be made to the people; for the safety of the state against perils from within, as well as against perils from without, is dependent on the people.

It is the boast of these states that they are self-governed. The officers of government, in every department, legislative, executive, or judicial, are not, in the strict use of language, rulers—not sovereigns, doing as they list and irresponsible except to God; but servants, sustaining to the people, by whom they are directly or indirectly appointed, a relation almost identical with that which the various functionaries in a despotic government sustain to the monarch whom they serve. The great duty of a sovereign is to fill all the offices of government with capable and faithful men. A monarch, however absolute, can rule only through the agency of the officers whom he appoints to serve him; and his great business is to get good officers for every trust. He must have his royal or imperial council from which his legislative edicts shall proceed, and in which the policy of his government shall be considered and determined. In this council, it is his duty to collect the wisest, most just, most honorable, and most faithful of his subjects. He must have his judicial officers to hear and decide, according to the law and the facts, in all cases of crime against the government, or of wrong or controversy between one subject and another. For these duties he must select men of thorough learning in the system and science of

the laws by which they are to judge, of a quick and inflexible sense of justice, and of unimpeachable and incorruptible honor. He must have his executive functionaries—heads of the departments of administration—superintendents of the police—chief rulers, under him, of provinces and cities; and all these must have their subordinates. In such posts of trust and power, he must place the right men, men of competent understanding and skill, men of known integrity and of suitable dignity and weight of character. All this—which, in a simple monarchy, depends on the will of the sovereign—is with us dependent on the will of the people expressed by their suffrages. As, under a simple monarchy, all misgovernment by whatever officers, must be in some sense the fault of the sovereign, proceeding from some incapacity or delusion on his part, or else resulting from some unjust and wicked intention in him; so, under our political institutions, all misgovernment by the various functionaries entrusted with power, is in some sense the fault of the people by whose suffrages, directly or indirectly, those men are placed in office. It may be because the people are ignorant and deluded; it may be because they are carried away by some bewildering but dishonorable and criminal excitement; it may be because, through some negligence on their part, their intentions as expressed by their votes are defeated, but it is difficult to conceive of misgovernment which may not be in some sense imputed to the people. Even when the will of the people, as expressed by the majority of actual and legitimate suffrages, is defeated, that defeat must be owing, in some sense, to the ignorance, the impetuosity and heedlessness, or the apathy of the people themselves. It must be because the people, for some reason, are not sufficiently awake and enlightened, or not sufficiently on their guard to prevent the perpetration of the fraud.

It has often seemed to us—and more and more for the last twenty years—that the moral turpitude of illegal voting at elections, and of other kindred crimes, which may be classed together as the crime against the right of suffrage,—is not duly estimated by American citizens generally, and that the

facilities which exist for the perpetration of the crime in one form or another, and the temptations which are created by party organizations and by the tendency of party politics, are not considered as they ought to be.

We hardly need to say that the crime is the same in effect whether it is committed by depositing in the ballot-boxes votes which by the law and the constitution of the state have no right to be there,—or by fraudulently excluding votes which the law permits to be deposited,—or by a false count and return of the votes actually given,—or by a false summing up and statement of the result by those to whom that final duty is entrusted. When the same end is aimed at by violence,—as, for example, when bands of ruffians, ready for any outrage, are permitted to surround the place of voting, and thus to prevent the access of aged and feeble voters, and of others who are willing to forego their right of voting, rather than encounter the insults and dangers which they must face in the performance of their duty; or when a mob rushes upon the ballot-boxes and destroys them or carries them away to prevent the votes from being counted against their party—the crime differs from a simple fraud only as highway robbery differs from theft.

In regard to the turpitude of this crime, it is difficult to speak but by comparing it with other crimes to which it may be thought to bear some resemblance. It seems to us that in comparison with this crime, stealing, and swindling, and forgery, are respectable. The attempt to deprive a man of fifty, or a hundred dollars, by picking his pocket—the attempt to get possession of a merchant's goods by false pretenses—the attempt to abstract five thousand dollars from a bank by means of a forged check, or endorsement—does not approximate in baseness to this crime. If the crime were simply an attempt to put one man, by a fraudulent proceeding, in possession of the salary and perquisites of an office which, in due course of law, that is, by the legal votes of the people, truly counted, belongs to another man—then it would be a crime exactly of the same sort, not with stealing, but with swindling and forgery. This, however, is only the smallest part of the

wrong which the giver or procurer of a fraudulent vote intends to commit. When an election is pending for Governor of Connecticut, the question whether this man or that shall have a certain pitiful salary, is insignificant—nobody thinks of it. When the whole American Union is agitated with the election of a President, the question whether John Doe or Richard Roe shall have possession of a certain house for four years, with an annual salary of twenty-five thousand dollars, is not taken into consideration. The question, in such cases, is not who shall have a certain salary, but whom shall the people honor with their confidence—who shall be entrusted with the direction of public affairs—what shall be the character and tendency of the government. These are questions of such moment that the pecuniary question dwindles into nothing, by the side of them. These questions may involve boundless results. The election of one man rather than another may bring upon the country all the moral evils and commercial disasters of an inflated currency. The election of one man rather than another may be the decision of the question between the violation and the integrity of public faith, or between the loss and the redemption of national honor. It may decide the question between peace and war. It may decide the question whether liberty or slavery shall be extended over vast regions of luxuriant wilderness—whether the country shall be indeed a country of freemen, with free thought, free worship, and free labor, or shall embark in a crusade against Christendom for the indefinite perpetuation and extension of the most atrocious and most mischievous of all the institutions of barbarism. To determine the question directly or indirectly dependent upon the issue of an election, is the prerogative of those to whom the constitutions and laws of the country have committed the sovereignty—of those, in other words, who, by the constitutions and laws of the country, are invested with the right of suffrage. The crime, then, which we are considering, is an attempt, not to defraud this man or that of some little amount of property, but to defraud the people of their highest prerogative. It is an act of treason against the sovereignty of the republic. It is an attempt to

usurp fraudulently, if not by a direct act of perjury, the power of determining the most momentous questions, and to precipitate a free people upon some course of policy which their judgment and their will rejects. By the side of such a crime, all ordinary frauds upon property—theft, swindling, forgery—seem light and venial.

The guilt of this crime, it is to be observed, does not rest exclusively upon that individual culprit whose hands actually deposit an illegal vote upon the ballot box. That culprit rarely, if ever, perpetrates his crime except at the procurement and under the influence of somebody else. He is responsible; but ordinarily, if not always, somebody else is responsible too. And often the actual perpetrator is far less guilty in the matter than those under whose instigation he has acted; but who very likely would despise the thought of perpetrating such a deed with their own hands.

The sophistry by which men may persuade themselves either to commit this crime themselves or to connive at the commission of it by others, is easily imagined, and by an honest mind as easily refuted. There is no crime without some form of apology—no wickedness without some sophistry which the perpetrator thinks, at the time, may be sufficient to excuse it.

It is easy for a man, under certain influences, and especially under the strong influence of political partisanship, to say within himself, or to say outright, “The laws here do not indeed give me in this case the right of voting, but they ought to do so, and they have conferred that right on many who are far less competent than I am to exercise it wisely. The arrangement which forbids my vote, is arbitrary, unreasonable, unwise, unjust;—and therefore it is not unjustifiable, it is nothing more nor less than simple equity, if I evade the law in any way that happens to be practicable.” And many men there are who can impose upon themselves in a question of right and wrong by arguments less plausible than this. But what is this reasoning? It is the very logic of the thief. “The laws and arrangements of society,” he says, “are all wrong. The distribution of property which takes place under

these laws and arrangements is very unequal and unjust. I have not all that I want, while others have more than they need. This is all wrong, and therefore I am justified in trying to set it right." Need there be another word to show the falsehood of such an excuse for such a crime. The right of suffrage is not one of the universal and inalienable rights of human nature. Even the most enthusiastic asserters of what is called, by a strange misnomer, universal suffrage, do not hold that the right of voting pertains to every human being at all times, in all places, and in all circumstances. It does not belong to children; it is not commonly considered as belonging to women; and those who profess to be most liberal in this point, and in whose view all other men are bigots, profess to regard a bare proposal to acknowledge a black man's right to vote as an unpardonable atrocity. The right of voting then, instead of being universal and inalienable, a right which no law can take away from any human being, is a right committed to certain individuals in society for the benefit of all; and it is for the laws and constitutions of the country to define the individuals to whom that right shall be committed. So that he who arrogates to himself a power in this respect above the constitution and the laws, and who accordingly undertakes to nullify them and set them aside at his discretion, is acting the part of a traitor.

Another kind of apology which, to minds in a certain condition of excitement, may sometimes seem to justify the crime we are considering, is this: "Frauds are committed on one side, and we of the other side must either submit and see all the interests for which we are contending, prostrated, or else we must fight the enemy with their own weapons. Therefore if they evade the law by fictitious deeds, or other documents to qualify men for voting whom in simple truth the law forbids to vote, we must do so too. If they, in one great city and another, bring forward unnaturalized foreigners to decide by their votes the policy and destinies of a country of whose interests and institutions they know nothing, we must do so too. If they employ men to go from place to place and vote as many times as possible, we must do so too." All this argu-

ment may deceive men when excited into monomania by the heat of partisanship, but to an unsophisticated mind such reasoning needs no refutation. What! does one wrong added to another make both right, or either? If your property is stolen, may you go out and steal in return with the idea of making things even again? If a crime is committed which strikes at the very foundation of the republic—a crime the mere suspicion of which tends to weaken the whole fabric of a republican government—do you mend the matter by going about to commit the same crime, and thus to give somebody else the same apology for committing it yet again.

We say that this crime strikes at the very foundation of the republic. The bare suspicion, spreading through the community, that crimes of this sort have been and will be committed without punishment and without complete detection, tends to weaken the whole fabric of a government like ours. Our government rests entirely upon the confidence with which the people look to the counting of the votes as an unfailing manifestation of the will of the majority. Let this confidence fail, and all fails. Let the people think that the ballot-box is no longer the oracle of their will, and the power of the ballot-box for the settlement of political controversies is ended. Let them feel that election after election is determined not by fair and lawful votes, but by wholesale frauds, and will they submit to a government the administration and the policy of which are thus determined? If they submit once, or twice, or thrice, in the hope of an ultimate reformation, and a peaceful remedy, will they continue to submit when that hope passes away? Will they continue to submit when the conviction becomes general that there is no peaceful remedy, and when all shall feel that the fatal corruption is too deep-seated ever to be eradicated?

To what extent a suspicion of this kind is at this moment silently and half unconsciously spreading itself over the minds of the entire American people, every observing man who remembers the progress of events, can judge for himself. We confess that to us there is something darkly ominous in the earnestness and perseverance with which each great political

party charges upon its adversaries the wholesale perpetration of election frauds. Many can remember how generally the writers and speakers of the party that was defeated in 1840, accounted for their defeat in one state and another—not by admitting that the will of the majority was clearly against them, but by imputing gigantic and audacious frauds to the party that had triumphed. The party triumphant in 1840, was defeated in 1844; and then that party, in its turn, cried out with a thousand voices that the entire result of the election was a fraud. It was the firm belief of thousands that James K. Polk, whose accession to power had given a new direction to the policy and to the destiny of the Union, sat in the chair which Washington made more illustrious than any imperial throne,—not because the choice of a legal and constitutional majority of the states had placed him there, but because the people had been defrauded of their choice. We need not undertake to decide whether either of those elections was in fact carried by the frauds which the defeated party imputed to its adversary. It is more than enough to say that the stupendous and repeated outrages against the right of suffrage which were committed in Kansas at a later date, and which were shamelessly and notoriously connived at by men in the highest places, throw a lurid light upon the past as well as upon the present and the future. It is enough to say that if the conviction that an important election has been determined by fraud, is to be entertained first by one-half of the American people, and then by the other half, it will not be long before the whole people will lose all confidence in the ballot-box; and then will come the end, in the shape of anarchy and a military revolution. Then will come a new sort of government—new upon our soil—with dignity enough to scorn the farce of such an election, to build itself manfully upon force instead of fraud, and to carry its points by bullets instead of ballots.

Such is the character, and such the tendency, of the crime against the right of suffrage. Is its intrinsic baseness—is its destructive tendency, sufficiently considered by the people? In what way can the direst curses be brought upon our coun-

try more effectually or speedily than by the prevalence of such a crime? What an oppression is this!—how mean—how dishonorable—how much worse than to have literally children for princes and babes for rulers—this oppression of mutual fraud and shameless deceit and perjury! With what intenseness of indignation and horror ought such a crime to be regarded! How ought the wrath of the wronged and insulted people to smite, with irretrievable disgrace and ruin, every man who lends himself, in any way, to the promotion or success of such a crime!

And here it is important for us to observe the fact that the facilities and instruments for the perpetration of this crime are abundant in our country, and are continually increasing.

In an old fashioned, New England town meeting, where the electors of a little agricultural community, all well known to each other, meet to elect the representatives of their town, and to deposit their ballots for the officers of the state, there is almost no opportunity for the giving of a fraudulent vote. The name, the countenance, the residence, the character, of every one who approaches the ballot-box, is known, not only to those who preside there, but to all in the assembly; and if, at the counting of the ballots, the number of votes turns out to be greater than the number of voters, the discrepancy is as palpable as if it had occurred in the House of Representatives, or in the Senate. But in a city like New York, a fraudulent vote may be given with very little risk of detection, for the reason that no officer and no by-stander can possibly know one in ten, of the thousands that crowd to each place of voting. A moment's reflection, then, will suffice to show where lie the facilities, and what and where are the instruments for the perpetration of this crime.

Nothing is more obvious than that these facilities are multiplied with the growth of cities and of great manufacturing towns, where large masses of people are unknown to each other, and where a very considerable portion of the population is necessarily transient, with no certain dwelling place. In such communities there will always be men who, for a trifling consideration, will be ready to give illegal votes; and

nothing but the strictest regulations, administered with the utmost vigilance, and sustained by the sternest public sentiment, against the crime, will be sufficient either for prevention or for detection.

It is also plain that the facilities and instruments of fraud upon the ballot-box are multiplied with the increase of immigration from foreign countries. The newly arrived emigrant—if he has only been here long enough to change his clothes—bears no mark that, to the eye, distinguishes him from the naturalized citizen. Of course, if he attempts to vote in a city where foreigners are voting by thousands, his success in the attempt is much more probable than his failure. And what shall hinder him from making the attempt, if anybody will put him up to it? He knows nothing of the laws or institutions of the country in which he is a stranger, but of which he already counts himself a citizen. In the country from which he came he was never accustomed to regard the laws with an American feeling of loyalty—he has never been in the habit of obeying the laws from any other motive than fear. While Americans naturally regard the law as the protector of all their rights, and honor it because it is their law and not the law of an oppressor; he, in his native country, has always been wont to regard the law as an enemy against which he may justly take any advantage. He sees no reason why he should not vote, as well as the thousands who have been here only a little longer than he, especially when he understands that he can do it with perfect impunity. He is just the instrument, then, by whose hands a villain who happens to have influence over him may deposit an illegal vote, not in one place only, but in as many places as are open for voting in the city in which he happens to be sojourning. And in proportion as that city swarms with foreigners, naturalized and unnaturalized, the impunity with which the deed can be done, becomes more complete.

The increase of an ignorant, unsettled and vicious native population, tends to the same result. As population increases in these older states, the proportion of low and vicious persons without any settled abode, becomes, from various causes,

greater than it once was. An ignorant man, of vicious habits, with no home, no family affections and interests, and no fixed residence, is just the man to commit this crime; as he is just the man to commit any other crime that comes within the compass of his faculties. The dramshops, and other like infamous places in our cities, supply a great part of the illegal votes by which the people are defrauded of their sovereignty; they breed this crime just as they breed brawls, and riots, and thefts, and burglaries, and forgeries, and murders.

Here, then, are facilities and instruments enough for the commission of this crime, and they are continually increasing. But more than all this is necessary to bring about the actual perpetration of the crime, to any considerable extent. These facilities and instruments, if left to themselves, will produce, spontaneously, very little. In order to be efficient, they must be brought into use by those who expect to realize something from the use of them. They are like a water-power, which, if left to itself, grinds no corn, and fabricates no cloth, and makes neither guns, nor nails, nor pins, nor paper; but which becomes exceedingly efficient when somebody with the necessary enterprise and capital sets it to working. Let us inquire whether there are any tendencies by which this power of corruption and fraud is likely to be brought into full play. Whence may we expect the enterprise and capital that shall make these facilities and instruments of crime efficient for its own purposes?

In answer to this inquiry, we need not hesitate to say that whatever party arrangement—whatever combination of interests—whatever concurrence of circumstances—puts large sums of money into the hands of party managers to be distributed among their subalterns, that it may be used in promoting the success of the party, without any very rigid and public responsibility for the manner in which it is applied—that money, in those hands, is very sure to bring this power of corruption into play, on one side or the other, or on both.

There is, undoubtedly, to some extent, a legitimate use of money in the strife that precedes an important election. When the press is to be kept at work, and papers and pamphlets

are to be extensively distributed—when public meetings are to be held and a wide correspondence is to be maintained—when competent men are to be dispatched to one place and another to address the people in public assemblies on the questions which the people are to decide by their votes—when a thorough canvass is to be made—there may be, within certain limits, a lawful, reasonable, and patriotic expenditure of money. But all that can reasonably be expended for such objects is very little, compared with the sums which may be expended in bringing illegal votes into the ballot-boxes; and where any sums of money, beyond what can be reasonably employed in such uses, are at command, nothing is more likely than that they will tell upon the result in the way of fraud.

In the way of fraud, we say,—for we are happy to believe that in this country (Rhode Island excepted) money cannot purchase to any extent the lawful votes of lawful voters. This is the way by which corruption gains its end in England, when an ignorant, stolid, beer-drinking constituency, made up of a few purchasable individuals, elect their representatives, selling their votes at a price as well known in the market as the price of any other marketable commodity;—and it is for this that money is wanted in English elections. So it was once in England,—so doubtless it is—to a diminished extent—now. But with us, corruption comes not in the form of lawful votes made unlawful by being bought and sold, but in the other and much more atrocious form of fraud upon the ballot box. With us, he who would go about to control an election by buying votes that may be given lawfully, can make only scanty purchases. The attempt to influence voters by any pecuniary consideration—by promises or threats addressed to those who are supposed to be in a state of pecuniary dependence,—defeats itself; the remotest suspicion of such an attempt arrays the masses of those who might be considered liable to an influence of that kind in the most determined opposition to the party tainted with suspicion. Nay, the voter who is base enough to promise his vote in consideration of a bribe, or in consideration of a threat, is altogether likely to vote the other

way, when he actually deposits his ballot. The only way in which money can be effectual to any extent in controlling the result of an election, is by bringing into the ballot-box such a number of illegal votes as may turn the majority from one side to the other.

Look, then, at some of those causes—some of those arrangements or combinations of interests and circumstances—which, during the pendency of an important election, may operate to put large sums of money at the disposal of party men for party purposes. “Secret service money,” used at discretion by those who happen to be entrusted with the administration of government, is regarded by a free people as dangerous and almost certain to be used for corrupt purposes. “Secret service money,” in the hands of the leaders and managers of a party at a time of high excitement, and distributed by them at their discretion to the drill sergeants and drummers of their party, is no less dangerous, and no less likely to be employed corruptly. Our question is, How can money be had for that kind of expenditure?

The first thought, as we look for an answer to this question, is that the immediate dependence of great pecuniary interests upon national legislation, may interfere with the purity of elections. When men feel that as individuals they are likely to be made richer or poorer, immediately, according as an election shall be determined one way or the other, they will be ready to give money, freely and largely, for the objects of the party with whose success their pecuniary interests are supposed to be identified.

Take for an illustration of this, the system of protection to particular kinds of business by national legislation. Whether such a system is or is not wise in respect to political economy—whether it is or is not indispensable to our national independence and the development of our resources—whether it is or is not important to the fulfillment of our destiny as a nation—we need not here determine. But it is plain that if the establishment or the continuance of the system is a question in every national—nay, in every state and town election—if the cotton planters and slave-sellers of one portion of the

country are ready, as they were a few years ago, to pour out their resources in the hope of enriching themselves by its destruction—and if, on the other side, the capitalists and great manufacturers of another portion of the country are ready, as they were a few years ago, to contribute with even greater liberality lest they be suddenly impoverished by such a change of policy—then, and just so long as the conflict of pecuniary interests shall continue, there must be danger of corruption from one party or the other, or from both, in the form of a pecuniary influence, bringing fraudulent votes into the ballot-box.

For another illustration, we may suppose a case without affirming that it has ever been an actual instance in our history. Suppose that there exists a public debt, of some bankrupt state or government, amounting, in the aggregate, to thirty millions of dollars. Suppose, farther, that this debt is distributed among citizens of this and some other countries, in the form of certificates of indebtedness which are capable of being greatly multiplied, so that the thirty millions may, likely enough, under a warm sunshine, turn out in the end to be fifty millions, or even more. Now let the case be completed by supposing that a measure is in contemplation to be adopted by the government of the United States, which, if adopted, will make the certificates, that yesterday were worthless, good for all the value which they profess to represent—a measure which is to turn that waste paper, as it is in truth to-day, in the hands of its holders, into thirty or fifty millions of exchangeable value. Suppose that the adoption of this measure, or the rejection of it, turns on the result of an election. Will any money be wanting that may be deemed necessary to turn that election, by fair means or foul, in favor of the measure that involves so great a prize?

These are illustrations of what may be expected when great pecuniary interests are mixed up in political conflicts. In the light of these illustrations, we cannot but remember that there is one great pecuniary interest which is now openly assuming a right to control the policy of the Federal Government. The interest which the owners of slaves have in

the price of slaves, and especially the interest which the buyers and sellers of slaves have in the activity and lucrative-ness of that internal commerce, has become a constant force in the conflict of parties throughout the Union. Who does not know that the paramount question of the day is the question whether slavery shall be extended into new territories? Not the pettiest municipal election can take place, into which this question does not intrude its influence. Why? Just because the extension of slavery means a new market for the sale of slaves, and a consequent increase in the market value of that commodity. The extension of slavery means not that the labor of slaves, on the tobacco lands of Virginia, or on the cotton lands of Alabama, or in the rice swamps of Georgia, or on the sugar plantations of Louisiana, is to bring more produce from the soil, nor that the produce is to bring more money to the owner; but rather that the slaves themselves, their human flesh and human faculties, are to be worth more money in the market. The constant transportation of slaves from older states to the new lands along the rivers of Texas, adds one-tenth, at least, to the estimated value of every slave in the inventory of every slaveholder throughout those older states. The acquisition of Cuba, with the consequent cutting off of supplies from Africa to the plantations of that island, would add, perhaps, one hundred millions of dollars to the aggregate money value of the slaves in this country. What a prize is this to be contended for in the strife of political parties! A similar result would attend the extension of American slavery into Southern California, or into any rich mining country that might be torn from Mexico, or into Central America, if some province there, of tropical luxuri-ance, should be seized by our government, to be filled with slaves. Anything that raises the price of negroes in the marts and barracoons of the American slave-coast, gives an impulse to Southern trade with Northern cities, and is soon felt in the warehouses of importers and jobbers—Jew and Gentile—at New York and Philadelphia. Hence the patriotic readiness of such men to subscribe large sums of money for the “secret service” funds of the party that is pledged to

the indefinite extension of slavery. Hence the brazen impudence of the appeal which was made to that class of men, in New York, a few weeks ago, urging them, by the consideration of their immediate interest in the Southern trade, to contribute the money with which Connecticut was to be subdued and brought over to the policy of extending slavery into new territories. Here is just now the imminent danger. The danger is, that the great commercial interest which flourishes not merely on the proceeds of slave labor, but on the proceeds of the slave market—the men who buy and sell in marble palaces, and whose tide of gain flows and ebbs with the fluctuations in the price of human flesh, will make large offerings from their profits, realized or expected, to the political party which they regard as most likely to repay them, with usury, in the event of its success. That great commercial interest of the slave trade—not the African slave trade, but the American—is likely to be a fountain of money always available for purposes of political corruption, so long as there shall remain a hope of making the Federal Government auxiliary to the schemes for extending the area of slavery.

Another temptation to the crime we are considering—or rather, another source of money ever available for the perpetuation of this crime—is found in that organization and arrangement of parties under which every office in the country, save those from which the incumbent cannot be removed, becomes a prize to be won or lost in every election. Hardly anything in the working of our institutions is more ominous to the thoughtful lover of his country, than the steady progress, and now, at last, unquestioned establishment of the principle that all offices, whether directly in the gift of the people, or in the gift of the Federal Government or of the government of a state, or in the gift of a municipal administration, are to be distributed as rewards of party services, and that all removable functionaries are to be removed from office, whenever the party under which they hold loses the power. By the force of this principle, now so firmly established, all the emoluments of all disposable offices are an immense pecuniary interest which is staked on the result of every election,

and especially of a Presidential election. The salaries, the official fees and perquisites, the lucrative contracts, the day wages of thousands and thousands of men, are put at hazard, to be gained by one party and lost by the other. In such a case, if money can do anything, the money will not be wanting. Cannot a party in power always raise money for all party purposes by an assessment upon office-holders, in proportion to the value of their offices? Is not that method of raising money an established system? Are not lucrative offices often given to hungry aspirants with the express condition that a certain portion of the emoluments shall be paid over for the use and benefit of the party? Is it not well understood that the office-holder who refuses to pay his assessment, loses his place? Such a system, most obviously, tends to place at the disposal of party managers indefinite and unknown amounts of money, which can hardly fail to be employed in procuring, directly or indirectly, by one method or another, the perpetration of the great crime against the right of suffrage. And, what is even more detestable, such a system, perseveringly kept up, is sure to establish, if not in the higher places of trust and emolument, at least in a thousand petty places of dependence on Custom Houses and the Post Office Department, and in those inferior offices of which the government of a large city is so full, men of the lowest order of morals—men whose habits and associations enable them, in spite of all ordinary vigilance, and especially under a conniving or careless superintendence of elections, to overflow the ballot-boxes, if they will, with votes which have no right to be there.

Coördinate with all this, and naturally connected with it, is another practice which is sufficient of itself to put any amount of money for criminal uses, into the hands of the vilest tools of party. We mean the immoral and every way mischievous practice of betting on the result of an election. There is an intrinsic immorality in such wagers. The transaction is not of the nature of insurance, but purely of the nature of gambling. All the principles which evince the intrinsic immorality of betting on a horse race, on a cock fight,

on the throwing of dice, on any game of chance or skill, evince the immorality of betting on the result of an election. But this is not all. Every man who makes a wager on the result of a pending election, puts two persons at least—himself and the other party in the transaction—under a strong temptation to use, directly or indirectly, corrupt and fraudulent means of influencing the result. Whatever honor there may be among thieves, there is none among gamblers, save that which pays “debts of honor” at the expense of honesty; and he is fit only to be plucked, who believes that a gambler will not cheat him if he can. The man whose moral principles are so infirm that he has yielded to temptation, and has hazarded his money on such a chance as this, will of course be tempted—and the probability is that he will be effectually tempted—to yield his connivance, at least, to measures and proceedings against which he would otherwise have protested with honest indignation.

No honest man, who is tempted to show his confidence in the success of his party, by the offer or acceptance of a wager, should permit himself to forget, for one moment, how directly, and with what force of motive power, this widely tolerated practice operates to promote and procure the crime against the right of suffrage. If you offer any man a wager on a pending election—or what is the same thing, if you accept his offer of a wager—what is that you promise him? What is the nature of your contract with him? You have said to him, in effect, just this: “Sir, there is a certain sum of money deposited in safe hands; if your party will manage to get votes enough into the ballot-boxes to carry your candidate into office over the candidate of my party, the money shall be yours.” The man with whom you have made such a contract is not likely to be overscrupulous in the use of means. He can afford to occupy his time—he can afford, if the wager is large, to hire other men who shall employ their time and their well-tried skill in all the low and villainous arts by which the people are defrauded of their right to choose their own servants. And if the practiced criminals who infest great cities, and who, having made political knavery their speciality, know

how to crowd false votes into the ballot-boxes in spite of every precaution—as practised burglars know how to carry on their trade in spite of improved locks and the metropolitan police—can find men enough to promise them money in this way; they have a fund at their command, with which they can accomplish anything. Thus a party without one honest chance of success may sometimes be carried into power by the funds which the unprincipled, heedless, gambling avarice of its adversaries has placed at its disposal.

We have taken it upon ourselves, in this Article, to hold up before the public one great political danger of our country—a danger growing every year more formidable—a danger for which, as we have intimated, no one party is alone responsible. The danger is, that the ever increasing facilities, and ever multiplying instruments for the perpetration of the great crime against the right of suffrage, will be used more and more, on all sides, in times of high political excitement, and soon, perhaps, at every return of a popular election; and that thus the public sentiment in regard to the atrocity of the crime will be more and more demoralized, and the public confidence in what purports to be the expression of the people's will, and in all the working of our republican institutions, will be more and more impaired, till the nation shall perish in its own corruption.

The trust which God has committed to the free citizens of these states, is such as was never before committed to any people. As we think of that great trust, and of the great interests of humanity, throughout the world and through all coming ages, which are dependent on the fidelity with which that trust is kept;—as we remember how manifestly and rapidly, according to the testimony and the mutual crimination of all parties, this crime against the right of suffrage, this foulest and most loathsome form of treason against the very principle of popular self-government, is permitted to increase;—as we see how little sense there seems to be of the extreme baseness of all collusion with such a crime;—as we see how the conviction seems to spread that frauds of this kind are an inevitable incident, if not a necessary clement in political

affairs; we cannot but ask ourselves, Will not God be avenged for such an abuse of such a trust? Will not the displeasure of God manifest itself against a people so trusted, who permit so great a trust to be taken from them, not by violence which they cannot resist, but by demoralizing influences which they might suppress and eradicate, but which, in their folly, they neglect? Such a people need only be left to themselves, and how speedily will they work out their own signal punishment! Children will be their princes—no, not children but men far more unfit than children to bear the symbols of authority; men known as criminals, and guilty of the grossest frauds in private as well as in public affairs, will rule over them; and they will be “oppressed every one by another, and every one by his neighbor.”

ARTICLE X.—REPLY TO THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

We find in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, for January last, some editorial strictures upon our discussion of Dr. Taylor's work on Moral Government, which call for a brief reply.

Our readers will remember that in that Article, after exhibiting the somewhat extreme views of several of the New England divines upon the reason for the Divine permission of evil, we observed that the principle from which their inconsistencies flowed, is by no means peculiar to themselves; and that we referred briefly to both Catholic and Arminian writers, as having shared in the same erroneous scheme. In particular, we quoted the language of Wesley, as showing that "the same views which Edwards maintained of the increased blessedness derived from the introduction of sin, Wesley himself expressed about the results of the fall." For this statement we are taken to task; and charged with "misrepresenting" something—it does not appear, very exactly, what. As we made no comment, and placed no construction upon the language which we quoted, and as the correctness of the quotation is not questioned, we are somewhat at a loss to know in what the alleged misrepresentation consists.

The editor of that Journal proceeds to declare that the passage in question "affirms only what everybody holds to be true, that in our remedial system a particular evil has been overruled by God, so as to eventuate in a higher good to our race, all the thanks being due to God, and none to the evil."

What is meant by the phrase "*a higher good*" in this language of our critic, as compared with that which is *not* a good at all but only "*a particular evil*," is not very clear; but the vague and unmeaning language of the critic falls far below the simple and definite utterance of Wesley, for which it is substituted. The great founder of Methodism generally

had a meaning in his speech, a meaning too distinct to admit the use of any ambiguous phraseology; and he has not been guilty of attributing, as his defender does, to God, the poor glory of educing from evil a good which is merely a "higher" good than the evil itself. He asserts in the very sharp and definite terms which we quoted, that "mankind have gained by the fall a capacity,"

"First, of being more holy and happy on earth; and secondly, of being more happy in heaven, *than otherwise they could have been.*"

Now most certainly Wesley here teaches that mankind have now a "capacity of being more holy and happy," in consequence of the fall, "than otherwise they could have been"—more holy and happy through God's dispensations toward them in a fallen state, than they could have been "otherwise"—that is, had the race continued in its integrity. God has then educed from the fall, by his peculiar treatment of mankind, a holiness and happiness superior to anything which they could "otherwise" have attained.

Now it is impossible to distinguish this view from that of Hopkins, Edwards, and West, which we discussed and opposed. If a higher good than could otherwise have been attained, is to come through that remedial system of which sin is the indispensable antecedent, then sin is necessary to the perfection of the moral universe. The remedial system cannot exist unless sin shall have taken place; and as the remedial system involves higher degrees of holiness and blessedness than were otherwise possible, it is as clear as anything can be, that sin is an indispensable condition of the highest results in the universe of God. No form of language, therefore, which the New England divines did, or could, employ, could more decisively express the doctrine which Dr. Taylor so earnestly repelled.

Instead of its being true, then, that Wesley taught that only "a higher good" has resulted from God's overruling of sin, his doctrine is that *the highest possible* good has resulted; men are more holy and happy "than otherwise they could have been." Instead of the passage teaching only "what

everybody believes," it affirms a view which we are constrained to regard as most deeply obnoxious. It makes God the patron of sin; and represents him as condescending to educe by his remedial agency, higher results from sin, than he consents to draw from the perfect holiness of the unfallen. He lays upon his creatures the necessity of resting in lower forms of holiness and happiness, if perfectly obedient, than they may reach by incurring the guilt of sin and the hazard of perdition. If his creature, Adam, placed on probation for himself and his posterity, will be guilty of the crime of betraying his grand trust, God will educe out of that unspeakable baseness, results of blessing greater than he "otherwise" will consent to achieve. But if his yet holy, and trusting, and adoring child should shrink from such a depth of guilt and dishonor, and cleave to God in obedience and faithfulness, he must content himself with the prospect of an inferior degree of holiness and happiness for himself and his posterity as the result. God has no such blessing in store for him if holy, as he might attain "otherwise"—that is, "through the fall."

Whether our critic will consent to accept this view as his own, his somewhat dubious expression of "a higher good" leaves us in doubt whether to affirm or to deny. But the stern and sweeping language of the great original of Methodism involves no such uncertainty. There can be no question what Wesley meant to affirm when he said that God brings out from the fall a holiness and happiness greater than could otherwise have existed. His subsequent language renders this still more clear. In support of this position he observes: "For if man had not fallen there must have been a blank in our faith and in our love. There could have been no such thing as faith in God so loving the world that he gave his only Son for us and for our salvation;"—"no faith in the Son of God as loving us and giving himself for us;" . . .—"no faith in the Spirit of God as renewing the image of God in our hearts," &c.

This language is surely explicit enough; to us it is mournfully so. We are distinctly told that no such high forms of holiness as now exist, would have been possible without the

sin of our first parent. "No such thing as faith" in a Divine love, properly infinite, "if man had not fallen!" That original baseness was indispensable; without it "there must have been a blank in our faith and in our love." The editor of the *Methodist Quarterly* will of course feel at liberty to maintain this doctrine, if it seem good to him, without any permission of ours; but when he next attempts to state "what everybody holds to be true," we must beg to be excepted from any assertion which implies that sin is essential to the highest blessedness of any of God's creatures, or that the noblest forms of faith and love were possible only through the fall.

Very closely related to this subject is another charge of our critic. We had attributed to Wesley certain views about "the result of the fall." The *Methodist Quarterly*, without venturing any comment upon the language of Wesley which we quoted, affirms that "Mr. Wesley's real doctrine was that it was [is?] the *possibility* of evil, (involved in free moral agency,) and not its *reality*, which was [is?] necessary to the best moral system."

Wesley did indeed maintain that freedom is essential to man's accountability; and he cherished a high sense of the importance of human freedom in the moral system of God's government. But so, as we abundantly showed, did all the writers whom we criticised. It was a chief object of our review to show how impossible it was for those writers to maintain the extreme positions which they had so incautiously assumed. We pointed out the constant confusion which pervades and vitiates their reasonings between the divine *system*, and the *sin* which is a consequent of it; and the impossibility of reconciling the conflicting views in which this confusion results.

If Wesley then did in some passages testify a high and just appreciation of human freedom, so did Edwards, and West, in language of the most decided kind. But did he not do more than this? Did he not adopt the view which maintains that *sin*, has through Divine counteraction, important and beneficial results; and that the moral universe would have been less perfect and blessed without it?

The question at this point is a very simple one. Did Wesley affirm the fall of man to be indispensable to our highest blessedness, or did he confine his assertion to human freedom? What is necessary, according to Wesley, to the noblest forms of faith and love,—*the fall of man*, as we represented,—or the *freedom of man*, as our censor maintains?

If our readers will but recur to the passages already quoted from Wesley, they will have the means of answering this question without any help from us, or any danger from our “misrepresentations.” They will find the great founder and type of the Methodist theology declaring that “mankind have GAINED BY THE FALL a capacity first of being more holy and happy,” &c.; and again, as if to make assurance doubly sure, that “*if man had not fallen*, there must have been a blank in our faith and in our love.” Plainly it is no coloring of ours which makes Wesley refer here to *the fall* of man; his own most specific and exact utterance proclaims, beyond all mistake, that it is *to the fall* that every possibility of man’s highest virtue is owing, and that if that event had not taken place the noblest forms of human faith and love had been forever impossible.

So much for our “misrepresentations.” We have argued the question mainly on the ground of the brief and condensed quotations of our previous Article; and our readers will see how decisively our original statement is borne out by the language of our Author. But when the question is taken upon the broader ground of Wesley’s general views, the evidence of the correctness of our position is decisive and overwhelming. If our readers will turn to the Sermons of Wesley numbered LXIII and LXIV, in the edition of his works edited by Emory, they will find a very ample discussion of the subject, in which this view is asserted in language of the utmost emphasis. We might fill pages with the most decisive quotations of sentiments precisely analogous to those which we have given above. Thus, in Sermon LXIII he speaks as follows:

“*If Adam had not sinned, the Son of God had not died. Consequently that amazing instance of the love of God to man had never existed, which has in all*

ages excited the highest joy, and love, and gratitude, from his children. We may now attain both higher degrees of holiness, and higher degrees of glory, than it would have been possible for us to attain."

In Sermon LXIV he maintains that God permitted sin, *not* because human freedom rendered it impossible to prevent it; this idea he expressly rejects, in the following terms: "It was undoubtedly in His power to prevent it, for He hath all power in heaven and on earth." He affirms that

"God permitted sin in order to a fuller manifestation of His wisdom, justice, and mercy, by bestowing on all who would receive it an infinitely greater happiness than they could possibly have attained if Adam had not FALLEN."

And again,

"He permitted all men to be made sinners by the disobedience of this one man, that by the obedience of one, all who receive the free gift may be infinitely holier and happier to all eternity."

Nowhere have we met, in our reading of the New England divines, any language which affirms, with a breadth and intensity of expression equal to this, what Wesley terms "not only the advantages which accrue at the present time to the sons of men by the fall of their first parent, but the *infinitely greater advantages* which they may reap from it to all eternity."

Nor is this emphatic assertion of the *advantages* of the apostasy any mere looseness of unguarded language. It is but the summing up of a series of views which present deliberately, and in detail, the nature of these alleged advantages. He shows that all that is noble in our faith and love to God—all that is warmest in our love to our fellow men—the *whole* possibility of the passive virtues of resignation and trust in God—and *nearly* every possibility of our active benevolence—all these highest forms of virtue had been impossible save through the guilt of the fall. Does this sweeping language seem almost past belief? Read, then, the yet broader summing up of Wesley himself, in respect to "the *unspeakable advantage* we derive from the sin of our first parent,"—and hear him declare that unless the fall had taken place, "*what is now, in the sight of God—even the Father, of fallible men—PURE RELIGION AND UNDEFILED, WOULD*

THEN HAVE HAD NO BEING." It is impossible, we truly believe, to find in any other writer statements which go so far as these, or which affirm, with any similar confidence and breadth of assertion, the "unspeakable" and "infinite" advantages which owe their whole possibility to the dark apostasy of Adam. *All that now constitutes pure religion* is here declared to have been impossible without the previous guilt of the fall. Astonishing as this seems, it is but the literal and logical result of reasonings which affirm explicitly that without sin "there could have been no room for that amazing display of the love of the Son of God," and that the whole privilege of justification by faith could have had no existence." We shall look in vain among Protestant writers for any equal, or any similar assertion of the "advantages" of Adam's apostasy. The only parallel to expressions like these is found in the exquisite absurdity of that old piece of Roman Catholic devotion which Leibnitz has preserved for us from the rubbish of the dark ages; and which celebrates the glory of this fruitful theme in terms which Wesley might indeed emulate, but which even his felicitations must despair to reach.

"O certe necessarium Adæ peccatum
 Quod Christi morte deletum est!
 O felix culpa, que talem et tantum
 Meruit habere Redemptorem!"

There are some other passages in the strictures of our critic to which we should willingly reply, but we undertook a vindication, not a controversy; and having accomplished that, we take our leave of the subject. Our readers will perceive how far within the limits of truth was our original brief allusion to the views of Wesley; how groundless and wanton the charge of "misrepresentation" which has been made against us; and—what, in justice to the writers of our own denomination, we ought perhaps to have shown with greater distinctness in our previous essay—how far all that is most obnoxious in the extreme Calvinistic view of this subject, is surpassed and outdone by the boundless extravagance of both the Romish and the Wesleyan theology.

ARTICLE XL—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THEOLOGY.

THE FIRST ADAM AND THE SECOND. THE ELOHIM REVEALED.*—This bulky octavo is a very refreshing exhibition of pure Augustinian theology, freed alike from the neologisms of Princeton and New England, and accepting interpretations of the Scriptures which Calvin was too truth-loving not to reject. We welcome it as an important contribution, not exactly to Theological Truth, but to the advancement of a sound and Scriptural Theology. A few zealots for old rather than true ways of thinking, will undoubtedly be confirmed by it in a Calvinism more Calvinistic than Calvin taught. It may be that in Princeton itself sundry unfledged theologians may be prompted to an unwonted zeal for innovation backwards, which will appear in the newspapers in the form of sundry grave insinuations against the soundness of Dr. Hodge on Imputation, charging him with heresy for his interpretation of Romans v, 12–19. But its influence on the community in general will be most salutary. Those theologians who have been so active of late in discerning fatal tendencies to Pelagianism in all the New England theology, may possibly, by a thorough study of this volume, be converted to a Scriptural simplicity and soberness of thinking, through the healthful reaction of their own common sense. Those who have been so reverential in their mention of Augustine, as to adopt a half realistic, half mystical notion of a depraved generic unity, may be led to think that there is a possibility that this reverence may be carried so far as to become foolish: Those newspaper scribblers who plume themselves so pharisaically upon their own orthodoxy, and are so ready to charge all New England with heretical tendencies, may be surprised to find themselves heretics, when tried by the standard of this volume, and learn some modesty in bringing slanderous indictments against those who are better theologians, and perhaps better Christians, than themselves.

The author teaches that sin pertains both to the substance of the soul, and to those affinities which precede all its activities; that “Adam, when created, before the first exertion of the powers of his nature, was, by his

* *The First Adam and the Second. The Elohim Revealed in the Creation and Redemption of Man.* By SAMUEL J. BAIRD, D. D., Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Woodbury, N. J. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1860. 8vo. pp. 668.

Maker, so constituted, that all his powers should spontaneously move in conformity with God's law of holiness," and that Dr. Fitch is a disciple of the Pelagian theology, because he has said that "sin in every form and instance, is reducible to the act of a moral agent, in which he violates a known rule of duty." Moreover, he teaches that all men are guilty of Adam's sin because they actually sinned in Adam, and that Calvin and Dr. Hodge are both wrong because they do not translate Romans v, 12, "*in whom* all have sinned." The human race "were condemned to death as sinners because they were such." They sinned, "being in him as the branches are in the undeveloped shoot, apostatized with him, and so became corrupt and accursed." He teaches, also, that we ought to be penitent and contrite for the sin of Adam, and that distinguished theologians have been distinctly conscious of their guilt in this sin and of their repentance for this offense; and that the reason why all convicted sinners are not also conscious of the same, is because they have not "the power of analyzing their own exercises, so as to trace the depravity of their nature to the criminal act of depravation, and to locate that in the apostasy of Adam."

In respect to the sovereignty of God, he teaches that "any theory which limits the authority and discretion of the Creator, and our duty of obedience to Him, by other laws than his own free will, the expression of his own essential nature, is alike untenable and impious." "One thing, however, remains abundantly sure, that the moment we admit the supremacy of the 'Nature of Things,' of Beecher's 'Principles,' or of anything else than God's own nature, the fountain of His will, any true revelation of God is forever precluded." And yet, in other parts of the same chapter, he says, "It is evident that the exercise of a universal, absolute and unchangeable sovereignty, by some being, is necessary to the harmony and happiness, nay, to the very existence, of the universe which God has made. The Creator must be that Sovereign. No other being has one requisite for the office. The very act of creation, implying, as it does, some suitable end to be attained, brings the Creator *under obligation to His own wisdom* to give His creatures such laws as will guide them to the accomplishment of that end." So it seems that the sovereignty of the Creator is brought "under obligation to His own wisdom," however dishonorable it may be to recognize any obligation to the "Nature of Things," or Beecher's "Principles of Honor and Right." After having himself thus coolly limited the sovereignty of God, he proceeds to show, at great length, that the elder Edwards and the Hopkinsians have limited the sovereignty of God by an allegiance to moral

distinctions, and have adopted a theory that is infidel, atheistic, &c., &c. He then quietly adds, "these doctrines seem to have gained nearly universal currency in the Congregational churches; and are admitted to the position of unquestioned and ultimate truths. It has long been occasion of painful surprise to those who love the doctrines of the Reformation, that those churches have shown a tendency, so general, to depart from the faith which their fathers cherished, and in defense of which they endured persecution and exile; that the Scriptural doctrines of their ancient confession have so slight a hold on the sons of the Pilgrims; whilst every new form of error finds a cordial welcome and congenial home. We think reflection must convince the intelligent and candid mind, that the dogmas which we have just enumerated constitute one leading element in the clew to the mystery. These, releasing the minds of men from the restraints of God's law, refer them to 'the light of reason,' and 'the nature of things,' to know what is truth and duty. It is therefore no wonder that the theology of Calvin, of Augustine and Paul, the motto of which is 'Faith before reason,' should be rejected, the Rationalism of Pelagius be embraced, and the atheistic tendencies thereto appropriate be developed." In another place he writes: "We venerate the memory of Edwards, and esteem and love many of the disciples of his theology. But the history of a century confirms the conviction resulting from *a priori* considerations, that the principles of his system are irreconcilably hostile to the doctrines of grace which he loved; and must operate as heretofore, so always, to corrupt and destroy them."

We call the attention of the American Theological Review, and the Puritan Recorder, to these attacks on the Edwardean system. They will see that due justice is done to the author, and will perhaps be led to suspect that the Edwardeanism which they so zealously defend is not everywhere recognized as identical with orthodoxy.

We would again express our sincere thanks to the author of the "Elohim Revealed." We believe it is fitted to accomplish a good work in the service of a Scriptural theology. We would gladly place a copy in the hands of every Pastor and Theological Student in New England. The work is well written—the opinions of the author are clearly expressed and well arranged. The course of thought can be followed with satisfaction, with little or none of that confusion which the perusal or the attempt at the perusal of Dr. R. J. Breckenridge's notorious treatises invariably induces. But the clearness, method, and consistency of Dr. Baird only serve to set off the weakness of his interpretations of

the Scriptures, and the pitiable and almost imbecile subservience to the dogmas of mere human tradition.

RAWLINSON'S BAMPTON LECTURES—THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCES OF THE TRUTH OF THE SCRIPTURE RECORDS.*—This volume is the most timely and valuable contribution to Theological Science, which the reason has ever produced. It is especially timely because what with the destructive criticism of DeWette and the scarcely more conservative Bible History of Bunsen, the impression has been left on many minds, that little was likely to be said in defense of the historic verity of the Old Testament, if, indeed, the misgiving has not occurred to some that there was little that could be offered strong enough to stand the scrutiny of thorough historical criticism. It is valuable, considering the high authority from which it comes, and the candid yet thorough manner in which the discussions are conducted. The editor of Herodotus will not be charged with superficial scholarship. An examination of the work will convince any candid person that he is master of his subject. We attach especial importance to his defense of the Old Testament, but do not overlook his consideration of the New.

The thanks of all American theologians are due to Messrs Gould & Lincoln for the enterprise and promptness with which they have published a second volume of the Bampton Lectures. Theology will not soon forget either Mansel or Rawlinson.

BISHOP BUTLER'S ANALOGY OF RELIGION.†—This edition of Butler's Analogy is similar to that of his ethical writings, and, like it, was prepared by Dr. Champlin for the convenience of students in colleges and higher schools. The type is excellent. The text is broken into numbered paragraphs, according to the divisions of the argument, and to each of these divisions is prefixed the appropriate title

* *The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records stated anew, with special reference to the doubts and discoveries of modern times.* In eight Lectures, delivered in the Oxford University pulpit, in the year 1859, on the Bampton Foundation. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., late Fellow, and Editor of "The History of Herodotus," &c. From the London edition, with the Notes translated. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. 12mo. pp. 454.

† *Bishop Butler's Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature.* Edited, with an analysis, by J. T. CHAMPLIN, D. D., President of Waterville College. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 278.

or heading. No other analysis is given besides that furnished by these headings, which the eye can readily catch and follow. The edition may be considered as the best accessible for the special uses for which it was prepared. We think, however, it should have been distinctly stated on the title-page that the second part is greatly abridged.

PALEY'S EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.*—Archbishop Whately seems aroused by the Infidelity without the English Church, and the rather questionable faith in some quarters within it, to suggest his own opinions in respect to certain principles that are much controverted. These opinions are propounded in the form of annotations to certain passages of Paley's well known work. These annotations are neither so frequent nor so long as could be desired, but they are always pertinent, both to the subject discussed and to the state of opinions now prevalent in Great Britain. For example, in the introduction, in discussing the opinion put forth very earnestly by many Christians, that faith is not founded in evidence, and cannot be strengthened by argument, he prints side by side, on a single leaf, an extract from Hume's *Essay on Miracles*—another from the *British Critic*—and still another from the *Edinburgh Review*—all teaching the same doctrine, and exalting faith at the expense of reasoning—while Dr. Whately is content with attaching some half a dozen texts of Scripture, pointing in the other direction.

In his annotations on miracles he gives a long extract from R. W. Emerson's notorious Cambridge discourse, including the reference to "the blowing clover," and "the falling rain." This he prefaces thus: "Here is a specimen [to which many more might have been added] of the transcendental style in which some of these philosophers seek to enlighten mankind." He follows it with the pithy comment, "If thou hast any tidings," says Falstaff to Pistol, "prithee deliver them like a man of this world."

We regret only that these Whately annotations are not ten times as numerous as we find them to be. They add great interest, and much value, to this very handsome and readable volume, which has the additional feature of a good index.

* *A View of the Evidences of Christianity.* In Three Parts. By WILLIAM PALEY, M. A. With Annotations by RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. New York: James Miller, 436 Broadway. 8vo. pp. 407.

WORKS OF DR. EMMONS.*—The Congregational Board of Publication have issued Volume III of the works of Dr. Emmons. This, like Vol. II, is devoted to Discourses on Systematic Theology. It contains the discourses included in Vol. V of the edition published in 1842, with the addition of twelve discourses selected from Dr. Emmons's manuscripts, and placed in their appropriate logical positions. These new discourses seem to have been well selected and decidedly increase the value of the volume. Their character, to those who are familiar with Dr. Emmons's mode of thought and expression, may be inferred from their titles. “The Moral Inability of Sinners.” “Holiness *intrinsically* excellent and valuable.” We italicize the word *intrinsically*, to indicate an important peculiarity of the discourse. “The infallible Evidence of a Gracious Spirit.” “The full Assurance of Hope.” “Spiritual Darkness.” “Saints as they appear to God.” “The Duty and Blessing of acknowledging God in all Things.” “God bestows his Blessings when his People are prepared to receive them.” “Covenant with God and his People.” “Union in the Church.” “Reflections upon the Death of Christ.” “The present Judgments of God upon the Wicked indicative of their future Retribution.”

VIEWS IN NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY.†—The saying is sometimes repeated, that “a dead carcass at a distance smells as a grateful perfume.” So, we doubt not, will these two pamphlets begin to emit grateful odors when scented at New York, become doubly grateful at Princeton, and occasion the most delightful sensations at Danville, Kentucky. Poor New England! What would our theological confederacy do without her to mourn over; and to what occupation could some of her own sons betake themselves, if they had not her to malign?

MISS CATHERINE BEECHER'S APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.†—Some examples of the teachings of the common sense to which the author

* *The Works of Nathaniel Emmons, D. D.*, Third Pastor of the Church in Franklin, Mass., with a Memoir of his life. Edited by JACOB IDE, D. D. Vol. III. Boston: Congregational Board of Publication. 1860.

† *Views in New England Theology*. By a Company of Ministers. No. 1. The New England Theology contrasted with the New Arminianism. No. 2. The New Apostasy; or a word to the Laodiceans. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1860.

† *An Appeal to the people in behalf of their rights as authorized interpreters of the Bible*. By CATHERINE E. BEECHER, Author of “Common Sense applied to Religion,” &c., &c., &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 380.

would advise the people to appeal against the Theologians and the Metaphysicians, are the following : "The nature of mind, the philosophy of mind, and mental philosophy, are terms all expressing the same thing."

"*Per* is the Latin word for *by*, and *con* is the word for *without*. So we have perceptions *by* the senses, and conceptions *without* the senses."

We cannot advise our readers to respond favorably to the appeal to common sense, as interpreted by such an expounder.

KURTZ'S HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.*—Dr. Kurtz, Professor at Dorpat, the author of this extensive work, is an able scholar in the Old Testament history and theology. In these volumes we have, translated and somewhat condensed, his elaborate discussions of the history of Israel, from the call of Abraham to the death of Moses. To these there is prefixed an introduction of 181 pages. The work is divided into two parts or stages, the first having for its subject the Chosen Family and its fortunes to the end of the patriarchal age; and the second relating to the Nation and its Institutions in the time of Moses. There are full notices of the literature connected with the different topics, and a consideration of the difficulties and conflicting views which have come up, as a result of modern investigations. The reader can hardly fail, even when he differs from the author in judgment, to be enlightened by his remarks. Preceding the work, we have in xxix pages, a summary of Dr. Kurtz's treatise on the Bible and Astronomy, in which the relations of Scripture to Science—Geology as well as Astronomy—are handled. We commend the volumes to the attention of ministers and theological students.

GERLACH'S COMMENTARY ON THE PENTATEUCH.†—Commentaries on the Old Testament are greatly needed—Commentaries, we mean, which present the fruits of modern scholarship in a believing spirit,—and on no part of the Old Testament are they so much required as on the Pentateuch. This work of a learned and devout German divine does not aim to be a critical handbook, but is popular in its design and structure,—not popular, however, in the sense of inaccurate or diffuse. It is founded in thorough scholarly researches, but is written for intelligent laymen rather than for the clergy. The style is lucid and con-

* *History of the Old Testament*, from the German of Dr. KURTZ, D. D., Professor of Theology at Dorpat, &c. 4 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1859.

† *Commentary on the Pentateuch*. Translated from the German of Otto von GERLACH. By Rev. H. DOWLING. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860.

dened. The matter is instructive and satisfactory. Of course questions of difficulty cannot in all cases be handled and solved in a book like this, though such questions, so far as we know, are not evaded. We commend this work to the patronage and study of all who seek for light on the interesting portion of the sacred volume of which it treats.

NOTES ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.*—We have, from the press of W. S. & A. Martien, of Philadelphia, two volumes of commentaries on books of the Old Testament, by Dr. Jamieson, of Glasgow. The first contains the Pentateuch, and book of Joshua; the second, the historical books from Judges to Esther, inclusive. The text, which is that of the authorized version, is printed upon each left hand page, with a central column of references; while the corresponding explanatory notes are placed upon the page opposite. The notes are, of course, very brief; but in general, so far as we have examined, they are sufficiently extended and critical to afford the necessary means for an intelligent perusal of these portions of Scripture. A clearer and less crowded type would have rendered the page more attractive, and less trying to the eyes.

ALFORD'S GREEK TESTAMENT.†—No one can look into this book, without being struck with the extreme finish and elegance of its typography. Were it not for the paper, which, though very fine, has something American in its gloss, one might take it for a first-rate specimen of the English press. It appears, indeed, to be almost a fac-simile of the English book, representing it in all particulars with minute and conscientious exactness. The original work consists of four volumes, the first of which—the one now republished—comprises the four gos-

* *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua.* With an original and copious critical and explanatory Commentary. By the Rev. ROBERT JAMIESON, D. D., minister of St. Paul's Parish, Glasgow, Scotland. Philadelphia: William S. & Alfred Martien. 1860. pp. 362.

The Historical Books of the Holy Scriptures. Judges, Ruth, I Samuel, II Samuel, I Kings, II Kings, I Chronicles, II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther. With a critical and explanatory Commentary. By the Rev. ROBERT JAMIESON, D. D., minister of St. Paul's Parish, Glasgow, Scotland. Philadelphia: William S. & Alfred Martien. 1860. pp. 368.

† *The Greek Testament;* with a critically revised Text; a Digest of Various Readings; Marginal References to Verbal and Idomatic Usage; Prolegomena; and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary. For the use of Theological Students and Ministers. By HENRY ALFORD, B. D., Minister of Quebec Chapel, London, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In Four Volumes. Vol. I, containing the Four Gospels. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square. 1859. pp. 100 and 885.

pels, and is printed from the third English edition. The fact that a third edition was called for within four or five years after the appearance of the first, proves that the work has been received by its author's own countrymen with a high degree of appreciation and favor. This reception is perhaps not less creditable to the English public than to Mr. Alford himself. Among the commentaries on the Bible which, for a generation past, have been produced by English hands, hardly any one could be found, until very lately, which at all corresponded to the present advanced state of biblical science. The most have shown an entire ignorance of those contributions which critical, philological, and historical studies, pursued in recent times, and principally by German scholars, have made to a thorough understanding of the sacred Scriptures. Not a few English commentators would seem to have regarded as a kind of sacrilege the attempt to be wise above Pearson and Horsley, and to have felt that whatsoever is more than that must come from the evil spirit of German rationalism. One might have doubted whether the English public, brought up to a biblical literature of this kind, would give an intelligent and hearty welcome to a scholar like Alford, who shows himself familiar with the best works of German exegesis, though without surrendering his own judgment either to German or to English authority. The characteristics of his mind and scholarship appear in the interesting Prolegomena which occupy the first hundred pages of the volume. They are written with perfect simplicity and clearness, and have something in their very style which marks their author as honest, earnest, fair-minded, and truth-loving. In his views he is liberal and independent, yet at the same time sober and sensible. His freedom and sincerity of thought are well illustrated in his remarks on the inspiration of the evangelists. While he insists strongly that a real supernatural influence was exerted on the mind of the sacred writers, he not only rejects the hypothesis of verbal inspiration, but even admits that the Gospel narratives are not absolutely consistent and exact—that they contain a certain insignificant proportion of discrepancies and inaccuracies on matters of mere detail. And he urges that "we need not be afraid to recognize real discrepancies, in the spirit of fairness and truth. Christianity never was, and never can be, the gainer by any concealment, warping or avoidance of the plain truth, wherever it is to be found." Yet he is not over-prompt to concede the existence of every alleged inconsistency in the New Testament biographers. "The fair Christian critic," he says, will have "no desire to create discrepancies, but rather every desire truthfully and justly to solve them;" and accordingly he

lays down rules by which the number of what he regards as real discrepancies is reduced within narrow limits.

After several sections which treat of the gospels in common, our author proceeds to take them up one by one, and to discuss the authorship of each, the time of its composition, the particular aim or plan of its writer, and the characteristics of his work. In what he says of Matthew, he gives an illustration of his own candor, by abandoning the opinion which he defended in his first edition, that Matthew's gospel, as we have it, is a Greek version of a book first written in Hebrew, or rather in the Aramaic dialect then current in Palestine. To this change of view he has been led, partly by observing that several of the Fathers who assert a Hebrew original appear to have labored under the mistaken impression that the so-called "Gospel according to the Hebrews"—an apocryphal and heretical work adopted by the Ebionites and Nazarenes—was the original of our Greek gospel; but still more by a close and careful study of the Greek text itself, which has convinced him that it cannot be regarded as a translation from the Hebrew or Aramaic. Many critics have been disposed to accept the tradition of a primitive Hebrew gospel, as furnishing a key to the extensive and remarkable parallelism of expression between the four evangelists, and especially the first three of them—the so-called synoptic evangelists. The same phenomenon, however, has been more generally explained by assuming that each evangelist, after the first, used the narratives of his predecessors, copying, altering, abridging, and inserting, according to his own plan or purpose; though in regard to the order of succession, every possible hypothesis has found its confident advocates. But our author maintains that the variations of the different writers are of such a kind as to forbid both these explanations, and that we cannot suppose, either, that the evangelists depended on each other, or that they all borrowed independently from a common documentary source. He at taches himself strongly to the theory that the parallelisms in question were derived from an oral tradition in regard to the acts and sayings of our Lord, which established itself very early among the teachers and preachers of the new faith, the same things being repeated in much the same way, so as to present a general similarity, in the midst of endless varieties of expression and statement. That John's gospel differs so widely from the rest, he explains—not from any purpose on his part to supply the deficiencies of the preceding narratives; for how then should he have so much in common with them?—but because his special design to represent the "deeper spiritual verities" taught by our Lord in reference "to His own Divine

Person and Mission," carried him away from the beaten track of the prevailing oral tradition, into a distinct and less frequented field of evangelic history. The genuineness of the gospel is maintained in an interesting discussion against the attacks of Baur, who, as is well known, considers it to have arisen by a pious fraud in the latter half of the second century. The principal objection is found in the remarkable fact that no undoubted reference to it is discoverable in the extant remains of Christian literature prior to the middle of that century. This fact our author does not deny, but he claims that the universal recognition of the work after that time would be quite unaccountable, if it had never until then been known or heard of. In this case the internal evidence is so strong in favor of the book, that hardly any historical difficulties would suffice to overthrow it, and certainly not, when they are of a merely negative character, drawn from the silence of a few writers, whose surviving pieces would hardly fill a thin duodecimo volume. Who can believe that a work of such matchless depth and sweetness, and bearing on its very front the evident stamp of divinity, is only the handiwork of an obscure forger?

Our author concludes his prolegomena with an account of the attempts which have been made to construct a critical text of the New Testament, and of the materials, manuscripts, versions, and citations, on which such attempts are founded. On Lachmann's edition he passes an unfavorable judgment, and gives the place of honor to Tischendorf's. Yet he has not adopted Tischendorf's text, but has formed a text for himself by independent examination and criticism of the authorities. At the same time he puts it into the power of his readers, if so inclined, to do the same work for themselves, and to accept his conclusions or to take up others, according to their own judgment. The materials for the textual critic—the various readings of the manuscripts, with the other evidences which must be considered in ascertaining the true readings—are given at the foot of each page, with great thoroughness and exactness, yet in a very compact and useable form. This is perhaps the most striking feature of the work, and is one which gives it a very high value. Along with this *critical* commentary, though kept by a judicious arrangement quite distinct from it, is an *exegetical* commentary, devoted to the interpretation and elucidation of the text. Mr. Alford has evidently acquainted himself with the best exegetical writers on the New Testament, and has made a careful and diligent use of their labors. His notes contain much valuable matter compressed into a small space. His readers will have no occasion to complain of exces-

sive fulness or wearisome prolixity. They will be much more likely to complain that the commentary is less extended than they could wish to have it; that points of interest are sometimes passed over in silence, or not sufficiently dwelt upon. Perhaps the author was afraid of making his work too bulky and thus shutting it out from general use. If he has erred in this respect, it is an error on the right side. We do not know of any English work, covering the same ground, which offers so much help to the thorough student of the Bible, as he will find in these brief, clear, sensible, and instructive notes.

STIER'S WORDS OF THE LORD JESUS.*—This work, whose presentation to the American public we owe to the enterprising house of Smith, English & Co. of Philadelphia, will need no commendatory notice to any one who has been familiar with it in its original German form. It was first published, we believe, about the year 1843, and now comes before us in a translation from the second German edition. The title indicates the part of the New Testament of which the author treats, and shows that his plan is a quite unusual one for a Biblical commentator. He has confined his view entirely to the words which were spoken by our Lord himself, separating them altogether from all the narrative, discourses, &c., by which the sacred writers have surrounded them, except, indeed, in so far as a reference to or an explanation of these surroundings is essential to the full development of the thought. In this way he endeavors to set before the reader the truth as it was uttered by the Great Teacher—apart from all comments, explanations or additions, even from those who were His inspired messengers to the world—and to give, in one connected whole, the sum and substance of what He taught, while He was on earth. Herein is the first and great peculiarity of his work; and, while we rejoice to believe, that whatever the Apostles or Evangelists have written for the Church is only the communication of the things of Christ through the Holy Spirit, and that thus their doctrine is one with His, yet we cannot but feel, that, in this very peculiarity, the author has given to these volumes an especial interest and value. Every Christian mind will gladly follow the meditations of a devout and thoughtful scholar, as he lingers within the circle of the Lord's own teachings. Every such mind, we think,

* *The Words of the Lord Jesus.* By RUDOLF STIER, Doctor of Theology, Chief Pastor and Superintendent of Schkeuditz. Translated by the Rev. WILLIAM B. POPEN of London. Nine volumes. 8vo. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co 1859.

will acknowledge that the meditations of such a scholar are recorded here.

As to the character of the book as a commentary, it is, of course, impossible to give any very full idea in a brief notice like the present. Dr. Stier is not, like most of the German commentators of our day, connected with a University, but is engaged in the active labors of the ministry. A result of this fact is, that his work is less exclusively scholastic and critical than those of many other writers. So far, however, from apologizing for this difference, the author regards it as a great advantage, and he takes occasion to speak, with considerable severity, of "a certain dead, dry handling of the Word of life, which is called the purely scientific," as well as of "the mere Professor," who does not or "cannot use his wisdom in preaching." We agree very fully with much of what he says upon this subject; more especially as it is directed against those who, with an assumed superiority by reason of their University learning, look with contempt upon the pastor who studies the Word while he preaches it, or discovers the power and beauty of the truth, as he sees it working upon the hearts of men. But while we thus assent to his views in part, we believe that he goes too far, and that his feelings have carried him beyond what might be his better judgment. The scholastic tendency is so strong in Germany, that everything is brought, if we may so speak, to the University standard, while, oftentimes, by no means due regard is paid to that which, whether designedly or not, deviates from it. The work before us, we believe, has suffered in this way. For a considerable number of years it did not meet with all that favor at the hands of scholars which it deserved, and mainly for this reason; while it is only of late that it has at length forced its way, by its own real merits, into its just place. The author himself complains, that, in the view of such men as Meyer and Brückner, "there is no such expositor as Stier;"—and with truth, for, while no mention is made of him in the long list of noteworthy commentators given by the latter of these two writers, he is distinctly excluded by the former from his plan, because he does not confine himself to "the strictly scientific exegesis." It should be remarked, however, that some of the most recent German scholars notice this work with decided commendation.—Now the careful reader of our author's preface, we think, will not fail to discover that his indignation has been excited, not without more or less of justice, by this disregard on the part of the University and scholastic men, and hence we have said, that his *feelings*, as it seems to us, have carried him beyond his better judgment;—*beyond*

his better judgment, we say, because, to our apprehension, his position is not altogether the right one. The professed exegetical scholar and the pastor, if we mistake not, are somewhat apt to treat one another a little unfairly in this matter of Biblical interpretation. The professed scholar, on the one side, remembers that, for a score of years, he has been giving the most critical attention to the text, to the peculiarities of the original languages, to the rules and requirements of grammar, &c., and he falls into the belief that one who has not studied as long, or in precisely the same way, as himself, can know but little of the subject. The pastor, on the other side, is in continual danger of partaking in the common prejudice against those who are mere students, and who, as it is said, "know nothing of the world." And thus the two, who should be in the most perfect and pleasant harmony, are, now and then, cherishing in their secret souls a feeling which is far removed from the respect justly owed by the one to the other. The truth, probably, here as in all similar cases, is that neither of the two parties can safely be left to himself; there are evils to which each is exposed, and no less certainly are there advantages possessed by each. The "dry handling of the Word of life," of which Dr. Stier complains, is doubtless of more value to the church than he is wont to think—at least, if he would include under this "dry handling" that which is done by those who (with a Christian spirit, indeed) approach the Bible as critical students—commenting upon it in the light of grammar and linguistic usage—as they would approach any other ancient work, with the simple desire to ascertain precisely what the author meant by each sentence, and what were the doctrines or opinions set forth in each successive chapter, but without a single thought of exhorting any congregation or any soul. Such men are in danger of dwelling too much upon the grammar, no doubt, and too little upon the great truths, but they escape an equal, if not far greater danger, on another side. The constant, almost irresistible tendency of the pastor is to put something of his own subjectivity into the Scripture; to find in some plain, straight-forward teaching of Christ or the Apostles a profoundness of meaning, which is, in reality, only a thought suggested to his own mind, by one means or another, in connection with that teaching, but not legitimately or necessarily derived from it; or, as Jowett says, to "sermonize over the text instead of explaining it." And when we are considering *merely the question as to what is the true interpretation of the Bible*, we doubt very much whether the Church has not suffered more in the past, and whether it is not likely to suffer more in the future, from sermonizing

than from grammar; whether a commentary is not better, when it comes from the careful and "dry" student, who leaves each Christian to find his own sermon, than it is when it proceeds from the less critical and more hortatory pastor. These remarks we have extended to a greater length than we could have wished, not only because the author's preface afforded an opportunity of bearing witness against what we believe to be erroneous views, but also because we think the author himself has found a good many things in the text, which he might never have thought of, had he not approached it as a sermonizer, or which, if he had thought of them, he might not have given to the world; and some of these things, to say the least, do not add to the value of his work.

Dr. Stier, however, is not a pastor as opposed to being a scholar. Indeed, we may almost say, that no German, in whatever position, would venture to publish such a work as his professes to be, without being more of a scholar than the great majority even of University men in our country. His student character and his extended learning display themselves on almost every page, and he thus has peculiar qualifications for making the highest style of commentary,—a commentary, we mean, written by both the pastor and the scholar united in one earnest, thoughtful, Christian man.

The work is too long—conciseness is not natural to the German mind—but this is partly due to the fact of its being a translation. It is sometimes "profounder," we think, than Matthew and John were. And, in some places, we meet with views in which the author would find New England Christians opposed to him. But it is full of true religious feeling, of rich thought, and of the evidence of a beautiful love to the Master and the truth. It is, of course, designed for those who read the original Greek, and can only be fully enjoyed by them. To all such—to pastors and students—we commend it cordially. As to others we feel in greater doubt, and yet the ordinary English reader will discover very much that is suggestive and interesting.

The first six volumes, together with the ninth, have already been published; the seventh and eighth are shortly to appear. The last volume, the ninth, contains, besides "The Words of the risen Saviour," a commentary on the Epistle of James, contained in thirty-two discourses. These discourses, which are rather excellent specimens of German sermons, differ, of course, from the remainder of the work. The author has, however, to use his own language, "omitted much that was orally expounded and applied in exhortation, and retained simply the concise

fundamental thoughts which conduct the train of exposition," and we believe he has "succeeded in presenting the whole in such a form as will suit the reader,"—in such a form, we may add, as will tend to the reader's instruction and edification also.

LUTHER'S COMMENTARY ON GALATIANS.*—We have in this volume simply a reprint of the old translation of Luther's Commentary, which was made, we believe, by several persons now unknown, so long ago as 1575. The present editor and publishers, indeed, appear to have had no farther end in view, beyond the mere giving the work to our own reading public in a cheap and convenient form. And we are very glad that they have been content to do this and nothing more. The introductory essay and life—the former by Dr. Schmucker—will be found useful in the way of reference, but as for the Commentary itself, there would seem to be almost as little need of calling attention to it here, as of commanding the Epistle which it expounds. For the favorable reception of a new edition of such a book, it needs only to be known that it is published.

LILLIE ON THESSALONIANS.†—This volume contains a series of expository lectures on the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, delivered originally by the author in his own pulpit and for the benefit of his own congregation. We believe his especial design—"to apply the results of a critical study of the Greek text to the uses of popular instruction and the edification of the Church,"—to have been carried out with greater care than is usual in discourses of this kind, and in this particular regard we commend his work to the imitation of pastors generally. He has shown, as we think, with considerable success, that the results of the most careful scholarship, even in the strictly grammatical and exegetical lines, may be presented in such a manner as to be useful to minds of every class, and, if so, he may well feel that he has done something to promote the great end of a universal interest in, and understanding

* *A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, by MARTIN LUTHER—to which is prefixed Tischer's Life of Luther, abridged; a short sketch of the life of Zaingle; as also a Discourse on the Glorious Reformation, by S. S. SCHMUCKER, D. D. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860. Small 8vo. pp. 632.

† *Lectures on the Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians*. By JOHN LILLIE, D. D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, in Kingston, N. Y. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 585.

of, the New Testament among the Christians of our country. If the book has any special fault, it is that it lacks richness of thought, but this defect is so common among works of this class, that we scarcely feel justified in making it the subject of particular complaint here; and, indeed, we do not know that any such deficiency would be perceived by the majority of earnest readers. It only remains to say, that the neat and attractive form in which the publishers have issued the volume, will make it an ornament to any library where it may find a place, and will justly add to its value in the view of every one who may purchase it.

ROBERTSON'S EXPOSITORY LECTURES ON PAUL'S EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.*—We fear that good expository sermons are not as common in our churches as they should be. Yet none of the ministrations of the pulpit can be made more instructive, more popular, or more effective. We would not disparage the value of sermons upon special topics of truth and duty. It is of the highest importance that the doctrines of religion, and the principles which ought to regulate the lives of men, should be clearly explained and enforced in set discourses; but our congregations need and wish to have these principles applied by the preacher directly to the questions of duty which come up daily in the concerns of the market, the shop, the study, and the street. Now the trials, the temptations, the weaknesses of men to-day are very much the same as those of the men whose history is recorded in the books of the Old and New Testaments. A course of expository lectures then upon any of these books, if properly prepared, will enable a pastor to enter more easily and freely than he could in any other way into all those questions which touch upon the working-life of his people, and he can give to them more naturally and effectively than in any other way, just those lessons upon practical duties which they so much need. The difficulty with many of our ministers, we are confident, is that they attempt to give too extended exposition, and waste their strength on criticism. We have seen congregations wearied by minute critical explanations of the exact shade of meaning which was to be attached to each particular sentence in an extended passage of Scripture, which, after all, hardly needed explanation. No time has been left for an application of the truth; or, if it was attempted, the

* *Sermons on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians.* Delivered at Trinity Chapel, Brighton. By the late Rev. F. W. Robertson, M. A. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859. 12mo. pp. 425. For sale by Judd, New Haven.

favorable moment had gone by when the truth could be pressed home with most effect upon the conscience. It should be taken for granted that the congregation have some exegetical skill themselves, and in most cases the preacher should give his people only the results of his study. He should not take them through the dry exegetical processes by which he has himself attained the truth. His people wish him to draw his lesson from some one of the multiform experiences of God's people, as given in the Scriptures, and then to apply it with earnestness and power to their individual wants. Such was the course of Robertson in these expository lectures upon Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, which are published in the volume whose title we have given. We deem them, for this reason, the most valuable of the whole series of his sermons, yet offered to the public, and think they may well be studied by those who wish models for this kind of preaching. Yet, perhaps, we should put the reader on his guard against errors of doctrine which are to be met with not unfrequently in this as well as in other volumes of the series. On pages 87, 88, will be seen the effects of erroneous views respecting baptismal regeneration. Lectures X and XI, upon the "Christian idea of Absolution," claim an "authoritative power for the minister to absolve penitents from their sins," which, we think, will find favor with but few, even in the Episcopal church in this country. But notwithstanding such errors as these and others, the excellences of the sermons are so many and so great, and the spirit they breathe is of such an elevated and elevating character, that we have no doubt that all who read them will learn to prize them for those qualities which make them rank among the most eloquent and spiritual, as well as practical, productions of the modern pulpit.

For a more full statement of our views with regard to Robertson, we refer to an Article in the last (Feb.) number of this Quarterly.

NEW GERMAN COMMENTARY FOR THE USE OF GERMANS IN THE UNITED STATES.—We have read with great interest several advance sheets of a new exegetical and practical commentary on the New Testament, now in preparation for the German population of this country, by Rev. W. Nash, D. D., of Cincinnati. The Introduction, of which we have read considerable portions, is very complete and able, and treats with great fullness of the chief questions involved in the truth and import of the Gospel History. It is to be published in Numbers, the first No. in April, 1860. We think it worthy the attention of all our readers who understand German, and hope it may be translated into English.

THE BIBLICAL REASON WHY.*—The object of the author of this book is to furnish short answers that can be easily understood to the questions which are most likely to arise in the minds of those readers of the Bible who have not ready access to commentaries and other helps to the understanding of the Scriptures. The method he has adopted is that of question and answer, of which, there are nearly fifteen hundred in the volume; many of them illustrated by wood cuts. The questions pertain to all the books of the Old and New Testaments, and, as far as we have examined, there are no marks of any sectarian bias which need be offensive to Christians of any denomination. As an illustration of the kind of questions that are asked, and the manner in which they are answered, we will refer to one to which the author alludes in his preface. After the miracle-working words, "Lazarus, come forth," had been uttered by our Saviour, the by-standers were directed to "loose" the restored man, and "let him go." (John xi, 44.) How many readers of the Bible there are who get no definite idea of what was meant by this language; though it was perfectly intelligible to the friends of Lazarus! On turning to page 198, we find the explanation well stated, and accompanied by a small engraving representing the Jewish process of embalming. This is a fair sample of the questions in the book; and we refer to it only to show to those who are interested in the instruction of the ignorant and of those who have but few books, that this volume is one which will be likely to do good service.

HOURS WITH THE EVANGELISTS.†—Liberal Christianity, so called, is so apt to prove itself illiberal towards some of the most widely received and profoundly cherished views of Christendom, especially, is so prone, after the fashion of some German critics, to take liberties with the historical ground-work of the New Testament—the element of the supernatural, in particular—that we confess we took up this book, knowing nothing of the author except that he was an Unitarian minister, with no very great expectation of finding it to our liking. On perusal, however, much to our gratification, it proves to be very far from being an echo of German Rationalism, or even a representative of the prevailing type of Unitarian thinking in this country. It belongs,

* *The Biblical Reason Why.* Illustrated with numerous engravings. New York: Dick & Fitzgerald. 1860. 12mo. pp. 324.

† *Hours with the Evangelists.* By J. NICHOLS, D. D. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1860. pp. 405.

rather, to that more promising school of thought from which Professor Huntington has just now stepped out, as by an easy door, into orthodoxy. The work shows in its author an earnest faith in Christianity as a supernatural religion, and a cordial recognition of it as the great moral force and regulating power of the world. After a rapid preliminary survey of the grounds of religious faith, embracing a comprehensive glance at the leading truths and evidences of Natural Religion, the earliest records of Divine Revelation, and the inauguration of the Gospel system, the Author enters more fully upon the leading subjects of his work—the characteristics, facts, and evidences of the Gospel histories. The several topics are handled in a popular and attractive, rather than a profound or philosophic manner, with much freshness, if not originality, of thought, and, as we have intimated, in an earnest and reverent spirit. The views expressed, if not always as full as could be wished, on certain points, are yet such, in general, as cannot fail to commend themselves to the attention, and, in the main, to the judgment of the Christian public. On the subject of miracles, they bear a striking resemblance to those of Dr. Bushnell, in his "Nature and the Supernatural,"—though, as we learn from a note, the Author's manuscript was in the hands of the printer before Dr. Bushnell's work was published. We have before us only the first volume of the work; but if this fairly represents the whole, we can safely commend it as a valuable contribution to our religious literature.

The typographical execution of the work is in the highest degree attractive.

DR. CHAPIN'S SERMONS.*—We have read most of these discourses, and with sufficient interest to intend reading them all as we shall have time. As the last volume of the author's publications, it will no doubt increase the reputation he already enjoys as the most eloquent and useful preacher of the class to which he belongs. Certainly, as a thinker and writer he here shows powers which, in connection with his fine voice and animated address, justify his popularity among the lyceum lecturers of the day. We need not say that in these sermons we miss those distinctive doctrines of Christianity which we designate and prize as evangelical, such as the Divinity of Christ and His mediatorial sacrifice and intercession, and the renovating personal agency of the

* *Select Sermons*, preached in the Broadway Church. By Rev. E. H. CHAPIN, D. D. New York: Published by Henry Lyon. 1859. 12mo. pp. 348.

Holy Spirit. Nor do we find such views of the purity and majesty of God's law, of the evil of sin, and of the guilt and peril of mankind, as we believe to be connected with the Scripture doctrine of future retribution. But such deficiencies we were prepared to expect. Dr. Chapin is classed with Universalists; but we have the impression, though derived rather from rumor than from more reliable sources, that he holds a doctrine of future, though not unlimited punishment; and if so, he should rather be classed with those who have called themselves Restorationists. We have found nothing in this book, however, either to justify or remove this impression, and, indeed, no positive assertion or denial respecting retribution after the present life. He says of the book, in his preface, "that as it is a *selection*, nobody need look into it for a system of theology, or even for a statement of *all* his views of vital and practical religion. What he does not believe in common with the vast majority of nominal Christians, must be inferred rather from his silence or reserve than any positive protest. He finds nothing to withhold him from such sentiments as these :

"Men find that rest [the rest which Christ promises] not in any redeeming virtue of their own, which cancels their past sins, or insures them against present sinfulness, but in their full surrender to that Divine love which was made manifest in Jesus." p. 36.

"In humble reliance on that pardoning mercy which was made known to us through Jesus Christ, we may leave the burden of our past guilt and neglect with God." p. 278.

And certainly these words carry some important truth, yet not all that an unsuspecting hearer might understand to be associated with them as coming from a preacher reputed evangelical. We have not noted in these sermons any nearer approach to an account of the sum of Christ's doctrine, than that it is "His revelation of the Fatherhood of God, and of the immortality of man," (p. 32,) and that Christianity "is a revelation made to the soul in the personality of Jesus Christ." And in this respect, from all that we have learned, we suppose this book to be, as it purports, a specimen of the author's ordinary preaching. Its matter is drawn rather from what he believes in common with "orthodox" Christians than from what he denies of all that they believe. Nor are we among those who complain of him on this very account, more than of his associates, as if he were so much the more insidious and mischievous a foe to evangelical truth. The fact is as favorable to his usefulness as it is creditable to his temper and taste. We cheerfully acknowledge the candor and liberality that distinguish

lim from many, or most of the modern Universalist ministers. The staple of their preaching has lain in declamation against future punishment. It is this that has attracted to them a class of minds whose attention and sympathy furnish, at best, an equivocal compliment. And this, as is well known, has made a chief distinction between them and the Unitarian clergy, who, with higher culture and social position, have occupied themselves in the pulpit mostly with moral and amiable inculcations. Dr. Chapin must be classed with them, in this respect. He may even take rank above them, in the spirit and tenor of these sermons. We have found here no invective or sneer against those received doctrines which he is understood to reject. It has been well said that the religionists who claim the honor of being the most "liberal," and complain of the Pharisaic pride and bitterness of the evangelical clergy, show a Pharisaism of their own, in denouncing the narrowness and illiberality of those from whom they differ. Dr. Chapin has the honor of being an exception. We must add that these discourses have more positive merits, also, which may well render them useful, as well as attractive, to the multitudes whom he addresses. As a moral teacher, he seems to us to excel most of the more eminent Unitarian clergy we have compared him with, not only in vivacity and popular address, but in devout, and earnest, and solemn views of the Divine Providence and of human life, and in his conceptions of self-denial, benevolence, and conscientiousness. Sermons I, IV, V, VI, and XVI, are examples. We do not forget his omissions, the high and affecting truths which would lend new force to his appeals, and that aspect of God's retributive government which, as a shaded background, always makes his grace in Christ the more moving and effective; still we cannot but think that these sermons, such as they are, in spite of their deficiencies, are more likely to impress and arrest the minds for whom they are intended, than the dry, lifeless productions of certain preachers whose only distinction and aim seems to be that they "rattle the dry bones of orthodoxy" according to the custom of their congregations. In a more exclusively literary view, while Dr. Chapin has obvious merits in thought, style, and delivery, that account for his popularity both as a preacher and a lecturer, we are disposed to think him more open to criticism on the platform than in the pulpit. As far as we have been able to judge, in the moral tone and effect of his lyceum addresses he is not inferior to any of the professional lecturers of the day, and excels most of them. He is to be commended for shunning that breach of good faith which some of them are guilty of in

bringing before a miscellaneous audience, on literary occasions, sentiments which they know must be offensive. But with wholesome thought, apt illustration, and affluence of language, he yet seems too ambitious for "effect," as if not so intent on what he says, as his way of saying it. His sentences do not strike us with that classical quality of all excellence, simplicity, which so much distinguishes those two well known lecturers so different from each other as from Mr. Chapin himself, H. W. Beecher, and still more, Wendell Phillips. We like him better in the pulpit than on the platform, because he has not so much of this apparent effort. Yet here, too, we feel some measure of the same fault. The reader is reminded too much, as he goes along, of the writer's elaboration, of his too frequent emphasis of a certain strain in the expression, instead of the ease, the *ars celare artem* with which the happiest things are uttered. It might be said, too, that if the utmost effect from a single address is considered, he brings into one sermon too many distinct though related trains of thought, all wrought out and urged with so much care as to divide the impression. For this reason, however, it even the better repays deliberate perusal. With these exceptions, the sermons we have read must be acknowledged, as literary productions, to deserve the favor with which they have been received, and which has induced their publication. The text is not named as a required motto, and then deserted, but handled as a suggestive theme, and sometimes in a new and ingenious way, as in the fourth in the series. The method is clear and careful. Important facts and principles are set forth, not in essays for speculation, but in direct, earnest address, and in application to individual life and common wants. And the style of composition, copious and often brilliant, cannot fail to engage many hearers and readers who might not so readily feel the charm of more simple models. It has occurred to us whether some sly allusion may not lurk in the name given in the title-page to Dr. Chapin's house of worship, standing, as it does, on the same thoroughfare with several others—"the *Broadway Church*." Or may he intend thus to hint its affinity with "the Broad Church?"

THE PATH WHICH LED A PROTESTANT LAWYER TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.*—This large and closely printed octavo was written by Mr. Burnett, formerly Governor of California. The circumstances of his

* *The Path which led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church.* By PETER H. BURNETT. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 741.

conversion were peculiar, and should teach a lesson to Protestants. He was bred a Baptist, in profound ignorance and still more profound contempt of the worship, the doctrines, and the members of the Romish Church. Till the age of thirty-two he was not a believer in the truth of Christianity. But at that age he became convinced of his error, and acting on his new faith, he joined the Disciples, i. e., the Campbellites. Three years after he removed to Oregon, with his family. Here, near Fort Vancouver, he attended High Mass, on Christmas, at midnight. He had never before witnessed one of those impressive spectacles by which that Church exerts such marvelous power. He was awed and elevated by the sight of the ceremonial, and its effect on the worshippers. Thenceforward his attention was aroused to the consideration of the claims of the Church. He studied Campbell's debate with Purcell, but was not convinced by the apostle of his sect. He sought other writings, and doubtless conferred with living Romish teachers, though he does not acknowledge it. After eighteen months' earnest and apparently honest inquiry he became a Romanist, and has written the volume before us to exhibit the arguments on both sides, which were considered before his decision.

There is no great marvel in the fact that a simple-minded man, with no deeper grounding in the nature and evidences of Protestant Christianity than the gospel according to Alexander Campbell would impart, should go through a process like this. Indeed, it would be easy to show that the Romish Church and Campbell teach a view of Christianity which is radically defective in two similar particulars. We refer to the view common to both, in respect to the nature of Faith as the condition of salvation—and in respect to the nature of the Sacraments as the channels of grace.

The circumstances attendant on Gov. Burnett's conversion illustrate the adaptation of the Romish system to captivate a very large class of unstable, because uninstructed, of self-relying, because active-minded men, in such new settlements as Oregon. The hope of Protestantism in such regions is a thoughtful and educated ministry; and the supply and strength of such a ministry is a Protestant American College. A worthy son of a noble New England sire, and one of the worthiest Christian scholars whom New England has ever seen, has been begging, for a score of months, for the means to establish such a college in Oregon; and yet Oregon is so far, and so young, that those to whom he addresses his plea find in its distance and its youth—which of them-

selves are the most decisive arguments for the necessity of such an institution—the sufficient excuse for responding slowly to its call.

We hope this book will be a service to Protestantism in the way in which it is fitted to be eminently useful—for we are sure no one will find the arguments difficult to meet and answer.

THE CRUCIBLE.*—In its scope and aim, this book supplies a desideratum in our religious literature. The subject it discusses, however, is one of great difficulty and delicacy. Most writers, in laying down tests of a regenerate state, are apt either to overlook the necessary diversities of Christian experience, which arise from differing circumstances and diversities of natural temperament and endowments, or else to lay down tests, not so much of regeneration, as of an advanced stage of sanctification; in both cases, constructing a sort of procrustean bed for young converts, ill-adapted often to their actual condition and wants. Such, in truth, with all its excellencies, is “Edwards on the Affections.” The work before us has a wider reach of plan, and indicates a juster appreciation of the various elements which enter into the formation and expression of the Christian life. The subject is discussed under a three-fold aspect; first, Unrecognized Regeneration, or Faith without Hope; second, Unrecognizable Regeneration, or Hope without Faith; and third, Recognized Regeneration, or Faith and Hope. The first is a topic not usually considered in discussions of this sort, yet it is obviously one of no inconsiderable importance. The encouragement of persons who, though professing not to be converted, in reality are, may be as much a pastor’s duty as the discouragement of those who, though professing to be converted, in reality are not. In a question of such vital concern to a man, as whether or not he has experienced that inward change which constitutes the beginning of true religious life in the soul, the ultimate appeal, of course, under the light of Revelation, must, for himself, be to his own consciousness, and for others, to that only safe rule, the one laid down by our Saviour, “By their fruits.” Yet any discussion that shall wisely concentrate and apply the Scriptural light, guide consciousness, or aid in testing the fruits, may be of inestimable service, not only to individuals in the work of self-

* *The Crucible; or, Tests of a Regenerate State.* Designed to bring to light suppressed hopes, expose false ones, and confirm the true. By Rev. J. A. Goodhue, A. M. With an Introduction by Rev. Edward N. Kirk, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. pp. 352.

examination, but to pastors also, and all who are called to interest themselves in the religious experience of others. Such a discussion, we think—though we have not had time for a thorough perusal of it—is the one before us. It is clear, evangelical in spirit, practical in method, evidently intended to do good rather than propound a theory, and while all the views expressed cannot be expected, on such a subject, to meet with universal approval, the work, as a whole, we doubt not, will be received with favor, as an honest and earnest effort to promote the cause of vital godliness and the purity and efficiency of the churches. The endorsement of Dr. Kirk, so thoroughly and practically conversant with the whole subject, is a sufficient guaranty of the general soundness and value of the work.

THE POWER OF JESUS TO SAVE.*—A faithful and earnest effort to commend the Gospel of Christ, as a renewing, sanctifying, and saving power, to the hearts and consciences of men. It is not a theological treatise, but a practical appeal. The views expressed are thoroughly evangelical, and there is breathed throughout a spirit of Christian love, and of tender solicitude for the salvation of souls from sin. Like most Scotch treatises on similar topics, it is not original, not brilliant, not characterized by any particular attractiveness of style, but earnest, plain, Scriptural, practical.

CHRIST IN HISTORY.†—This is a new and revised edition of a work first published some years since, and received with much favor by the Christian public. Dr. Turnbull is well read in the facts and philosophy of history, and is well known as an able writer, and, in the main, an original and philosophical thinker. In the work before us, without attempting a complete philosophy of history, he aims to give an exposition of the relations of Christ (taken as the highest expression or manifestation of God) to the history of the world. He takes the Incarnation as the central or turning point in this history, and undertakes to show how all the forces of society converge around it—how all preceding

* *The Power of Jesus to Save to the Uttermost.* By the Rev. A. J. CAMPBELL, Melrose. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860. pp. 329.

† *Christ in History.* By ROBERT TURNBULL, D. D., Author of "Genius of Scotland," "Pulpit Orators of France and Switzerland," "Life Pictures from a Pastor's Note-book," etc. New and Revised Edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. pp. 540.

history prepares for it, and how all succeeding history dates from it. In order to develop this fact, the reader is taken back to central facts and principles, in other words, to the fountains of history, in the nature of God and the nature of man ; and the point pressed upon his attention is, that the history of the world, ancient and modern, can be understood only with reference to Christ. The investigation touches, of course, the leading characteristics and evidences of Christianity. It is shown to be not only a historical reality, but a Divine and supernatural power, by which all other realities and powers are explained and controlled ; in a word, is shown to be, in its interior relations and vital energies, nothing less than the presence of God, through Jesus Christ, among men, renovating the hearts of individuals and preparing the transformations of society. The work will be read with profit by those whose minds are inclined to speculate on the topics which it discusses, and by those whose business it is to instruct in the great principles and relations of the Christian system.

THE STARS AND THE ANGELS.*—Ingenious minds find great pleasure in speculating on recondite themes, whether of Nature or of Revelation ; and ingenious Christian minds are naturally inclined, in their speculations on these themes, to attempt to reconcile the two classes, wherever there is supposed to exist any discrepancy between them. The anonymous author of "The Stars and the Angels" has given us, under this title, what may be called a series of meditations, or discussions, on the harmonies of Science and Revelation. He starts with the idea, not only that Nature and Revelation both have their common source in God, but that the facts of both are alike under the control and operation of law, and that all law is, in its existence, but a constant testimony to God's infinite wisdom and goodness, and in its operation a visible exhibition of his present power. In the work before us he applies this principle to a consideration of the operation of law in the natural history of creation. He is thus led to pass in review first, and with reference to their bearing on Revelation, the leading facts of science, particularly of Astronomy and Geology, ("the Stars,") and secondly, with corresponding reference to their bearing on Science, the leading facts of Revelation, including man in his character and relations, spirits good and evil, the resurrection,

* *The Stars and the Angels.* Philadelphia : William S. & Alfred Martien. 1860. pp. 358.

and other points of eschatology, ("the Angels.") The book abounds in speculations—some ingenious and suggestive, some bold, some baseless, and some few crude, and ill-accordant, in our view, with sound science or correct exegesis. There is everywhere apparent, however, a deep reverence for the Bible, and a disposition to give it a fair and honest interpretation. The religious views expressed are thoroughly evangelical. There is little or nothing to disturb the religious faith or prejudices of any one; while there is much to quicken thought and lead the mind to enlarged views both of nature and of nature's God.

MAN, MORAL AND PHYSICAL; OR, THE INFLUENCE OF HEALTH AND DISEASE ON RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.*—The subject of this book needs to be more thoroughly understood than it is, both by clergymen and physicians. The clergyman, on the one hand, is apt, in his ministrations, to lose sight of the influence of bodily states upon the condition of the mind and heart, and the physician, on the other, is too prone to think he has little to do with the mind in the care of the sick. Not only are these two opposite tendencies more or less manifest in the two professions, in the spheres belonging to both, occasioning a deficiency in the ministrations of each, often of a most deplorable character; but there sometimes is a clashing between the two professions on ground which is rendered common to both by the ultimate connection between the spiritual and the natural, a result which might readily be prevented if the principles so well developed in Dr. Jones's work were properly understood and appreciated. We apprehend that the deficiency is greater, ordinarily, with the clergyman than with the physician, in respect to this common field into which they are called to labor, for two reasons. First, the clergyman is not familiar, as the physician is, with the nervous system, that curiously constructed set of organs which so mysteriously and so intimately connects the spiritual part of man with the natural. And, secondly, the melancholy so often occasioned by bodily states, has so near a resemblance to that mental state which a certain class of religious considerations is calculated to produce, that it is difficult for one unskilled in investigations of bodily disease, to make the discriminations requisite for deciding the nature of the case.

* *Man, Moral and Physical; or, the Influence of Health and Disease on Religious Experience.* By JOSEPH H. JONES, D. D., Pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: William S. & Alfred Martien. 1860. pp. 800.

Hence clergymen often attempt to reason men out of difficulties which require medical treatment just as really as the ravings of a brain fever, and perhaps give advice which makes the case decidedly worse. The comparison which we have made between physicians and clergymen, of course will hold only in relation to those physicians who have some regard for the moral and religious interests of their patients. Those who have not, are radically deficient in ability to administer mentally to the bodily ailments of those who come under their care—a ministration that is often quite as important in its influence on recovery, as the proper management of the forces of the *materia medica*.

The book before us has a large, and, for the most part, a very judicious collection of facts bearing upon the different points of the subject. There are some parts of it which are irrelevant, and some which are wanting in exact discrimination; but with these few exceptions, we consider it an admirably executed work. No physician or clergyman could fail to get very valuable practical hints from it; and we wish that every clergyman might possess a copy of the book, for we are persuaded that a careful perusal of it would save him from many mistakes, in giving advice to those whose nervous condition influences materially their spiritual manifestations.

HEQUEMBOURG'S PLAN OF THE CREATION.*—The Plan of the Creation, or The Theory of the Universal Government of God, which it is the design of this book to present and prove, is nowhere given in succinct form in the volume. But it may easily be gathered from a perusal of the work. So vast is this *Plan*, and so inconsistent is it with the belief of Christians generally, that we doubt whether its sanguine author expected that many of his readers would be brought into agreement with him at once, either with respect to the main theory, or the many subordinate questions of interpretation which he discusses. What he holds is substantially the following.

The Earth is, under God, the moral center of the universe; just as, to the ancient philosopher, it was the material center. It is the prime theater of God's vast moral designs, and all the rest of his boundless universe is made subsidiary to the accomplishment of these designs which have their beginning in the history of man. The whole material universe, under God, exists only for the human race. And even the angels

* *Plan of the Creation; or, Other Worlds and Who inhabit them.* By Rev. C. L. HEQUEMBOURG. Boston: 1859. pp. 396.

were created for man, "for are they not *all* ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation." The earth is the nursery of souls for the whole universe. Here man in his successive generations begins his existence. Here he has experience of natural and moral evil as well as good, and learns how he may be redeemed from the penalty and dominion of sin through the infinite love of God in Christ. And those who realize the object of their creation and existence on the earth, and through faith in Jesus Christ are confirmed in holiness unto eternal life, pass, after the close of their earthly course, to a higher life as inhabitants of the stars. The departing spirit bears with it no portion of the material body, but it is immediately invested with a new body, in the new place of its abode.

By this process, to be continued for thousands of generations, and perhaps forever, the whole material universe, the stars which fill the unmeasured heavens, all the flying spheres which God has made, are to be supplied with rational inhabitants, who, having had their natures strengthened by the trials and failures and triumphs of the life on earth, and having been made perfect through divine grace, shall forever live in blessed obedience to God.

It is conceded that, according to this theory, but a trifling portion of the universe is as yet inhabited. Indeed, it is claimed that "we may compute the population of the universe above us almost as accurately as we can now tell the population of Europe in the middle ages, or that of England in the reign of Charles I."

We have not space to give even an outline of the argumentation by which the author would support his theory, or by which he would settle in harmony with it the great questions of the Origin of Evil, the Second Coming of Christ, the Resurrection, the Last Judgment and the Punishment of the Wicked. We will only say that, as would be expected of an exemplary Christian minister, he makes the Divine Word, with his interpretation of it, the basis of the whole.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HEROD THE GREAT.*—Many a reader of the events recorded in the Scriptures, particularly in the New Testament, has felt the want of suitable connecting links in his mind between these

* *The Life and Times of Herod the Great*, as connected Historically and Prophetically with the coming of Christ. And incidental portraiture of noted personages of the age. By WILLIAM M. WILLETT. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1860. pp. 384.

events and those of secular history. To persons who have not made the matter a subject of special study, these two great branches of history are apt to seem almost wholly independent of each other. The mind realizes a connection between them scarcely more definite than between the personages and incidents of a work of pure fiction, and those of the actual history of the times. Every school boy becomes familiar with the great names and facts of Grecian and Roman story, but what bearing these and other facts of secular history have upon the events recorded by the pen of inspiration, he has but a very imperfect conception. To remove this difficulty is one object of the work whose title we have named. Assuming the advent of the Saviour as the great event of time, it aims to connect with this, and present in a harmonious picture, the chief corresponding incidents of secular history. A convenient thread on which to arrange the two classes of events, is found in the life of Herod the Great, who figures in both departments of history, as the direct representative both of the Jewish and Roman power. The style of the book is animated, the narrative in general clear, the characters well sketched, and the whole picture calculated to impress the mind with a just idea of those wonderful providential arrangements by which God was preparing both the world and the witnesses for the immediate ushering in of a new dispensation. In such a complicated web of widely differing events as this history involves, a little greater care in affixing chronological dates would have promoted materially the convenience of the reader, and given additional clearness to the narrative.

THE HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND.*—The recent religious awakening in Ireland has drawn attention to the ecclesiastical condition and history of that country, particularly of the Presbyterian Church. The struggles of that communion, for more than two centuries, against political and ecclesiastical intolerance and oppression, furnish materials for a narrative of great interest, especially to those in this country who cherish the same form of church organization, and trace the history of their own communion, in part at least, to that, the fortunes of which are here placed on record. The work is an abridgment of the voluminous standard history of Reid and Killen, yet is sufficiently full to embrace all the leading facts. Clear in style,

* *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.* Condensed from the standard work of Reid and Killen. By Rev. S. D. ALEXANDER. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860. pp. 876.

and abounding in incidents, it will well repay perusal; and that perusal cannot fail to impress the reader's mind with at least one lesson—that of all ecclesiastical history—the evils of entangling alliances between Church and State, or rather of intolerance and persecution on the part of those in power, against those who differ from them in their religious faith or ecclesiastical polity.

THE NONSUCH PROFESSOR.*—The quaint title of this book marks it unmistakably as belonging to a quaint and by-gone, though earnest and fruitful period of English religious literature. Rev. William Secker was a dissenting minister of the sixteenth century. The only two works by which he has become known to posterity are both embraced in the volume before us. They have passed through several editions, one of which was published in New York nearly half a century ago, with a commendatory letter from Rev. Drs. McLoud and J. B. Romeyn. Compositions which thus have lived for two centuries, and are still in favor, must possess no small degree of intrinsic merit. That merit consists in originality, point, aptness of illustration, eminent spirituality, and wealth of practical religious instruction. The three first named qualities prevent the book from being dull, while the two latter commend it to the heart and conscience, as well as to the attention of all classes of Christians. Drs. McLoud and Romeyn advise the perusal of the Non-such Professor "as a book of practical Godliness." The author himself characterizes his subject as a "breviary of religion." One writer pronounces the book to be "worth its weight in gold;" and Dr. Krauth, in his appreciative introduction published with the present edition, calls it "a mine of precious metals and of precious stones, a mine compressed to the dimensions of a little casket—a sort of pocket Golconda."

THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN RECORD.†—This volume is the result of

* *The Nonsuch Professor in his meridian splendor*; or, the singular actions of sanctified Christians laid open in Seven Sermons, at All-hallow's Church, London-Wall. By WILLIAM SECKER. To which is added the Wedding Ring, a Sermon, by the same Author. With an Introduction, by C. P. Krauth, D. D. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. pp. 320.

† *The American Christian Record*: containing the history, confession of faith, and statistics of each religious denomination in the United States and Europe,—a list of all clergymen with their post office address, etc. New York: W. R. C. Clark & Meeker. 1860. 12mo. pp. 696.

an attempt to furnish in convenient form, as a general year book for reference, the "history, confession of faith, and statistics of each religious denomination in the United States and Europe; with a list of all clergymen and their post office address." The compiler complains that in his efforts to obtain the information he wished he has not received the assistance and coöperation he had anticipated. His enquiries have been treated in some quarters with silence and indifference, while in a few cases they have been "regarded as impertinent." He also acknowledges that the volume for 1860 has not all the accuracy or fullness of detail that he had desired. Still he has collected an immense amount of interesting and important statistical information which fills six hundred and ninety-six closely printed pages. The value of a series of "Year Books" of this description, if well prepared, will be very great, and those who expect to be interested in the work should secure immediately a copy of the volume for 1860 while it is yet possible. The compiler asks earnestly for assistance from the officers of all religious bodies, all editors of religious periodicals, and theological professors, and requests them to send him whatever minutes, reports, or statistics, they may have which will assist him in his labors. He hopes that his next issue will more worthily represent what is doing by the different religious denominations of Christendom.

PUNCHARD'S VIEW OF CONGREGATIONALISM.*—This is the fourth edition of a book that should be well known among all the friends of Congregationalism. It contains "an exposition and discussion of the fundamental principles of the system of church polity which was so dear to the fathers of New England; a statement and defense of its more important doctrines respecting church order and discipline; the testimony of ecclesiastical history that such for substance was the polity of the Primitive Churches,—an enumeration and explanation of the ecclesiastical practices of Congregationalists; and a development of some of the prominent advantages of this system above all others." We fear that a very large number in our communion are far from understanding or appreciating the value of these principles. In cultivating charity for

* *A View of Congregationalism*, its principles and doctrines; the testimony of ecclesiastical history in its favor, its practice, and its advantages. By GEORGE PUNCHARD. With an introductory essay by R. S. Storrs, D. D. Fourth Edition, revised and enlarged. Boston: Congregational Board of Publication. 1860 12mo. pp. 367.

our brethren of other denominations, and in the fear of giving too much importance to what we were willing to consider a non-essential, we have not taught the members of our churches to estimate rightly the value of our simple and Scriptural form of church polity. What wonder is it that so much of our strength has been drawn off to build up other denominations who have been animated by a more intense devotional zeal! The danger of the time, in church as well as in state, is the centralization of power, and the blunting of all individual responsibility among the masses of the people. Congregationalism, better than any other system, is calculated to make the members of our churches feel their personal responsibility for the advancement of the interests of religion, and the necessity of being individual centers of influence. We bespeak for this volume a wide circulation and attentive readers.

PHILOSOPHY.

McCOSH'S INTUITIONS OF THE MIND.*—We welcome this volume as a valuable contribution to metaphysical science, and as being in some respects a very extraordinary book to appear in the English language. It demonstrates the truth that the interest in speculative studies is becoming almost a passion among thinking men in Great Britain. By the "intuitions of the mind," the author means those *a priori* conceptions and beliefs which are the conditions of all empirical and concrete knowledge, and without which all science of every kind, ethics and theology, are each and all alike impossible. In proposing to investigate these intuitions inductively, he assumes that it is possible to ascertain what these intuitions are, and to establish beyond a question the position that they are not acquired by experience, but are gained by direct and necessary acts of cognition. The general method pursued by the author is the same with that which Dr. Reid has followed in his *Essay on First Principles*. But since the time of Reid we have had Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*—Cousin's *Critique on Locke*—the writings of Whewell and J. Stuart Mill—Hamilton's *Reviews and Lectures*, all of which treatises have cleared the subjects involved of many difficulties, and contributed important materials for the better understanding and the more satisfactory adjustment of the questions at issue. These writers,

* *The Intuitions of the Mind inductively investigated.* By the Rev. JAMES McCOSH, LL. D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Queen's College, Belfast, &c., &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 504.

and some others of secondary importance, Dr. McCosh has studied with earnest attention, and he has them constantly in mind as he shapes his own arguments and evolves his own distinctions. Beyond these writers and a few others, his reading does not seem to have extended. At least, he does not seem to be at home with any besides those we have named. With the more recent philosophical literature of Germany, exuberant and able as it is, he seems only to be superficially acquainted. Such writers as Trendelenburg and Lotze, Ulrici and Fichte, ought to have been thoroughly studied before he ventured to publish on the profound subjects of this volume. A passing reference to their writings does by no means suffice.

Dr. McCosh is a clear and interesting writer on philosophical subjects. He is quick in his suggestions, acute and sagacious in his criticisms, occasionally subtle and original in his conclusions. He is eminently fitted by the warmth, the copiousness and fluency of his style, to excite an interest in speculative studies. But as a writer of authority, we cannot assign him the highest rank. He is not precise in his use of language. He is not rigorous in the development of his argument. He does not always seem to know what he is saying, but blindly beats the air. When compared with Hamilton, he is not only immeasurably his inferior in the extent and accuracy of his reading—but he falls below him in the strong and tenacious grasp of his conceptions—in the simple yet forcible precision of his language, and the undeviating and onward march of his logic. Hamilton is not always correct in his opinions. He lays himself open to easy criticism. McCosh does not fail to send an arrow between the joints of his harness; but, in spite of his errors, Hamilton is incomparably the greater philosopher, while McCosh is scarcely a philosopher at all, but rather a philosophizer or philosophical essayist. Notwithstanding these capital defects, this work is so interesting and so acute, that it cannot fail to stimulate to active thinking, while it will now and then reward the discriminating student with an original and wide-reaching principle.

The topics discussed in this volume lie at the foundation of our knowledge and our faith—Time, Space, Identity, Power, Causation, Quantity continuous and discrete, Motion, the Infinite, Being, Substance, Personality, Freedom, Moral Obligation—these, and other subjects are considered again and again, in the abstract and the concrete. We are surprised that intuition is omitted, which is the most interesting of all from its own intrinsic character, and from the importance of its application in ethics and theology. We refer to the intuition of design or

final cause. We are especially surprised that it should have been overlooked by the author of that most interesting volume entitled "Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation." Surely Dr. McCosh cannot be ignorant that this Intuition is the one of all others which concerns the questions at issue between the Deist and the Pantheist—and that for a score of years at least, the discussion of it has excited more interest than that of any one speculative point; nay, than that of all others together—with the physiologists and the philosophers of Germany. But Dr. McCosh does not notice it in this volume.

COLLINS'S HUMANICS.*—This is a highly original treatise on man as body and soul—answering pretty nearly to what in Germany would be called a system of anthropology. It was manifestly wrought out by the author's independent reflections, with very considerable reading. The result of this thinking is given in a brief and condensed essay, which touches some of the chief questions in Physiology, Psychology, and Metaphysics, in an able and original manner. The chief drawback to the interest and popularity of the work is the artificial nomenclature adopted by the author, and the brevity of his discussion of some fundamental questions. The chief merit of the treatise is that it distinguishes thought from sensation, and draws a sharp line of distinction between the lower and the higher functions of man's complex nature, thus clearly and triumphantly vindicating the spirituality of the soul. Every effort of this sort by a man who understands and does justice to all that a materialistic and spiritualistic physiology can urge in behalf of organization, renders an important service to the science of the times. The author's views of the process of thought, we cannot accept. He makes its initiatory and most elementary act to be enumeration, or, as he otherwise expresses himself, the *ideation of the unit*. Not only is numbering the primordial act of thinking, but it is continually repeated in all its more complicated processes, so that in reasoning of every kind the author finds little except addition and subtraction.

In other words, numbering, when applied to the varied *content* which is furnished for it to act upon, is the distinct element of the mind's thinking function. This theory is not peculiar to the author. It has often been propounded with more or less boldness and consistency of application. It is plausible, but not therefore convincing or

* *Humanics.* By T. WHARTON COLLINS, Esq., Professor of "Political Philosophy," University of Louisiana, ex-presiding Judge City Court of New Orleans, &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 358.

tenable. The elementary act of the mind in thinking is to distinguish one object from another, but not to distinguish it as one, which requires the consideration of it in a special relation. The relation of number, by which every object can be connected with every other, is only one of the thought relations, a relation universally applicable to every object, but not therefore explaining every other. The fallacy which leads the metaphysician to think it does explain every act and object to which it may be applied, is literally *cum hoc ergo propter hoc*. But though we dissent from the author in this fundamental position, we recommend his book as an interesting, original, and ingenious contribution to the knowledge of man.

SCIENCE.

DARWIN ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.*—The received doctrine in respect to the origin of species in the vegetable and animal kingdoms, has generally been, that they were formed by the Creator, each after its kind, and endowed with the power of propagating their like. It has been admitted, indeed, that within the limits of single species, a great number of varieties might arise, some of them as the result of culture and breeding, and that these varieties might, with sufficient pains-taking, be preserved true to their originals. It was also admitted that species nearly allied might propagate hybrid species, and that between certain kinds of plants this propagation might go on to an extent not easily defined or controlled. But it has been contended that in most species the limits within which varieties diverge from the common type, were very narrow, and that a constant tendency to come back to certain common and essential characteristics, is continually making itself manifest. Even in the best established varieties of plants and animals, the constant pains of the culturist and the breeder is required to keep the variety up to its normal state and to overcome the tendency to fall back to the original or the wilder forms.

This doctrine is rejected by the eminent naturalist, Dr. Charles Darwin, who has written this volume to explain, and in part to vindicate, the view which he would substitute. He contends that an induction

* *On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favored Races in the struggle for life.* By CHARLES DARWIN, M. A., Fellow of the Royal Geological, Linnean, &c. Societies. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 482.

from the facts of animal and vegetable life warrants the conclusion, that all living animals "have descended from, at most, only four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or lesser number. Analogy would lead me one step further, namely, to the belief that all animals and plants have descended from some one prototype. But analogy may be a deceitful guide. Nevertheless, all living things have much in common, in their chemical composition, their germinal vesicles, their cellular structure, and their laws of growth and reproduction. We see this even in so trifling a circumstance as that the same poison often similarly affects plants and animals; or that the poison secreted by the gall-fly produces monstrous growths in the wild-rose or oak-tree. Therefore I should infer from analogy that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth, have descended from some one primordial form, into which life was first breathed."

The facts which first suggested to the author this most sweeping inference from analogy, were the extraordinary changes in the form, the habits, and even the instincts of pigeons, by the care of breeders. The carrier, the tumbler, the runt, the barb, the pouter, the turbit, the Jacobin, the trumpeter, the laugher, and the fantail, are all as unlike one other as are different species of birds. Yet all these have been produced from the common wild pigeon, care being taken by man to develop slight peculiarities, by separating the parents in which they appear, and doing the same with those of their offspring in which the peculiarities desired were most conspicuous. Dr. Darwin also makes much of the fact that, in certain conditions of the parents of both plants and animals, accidental peculiarities of every kind are transmissible, and become fixed in their offspring; and he argues that what can be effected in the case of the pigeon, might be accomplished for every other species, provided they could be isolated as easily and brought under the plastic culture of man. Now, what man accomplishes with a few species, by artificial methods of seclusion and separation, he contends nature has done with all the animal and vegetable tribes, by the force of natural selection in the struggle for existence. He conceives the process thus. An animal or plant which possesses any marked peculiarity or tendency, coupled with superior vigor of constitution, would assert a superiority over its feebler competitors, displacing them by an excluding or overshadowing growth, robbing them of nourishment or of prey, or gaining an advantage in transmitting life to offspring. Where one variety or tendency survives in a single generation, or long enough to gain a fixed and permanent superiority, ten thousand may have been overborne and

perished. All that is wanting, is time. In hundreds of millions of generations there is not only opportunity of developing all the feathered tribes from a single species, or form, as he terms it; but to develop fishes from birds, and beasts from fish, and man from the highest of the three—not only is this possible, but special organs, as the eye, may be so far developed by "natural selection," as to convert the simple apparatus of an optic nerve, merely coated with pigment and invested by transparent membrane, into an optical instrument as perfect as, "for example, the eye of the eagle." The same mode of reasoning would also apply to the development and transmission of instincts. But when did all these transitions take place? Of course in the long ages which are called the geological periods. But do we find any fossil records of these intermediate varieties through which our present existing races must have been developed from the primeval forms or form? Certainly not. Unfortunately, they have all perished; but if they had not perished, analogy teaches that we ought to find them, and therefore we may believe that they did exist. This very convenient use of the geologic plants and animals reminds us of the way in which a professed artist executed the order to paint on a wall the Israelites and Egyptians crossing the Red Sea. He simply covered the wall with a coating of red. When asked; where are the Israelites? he replied, they are gone over the sea. But where are the Egyptians? Surely, they are all drowned; and if the sea were not so red, you could see them all at the bottom. Dr. Darwin's mode of reasoning from analogy is also somewhat like that of the Irishman who said he had heard that feathers made a soft bed, but he had tried one upon the floor and did not find that his bed was at all improved. He concluded, therefore, by analogy, that many feathers would make a very hard bed, forgetting, as Dr. Darwin, that the relations of more or less apply even to analogy. We admit all Dr. Darwin's facts. We do not question that it was nature's design to provide for many varieties by culture, and that many of the so-considered species may have originated from an original pair. But there is a limit beyond which analogy, pliable as it is, will not carry us.

But we did not design to go into the argument. The Naturalists will have a pretty fight of it among themselves, and the discussions which will be evolved may perhaps tend to bring us all at last to think with Mrs. Browning, that "a larger metaphysics might help our physics."

We have only to propound one question, which may help to a solu-

tion of many particular questions which will arise. What is this analogy on which these extraordinary theories are reared? Does it imply a rational as well as a creating mind? If so, is it fair to introduce as an element to determine the origin of species, any reference to the probable plans or design of the Creator? If so, which theory would such a reference favor, the old or the new? Moreover, if Dr. Darwin's theory be true, by what processes and intervals of transitional gradation, and from what primitive form of fish, or beast, or fowl, was this faculty of interpreting the past history of nature for millions of years, by analogies drawn from the rearing of domestic pigeons, developed in Dr. Darwin, to its sublimest attainment of sagacity?

WELL'S ANNUAL OF SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY.*—The volume for 1860 of this useful and convenient repository of the leading discoveries and improvements in the various departments of science and the arts, is the eleventh of the series, and like its predecessors shows commendable diligence on the part of its compiler in gathering from many diverse sources the materials of which it is composed. It contains very much that is interesting and important to the general reader, as well as to the man of science; and its copious index renders it valuable as a book of reference. It is embellished with a portrait of Isaac Lea, Esq., of Philadelphia, the President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, for the present year.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

AN ARCTIC BOAT JOURNEY.†—The readers of Dr. Kane's narrative of Arctic exploration will remember that in the autumn of 1854 a party of eight persons made an attempt to go by boat from Rensselaer

* *Annual of Scientific Discovery*; or, Year Book of Facts in Science and Arts, for 1860, exhibiting the most important discoveries and improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc. Together with notes on the progress of science during the year 1859; a list of recent scientific publications; obituaries of eminent scientific men, etc. Edited by DAVID A. WELLs, A. M., Author of "Principles of Natural Philosophy," etc., etc. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. pp. 430.

† *An Arctic Boat Journey*, in the Autumn of 1854. By ISAAC I. HAYES, Surgeon of the second Grinnell Expedition. Boston: Brown, Taggard & Chase. 1860. pp. 375.

Harbor, where the Advance lay frozen in, to Upernivik, in North Greenland, the nearest outpost of civilization; and that after pushing their way some three hundred miles, or nearly half the distance, they were compelled to return to the vessel, which they reached in mid-winter, after an absence of four months. In the volume before us we have in detail a narrative of the thrilling incidents of this journey, by Dr. Hayes, the leader of the party, whose illness after his return home prevented his preparation of it in season to be incorporated with the volumes of Dr. Kane. It is not, therefore, a repetition of Dr. Kane, but an entirely fresh narrative, full of interest and possessing that peculiar fascination which so naturally attaches to stories of personal adventure amid the wild and unique desolations of the Arctic *Terra Incognita*. What courage, what perseverance, what powers of physical endurance these men possessed; and with what intense interest do we follow them in their heroic career of discouragement, peril, and personal suffering! After reading such a narrative it is difficult for us to understand, at first thought, how a man who has once escaped from these perils should ever be willing to encounter them again. And knowing what Dr. Hayes has already passed through, it gives us a lively impression of his indomitable zeal and courage, to hear that he stands ready to throw himself once more into the jaws of danger, in hopes of penetrating to the pole itself, and settling forever the question of an open polar sea.

Most of the Arctic expeditions heretofore undertaken have been prosecuted in the interest of commerce, or of humanity—to find a north-west passage, or to relieve, or learn the fate of preceding explorers. The one which Dr. Hayes now so nobly proposes to conduct is purely in the interest of science. The first thought of many, who have shed tears over Arctic narratives, will be, that humanity forbids such a project—that while life might be exposed in the hope of rescuing Sir John Franklin and his companions, science is not entitled to such perilous service. But there is scarcely a stronger moving force in man than scientific curiosity; and while this is leading him to brave heat and pestilence in exploring Central Africa, why may it not as well lay open to us the secrets of the icy North? Besides, Dr. Hayes explains very clearly that our common ideas of the necessary perils attending Arctic exploration are to a great extent exaggerated; that the suffering is more apparent than real; and his statement is confirmed by the fact that very few deaths usually occur in Arctic voyages, except in such rare cases as that of Sir John Franklin, where unexpected disaster be-

falls the whole company. At all events, Dr. Hayes knows from abundant experience just what the perils are, and his readiness to engage in a new expedition is the best proof possible that in his judgment the obstacles to be encountered are only such as skill and perseverance may readily overcome.

Dr. Hayes is firmly persuaded that there exists an open polar sea beyond the point where Morton, of Dr. Kane's expedition, is confident he saw it stretching off to the northward, in 1854; and by passing up the western side of Smith's Strait, and Kennedy Channel, instead of the eastern, where Dr. Kane got hemmed in by the drift ice borne down by currents setting from the north, he hopes to escape the disasters of the Grinnell Expedition, and reach a safe winter harbor already known to him, on the opposite coast of Grinnell Land; from which point a boat and sledge party can proceed under the most favorable circumstances to the supposed open ocean a hundred and fifty miles, or so, further north, and thence by boat straight to the North Pole, if no new continent or ice-barrier intervene. That such an open sea exists, notwithstanding there is much weight of opinion the other way, seems probable, not only from the testimony of several explorers who say that they have seen it, but from many concurrent circumstances—as the migration of marine birds to the northward in spring—the indicated directions of known isothermal lines in high latitudes—the temperature of Arctic waters, observed by Morton in 1854 as only 36° Fahr. in June—the rise of temperature in winter, when the north wind sets in, with an increase of dampness—the traditions of the Esquimaux respecting the migration of their race from the north—and many other considerations of greater or less importance. Besides the settlement of this question, many indirect results of great importance to science will readily be obtained by such an expedition, in regard to the magnetism, tides, currents, meteorology, geology, and natural history of the Arctic regions, and also the peculiar phenomena of glaciers and icebergs. The leading scientific bodies of the country have interested themselves in the proposed expedition, and will coöperate with Dr. Hayes in endeavoring to render it in the highest degree beneficial to science. Funds for the outfit, it is understood, have already been pledged, and the bold adventurer, with his party, fully equipped for the enterprise, will set sail the present season. They will be followed in their perilous career with the sympathies and best wishes of their countrymen.

DISCOVERY OF THE FATE OF SIR JOHN FRANKLIN.*—The public have been for some time aware that the honor of having solved the mystery which so long hung over the fate of Sir John Franklin, belongs to Captain McClintock. The narrative of his successful voyage in the "Fox" is now before the world, and we have at last all the details respecting the fate of the "Erebus" and "Terror," and his gallant companions, that will ever be known.

Before giving any details of Capt. McClintock's expedition, we will go back thirty years. In 1830, Sir James Ross having reached the farthest point in his explorations, named two headlands, then in sight, Cape Franklin, and Cape Jane Franklin. Eighteen years from that date, Sir John Franklin, after a voyage which for novelty, courage, rapidity and boldness, has never been surpassed, arrived in sight of these very capes. There, in the winter of 1846-7, he was beset in the ice. There he died, June 11th, 1847; and there, in April, 1848, his ships were deserted by their crews, and not very far away, one after another of those poor fellows "fell down and died as they walked on the ice," till not one was left to tell the story of their fate. The history of the search that was made for them is in the memories of all. Expedition after expedition was sent from England, the interest of the brave and generous of our own land was awakened, and Americans contended with Englishmen who should first carry them succor. But all was in vain; and at last hope died in the hearts of all save in the devoted wife of Franklin. Unable to interest the English government in another voyage of search, she expended all her available means, already exhausted in four other independent expeditions, and with the assistance of a few friends chartered the little yacht, "Fox," 170 tons burthen, of which Capt. McClintock of the Royal Navy offered to take the command. The Fox set sail, and many were the misgivings with which the friends of the expedition followed the little vessel as she took her way alone and unassisted, to encounter all the dangers and difficulties of an Arctic voyage. The first season she accomplished absolutely nothing, being frozen in near Melville Bay, on the coast of Greenland, before she had even crossed Baffin's Bay, and then at the

* *The Voyage of the Fox in the Arctic Seas. A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions.* By Capt. M'CLINTOCK, R. N., LL. D. With maps and illustrations. Boston : Ticknor & Fields. 1859. 12mo. pp. 375. For sale by Judd, New Haven.

breaking up of winter she was carried back by the floating ice nearly 1200 geographical miles, till she came once more into the Atlantic ocean. But McClintock steadily persevered, and at last success crowned his efforts. A "record" was found, prepared and left by Capt. Crozier, upon whom the account of the ill-fated expedition had devolved, stating that on April 26th, 1848, he was about to start with 100 men for Back's Fish River, hoping to reach the territories of the Hudson Bay Company. Then vast quantities of tattered clothing were discovered, and other articles, as if the men, "aware that they were retreating for their lives, had abandoned everything superfluous;"—then skeletons, some partly enveloped in furs; guns, "loaded and cocked;" watches; boots; slippers of worked worsted; Bibles and Prayer-books. The "Narrative" gives us the whole sad story, and all that pertains to the discovery of these last relics of the lost expedition. Nothing more remains to be learned. The "record" tells us that Franklin, down to the winter of 1846-7, had been remarkably successful. He had ascended to the North through Wellington Channel, then an unknown sea, to 77° N. latitude, had proved "Cornwallis's Land" to be an island, and then turning to the South through "Peel's Strait," had reached a point at Lat. 70° and Long. 98° W., where he was beset in the ice. From this point, as he had previously ascertained, there was an open communication by water along the North coast of the American continent with the Pacific ocean. To Franklin then belongs the honor of being the first real discoverer of the Northwest passage, and, as Sir Roderick Murchison says, this great fact must be inscribed upon his monument. The prize of \$100,000, which the British government offered some years ago for this discovery, has been already awarded to Sir R. McClure, but the friends of Sir John Franklin claim that the credit is due to him, and that his widow in consequence is entitled to the money.

From the days of John Cabot and the earliest Polar explorations to our own, there have been about 130 expeditions to the Arctic regions, which have been illustrated by some 250 books and printed documents. Of all the explorers, few have been more successful than Captain McClintock, while no narrative has ever been given to the public which has been more fraught with interest than the plain and unassuming record which he has given us of this "Voyage of the Fox," and "Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions."

SOUTH AND NORTH.*—Mr. Abbott has given us, in this sketch of a recent trip to Cuba and through the Southern States, a book not only entertaining but really instructive—a book especially timely in view of the great question which is now agitating the whole country; for this question forms the main subject of the volume. With a faithful record of what he himself saw and heard while at the South, the author has interwoven, somewhat at length, his own views respecting slavery, and given us a picture of the institution and of its relations to freedom and the free states, such as must command itself to every one, of whatever section or party, as eminently just, candid, patriotic, and Christian. It is not, indeed, a "South-side View." The author has seen too much of the world, and is too sagacious an observer, to have the wool pulled over his eyes by a little Southern hospitality. It is, from honest conviction, a North-side view; and yet the tone of the book is kind and conciliatory in the highest degree, and the whole constitutes an earnest appeal, on the basis of indisputable facts, to the people of the South, urging them to look at the subject not only in the light of reason, justice, and Christianity, but also of self-interest, political economy, and patriotism. Though a Northern man, with Northern principles, Mr. Abbott divests himself of prejudice, looks at both sides, and states his conclusions with great clearness and force. In his trip through the South, though it was made just subsequently to the hanging of John Brown, he was nowhere molested, nowhere saw a fire-eater—at least not in the act of eating—and in view of the uniformly genial and gentlemanly bearing of all whom he met, wonders where the bullies and bloody-minded men come from who rave, and storm, and threaten disunion, in the newspapers, in conventions, and in congress. We half suspect that if he had just pricked some of those smooth gentlemen with an anti-slavery or even Republican pin, he would have seen antics not a whit less characteristic of the "chivalry" than those which disgrace the national capital. He saw, in his brief sojourn, no slaves flogged, or otherwise maltreated; but he did see some of the masters, whose slaves are accustomed to receive that sort of treatment. Take the following picture of an Alabama planter, and let any one who fancies slavery to be a good thing think how he would like such a master for himself or his children.

"During the night, at one of the little obscure landing places on the lake, a

* *South and North*; or, Impressions received during a Trip to Cuba and the South. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. New York: Abbey & Abbott. 1860. pp. 352.

young planter, about twenty-five years of age, came on board, apparently from a plantation not far back from the shore. He soon rendered himself revoltingly conspicuous by his profaneness and rowdyism. Boon companions speedily gathered around him, and, for some hours, night was rendered hideous by their revelry. In the morning I found him on deck, still in the flush of his debauch. In loud tones, and with a swaggering air, he said:

" ' When I am dry, I drink whisky ; when I am hungry, I drink whisky ; when I am hot, I drink whisky ; when I am cold, I drink whisky. I just keep pouring it down all the while. I had rather drink whisky than eat or sleep ! '

" ' I am going to Mobile for a *bust*. I never expect to get nearer to heaven than I am when I get to Mobile. If I don't *bust* it there this afternoon and to-night ! '

" ' The damned niggers, if they don't work while I am gone, they'll get it. I tell you what I do, when I've been gone on a spree. When I go home, if I find the damned niggers have not done a good week's work, I just take 'em and lick 'em like hell—yes, I lick 'em like hell ! God Almighty never yet made a nigger that could come it over me ! '

" These utterances were interlarded with the most horrible oaths imaginable. From various remarks I inferred that this young man had recently come into the possession of his estate, somewhere in the vicinity, by the death of his father, and that his mother was still living. He had, perhaps, a hundred slaves, of all varieties of color, men and women, boys and girls, under his sway in a remote plantation which no eye of civilization ever sees, and where the cry of his victims can reach no Christian ear. After spending a week in Mobile, losing all his money in gambling, his nerves irritated by debauchery, and his spirit maddened by disappointment, he returns to his helpless slaves to wreak his wrath upon them, and to goad them to severer toil to replenish his purse. Their doom is one which it is awful to contemplate."

Everywhere—especially out of the cities, (where free labor, by Irish and Germans, is fast taking the place of slave labor,)—the blighting effects of slavery were apparent, even to the most casual observation; and everywhere was suggested the striking contrast that exists between the intelligence, prosperity and strength of the North, and the ignorance, unthrift and weakness of the South. The remedy for the evils of slavery, which Mr. Abbott proposes and urges with great force, is the simple and common sense one of substituting wages for compulsion as a stimulus to labor, showing conclusively that such a substitution would neither imperil nor impoverish the South, but on the contrary would add immensely both to individual wealth and to the security, prosperity, and power of the state. We wish this book could be read by every one, especially by all who are inclined to look kindly on slavery, or to think it no great matter if it should push itself into new territories and cover with its blight a broader region than it has already cursed.

A TRIP TO CUBA.*—In the same connection, this sprightly little book of another traveler is of value just at this time. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, of Boston, has given here her impressions of men, manners, and things, as she saw them in Cuba. Her point of view is a very different one from ours, but she gives facts, and she tells what were the impressions which were made upon her; and the reader can make his own inferences and deductions.

PRIME'S LETTERS FROM SWITZERLAND.†—The thousands of our countrymen who are hoping that within the next two or three years they may visit Switzerland, will hardly find a better *itinerary* to guide them in their course than the one which Mr. Prime furnishes in this book. "Switzerland," he says, "to be seen aright, must be entered from Germany. Many travelers rush from Paris to Geneva, and beginning with Chamouni and Mont Blanc, come down from the greater to the less, tapering off with the beautiful, instead of rising to the sublime." For the same reason we add—First ascend the Rhine, trace its whole length from Holland, enjoy the beauty of its vine clad banks, and the picturesqueness of its "castled crags," before entering upon the grandeur and the magnificence of the Alps. Then commencing at Basle, there is no better route, in the main, than the one marked out by Mr. Prime. Zurich—Schaffhausen and the Falls of the Rhine—Horgen—Zug—Arth—Rigi, with its distant view of the Bernese Alps—Lucerne and the Lake of the Four Cantons—Fluellen—Aldorf—Iloital, and the Pass of St. Gothard. Then returning by the Furca Pass, go by the Glacier of the Rhone, that frozen Niagara, and by the Grimsel Pass, to Handek and Meyringen. Then to Grindelwald, taking, in passing, the Falls of Giesbach, of Reichenbach, the Glacier of Rosenlau, and by all means the *Faulhorn*, which Mr. Prime failed to ascend, which, however, affords by far the best view to be gained anywhere of the queenly Jung-frau, of Monck, of Finster Aarhorn and the rest of that glittering line of snow clad giants. Then by the Wengern Alp, and the Falls of Staubach to Interlachen and Thun. Here, in those loveliest of Alpine villages, prepare, by a few days rest, for the still more magnificent views which await the traveler at Monte Rosa and

* *A Trip to Cuba.* By MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860. 18mo. pp. 251.

† *Letters from Switzerland.* By SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 264. For sale by F. T. Jarman, New Haven.

Mont Blanc. Go, with Mr. Prime, by Kandersteg, over that most wonderful of all Alpine Passes, "The Gemmi," to Leuk. Then leaving his itinerary, pass from Leuk over the Simplon, and by no means fail to go up from Visp on the Simplon to Monte Rosa, hardly inferior to Mont Blanc itself. Then with Mr. Prime again, back to Martigny, and to the famous Hospice of Grand St. Bernard. But here Mr. Prime halts, and returns to Martigny and reaches Chamouni by the Tete Noir and the Col du Balme. But we advise the tourist, by this time no novice in Alpine travel, to push boldly on and make the complete "*Tour of Mont Blanc!*" In no other way, we assure him, can the grandeur of this Monarch of the mountains be comprehended. Descend then the Pass of Grand St. Bernard into Italy; skirt the mountain on the south to Cormayeur, the Chamouni of the Italian side—then by the Col de la Seigne, Col de Fours, the Col du Bon Homme, and Col de Voza, the highest and wildest passes yet climbed, wind around to what should always be reserved as the crowning glory of the whole, the Vale of Chamouni. Nothing of importance will now be left, in Switzerland proper, but Geneva—and "clear placid Leman." Such, with a few slight emendations, is the *itinerary* which Mr. Prime's book marks out. None but those who have been over the ground repeatedly can appreciate how great is the advantage of taking the different points of interest in something like this order of succession which he designates. The letters themselves are quite readable, without however containing anything particularly novel; and are very much such as might be expected from a rapid traveler who is in the saddle or on foot every day from morning to night, and whose only time to think or write is the hour which other travelers spend in sleep.

BELLES LETTRES.

WOLFE OF THE KNOLL.*—The volume which has recently been presented to the public under the above title is the first collection of Mrs. Marsh's poems, several of which have, however, appeared from time to time in various journals. The present collection contains, besides translations from the Swedish and German, a few of the author's shorter poems, while by far the greater portion of the work is occupied by Wolfe of the Knoll, from which the volume takes its name.

* *Wolfe of the Knoll*, and other Poems. By MRS. GEORGE P. MARSH. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. 8vo. pp. 327.

This poem, founded on a tradition of the North, recites the fortunes of Melleff, a youth, who, leaving his home, the Island of Amroom, is taken captive and brought, a slave, into the service of the Bey of Tunia. In tracing the history of his captivity and deliverance, ample opportunity is given for exhibiting, in powerful contrast, the scenery, men, and customs both of the North and the South; the thread of the story serving to maintain a connection between the various changes of scene found necessary in the progress of the work.

The Island of Amroom, around which clusters much of the chief interest of the poem, is situated on the western coast of that part of the peninsula of Denmark, known as the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein. Exposed to the terrible storms of the North Sea, its shifting sands scarcely hold their own against the waves and tides of the ocean.

The poem opens with a graphic description of Amroom, in which its desolation is set in opposition to the smiling beauty of a southern shore.

The sea casteth pearls on Araby's strand,
Shells, corals, and sea-moss and ruby sand;
And emerald, scarlet, and gold-fish there
Flash through his waters transparent as air.
His wavelets are laughing all night on that shore,
Tossing their jewels at touch of the oar.
But angry and hoarse is the voice of the tide,
As he lashes our island's trembling side,
And rolls up the ooze from his slimy bed,
The pale, thin meadows to overspread,
Then leaves as he slowly sinketh back,
The muscle, the crab, and the ray in his track.

Here, in cottages raised on hillocks to protect them from the overflowing waters, dwells a simple, pious people, whose earthly lot is poverty, but whose heavenly trust and hope shine with a purer luster in the dreary circumstances of life, which have given to such virtues their high development. The character and customs of this remarkable people, their religious faith, their warmth and generosity of soul are so portrayed that we cannot fail to feel the deepest interest in their fortunes; and we find ourselves skillfully drawn into a participation in their struggles against the sea, as surging upon the island

"Day by day
Doth he crumble that dwindling sod away."

From such scenes and people in the North, the reader is transported to the genial warmth of the South, to Tunis and the surrounding

territory, where, under a clear sky, among waving palms and trailing vineyards, among soft murmuring fountains, and all the luxuriance of a tropical climate, we are introduced to the strong passions, the wild habits, the fierce strifes of a people, bred under the Mohammedan code, which, while it cherishes high virtues, stands strongly contrasted with northern Christianity.

The following description of Tunis is placed near the opening of the second canto, and greets the reader as he turns from the desolateness of Amroom :

On Tunis bright the sunbeams fall,
Where, girded by her double wall,
She sits a queen, upon whose brow
A thousand flashing crescents glow,
Forming a diadem to vie,
With Maia's crown that flames on high.
Goodly without her vesture shows—
Scarce purer white the mountain-snows.
Who saw her thus, in royal state,
Kissed by the bounding wave so free,
Even lovely Venice might forget,
And hail her there, “Bride of the Sea!”
Fair are her minarets and towers,
Her rosy gardens, viny bowers;
Her fountains gush as clear and cold
As ever naiad's source of old,
And softer murmurs than they shed
Rose not from fond Alpheus' bed,
When Arethusa stooped to lave
Her tender limbs in his bright wave.

Fatmeh, daughter of the Bey of Tunis, and a charming character in these southern scenes, has drawn elements of sweetness from northern fountains; her mother being of northern origin, and her nurse a northern Christian slave. Mrs. Marsh's description of this child, as she sports about her father, the Bey, is so beautiful that we cannot refrain from introducing it here :—

And ne'er did opening flower disclose,
Since Chaucer saw his budding rose
So rich in beauty and perfume,
The promise of a fairer bloom,
Than even the careless eye must trace
In Fatmeh's childish form and face.
Her large black eye with its clear ray

Spoke of near kinship to the Bey,
 Yet tempered were its rising flashes
 By the long drooping silken lashes
 That o'er those orbs transparent hung,
 And down their trembling shadows flung
 Like willow-boughs that fringe a lake.
 And its pure sheen less dazzling make.
 The ebon arches o'er them bent
 Were true as Giotto's hand could paint.
 In her dark heavy tresses shone
 A burnished light, as if the sun
 Had softly kissed the glossy hair
 And left his golden radiance there ;
 Proving that gleam so strange inwrought
 In the deep twilight of her braids,
 From a Circassian mother caught
 With curls as bright as Saxon maids.

The plot of the poem is gracefully managed, and the interest in the several personages well sustained. All the principal characters move naturally forward in the easy flow of the narrative, and the moral attitude of each, at the close, is a particularly pleasing phase of the work. In this the author's own high and happy trust in the better destinies of humanity are distinctly betrayed.

The skillful manner in which Mrs. Marsh has managed the contrasts of the North and South, constitutes one of the chief beauties of the work before us. Familiarized, by her studies in northern fields of literature, with the scenery of those regions—it was natural she should frequently have called to mind the striking contrast between such scenes and those to which she had been herself accustomed, during a long period of residence and travel in the East and South. The conception of setting the two regions in opposition to each other in the same poem and thus giving a fine play of lights and shades, was a highly artistic one—and it is to the happy carrying out of this main idea of the poem that its success is due. In its execution, Mrs. Marsh has introduced us to the very spirit of the South. We feel the breath of the palm, we hear the murmur of the fountain, we live the life of the desert, fascinated with her power of description, and the facility with which she has revived and reproduced the impressions of the country.

The story is told with unaffected simplicity, the measure of the verse varying to suit the impulses of poetic inspiration. Throughout all the history, Wolfe of the Knoll, the patient, anxious, watching father of Melleff, stands as a sublime example of piety and trustfulness,

nourished under the stern adversities and trials to which the inhabitants of Amroom are subject.

There are one or two scenes in the poem to which, in all the notices that have come to our knowledge, no extended allusion has been made : a matter of surprise to us, as we have been inclined to regard them as among the very finest passages in the work. We refer to the "Ostrich Hunt" in the eighth canto, and "The Rescue" in the tenth canto. It is difficult to decide, indeed, as to their relative merits. They are both remarkable for their energy, spirit, and descriptive power. In both we are thrilled with the impulsive, feverish impetuosity of the desert-life, and the intensity of its excitements.

The measure chosen for the Ostrich Hunt is most perfectly adapted to the subject in hand. Nothing could be more energetic in its effect, than the continual recurrence of the ictus on the fourth and seventh syllables of each line.

"Up ye now ! saddle the steeds that are fleetest !
Steeds for the chase of the camel-bird meetest !
See that my tents flock the desert's red border
Ere the gray night-fall !" So ran the Bey's order.

Ere the gray night-fall, his green tents were planted
Far to the south, where the setting sun slanted
Arrows of fire o'er a golden-waved ocean,
Solid as jasper, no sound and no motion.

In the last three lines, the desert is brought before us by a single stroke of the artist.

In the following, morning is welcomed and the chase commences.

Wake ! for her silvery mantle is gleaming,
O'er it her tresses of amber are streaming,
Upward on iris hued pinions she springeth,
Pearls o'er oasis and palm grove she flingeth !

Cast off the haik ! Be your girdle the tightest,
Saddle and bridle and stirrup the lightest,
Look to the weight of the weapon ye carry,
Lose not a moment ! Lo, yonder the quarry !

Swift as a shaft from the bow of Apollo,
Forth darts the ostrich, the snorting steeds follow ;
Sail-like her white, curling pinions she spreadeth—
Is it the earth or the air that she treadeth ?

* * * * *

The death of the "Bird of Sahara" is followed by one of those beautiful changes of meter and subject, so noticeable throughout the poem.

Headlong she rolleth, still fluttering and shivering,
O'er her the courser stands panting and quivering,
Aali hath lifted his weapon, she boundeth
High in the death-throe, her flapping wing soundeth.

Hoarse as the tempest; the frightened steed starteth,
Swerves, plunges, rears, till the saddle girth parteth;
Off springs his lord, down the barb droppeth dying.
Courser and camel-bird side by side lying!

The chase is o'er, the fiery day
To night's cool splendors fast gives way.
All commands his weary train
To seek Sheikh Moosa's tents again.

* * * * *

Mrs. Marsh has been cordially welcomed by the American literary public, and there seems to be in this volume many indications that our country possesses, in her, another of that class of poets, whose special privilege it is to reproduce the impressions made upon them by natural scenery. There are few persons who, in her comparatively helpless condition as an invalid, would have attempted the severe privations of extended journeys—often made in a litter among mountains and ruins—in order to gratify that intense love of nature, which she so clearly betrays. There are fewer still, who, even did they possess the necessary qualifications, would feel the demand to reproduce the scenes thus witnessed, irresistibly bearing them over the many obstacles attendant on the life of an invalid. Her genial warmth of sentiment, her keen appreciation of beauty, her fidelity to this poetic inspiration, have presented us with a work, whose pages sparkle with poetic gems, and to which a permanent rank will justly be awarded among the first productions of American Poets.

MARSH'S LECTURES ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.*—It is evident from many signs that the English language is becoming more and more an object of interest and study among educated people. The compilation of Dictionaries like those of Webster and Worcester, the keen rivalry of

* *Lectures on the English Language.* By GEORGE P. MARSH. New York: Charles Scribner. 8vo. pp. viii and 697.

the publishers, and the great circulation given to each work, afford abundant proof of the fact. It is seen also in the production of grammars like those of Latham and Fowler, not designed for schoolboys, like the older books of Murray and his successors, but addressed to persons of adult years and mature minds. It is shown, too, in the popularity of Dean Trench's elegant, though discursive, works on subjects of English philology. And it will appear again, we doubt not, in the equal, or even greater popularity, which we anticipate for Mr. Marsh's Lectures. Though learned, these lectures are not technical; they have the reality of science, without the formal and forbidding appearance. While replete with information, and presenting everywhere the fruits of extensive reading and research, they are expressed in a style which all must find at once intelligible and attractive. The topics discussed are—the sources and composition of the English language—its vocabulary—its grammatical inflections—its changes in orthography and orthoepy—its rhythmical and metrical peculiarities—and many others. There is a peculiar pleasure in receiving new light on familiar objects—in recognizing the real meaning and relations of things long known, but imperfectly understood. Of such pleasure the readers of this volume may promise themselves an abundant harvest.

We shall not protract this notice, as we have some expectation of returning to the work hereafter for more extended examination and criticism. We trust that the author may be induced ere long to bring out that second part—a philological review of English literature, tracing the progress of the language in its literary monuments—which he speaks of in the preface, as forming a part of his original design.

LIFE WITHOUT AND LIFE WITHIN.*—This volume is the last which we are to have from the busy and facile pen of the gifted authoress, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, over whose life and death so wayward a genius seems to have presided. She was, however, one of the most remarkable women of this generation, and everything which she wrote is, on some accounts, worth the reading. The volume is very various in its interest and is furnished with a striking portrait of the author.

* *Life Without and Life Within; or Reviews, Narratives, Essays and Poems.* By MARGARET FULLER OSSOLI, Author of "Woman in the Nineteenth Century," &c., &c. Edited by her brother, Arthur B. Fuller. Boston: Brown, Taggard & Chase. 1860. 12mo. pp. 428.

APELLES.*—A simple story of Ancient Greece, in which Apelles, the great painter, is the principal figure, and Alexander the Great, and Aristotle, the Sage, and the beautiful Campaspe, sustain prominent parts. It brings before us a succession of pleasing pictures of artist and social life among the Greeks of that day, with occasional graphic descriptions of natural scenery and of the works of ancient art, particularly those of Athena. The view taken is from a modern stand-point, and from the frequent references to modern art and literature the book fails to transport the reader fully into the scenes it describes. It aims to be faithful to chronology and historic truth, and without anything striking in the plot, holds the attention by clothing in attractive forms, and inspiring with life and beauty, the dry and disconnected fragments of knowledge that have come down to us from a period so remote. It is published in that exceedingly beautiful style of paper and typography which has of late characterized several of the Boston presses.

THE FOOL OF QUALITY.†—In an age so prolific in works of fiction of all sorts and grades as the present, the resuscitation of a voluminous novel of the eighteenth century, under the auspices of such a writer as Charles Kingsley, argues either some great intrinsic merit in the work itself, at least in the estimation of its editor, or else a bold experiment on the prevailing public taste, or, perhaps more correctly, both. When we are told that it is in a sense a religious novel, and religious after the “good Samaritan,” or Charles Kingsley pattern—such a novel as this reform preacher would recommend as specially adapted to this age—our curiosity is considerably awakened; and that curiosity is not diminished by learning something of the singularly pure Christian life of its gentle, gifted, cultivated and courtly, noble hearted and benevolent author, Henry Brooke, the intimate of Pope, Sheridan and Swift, the favorite of Pitt and of the Prince of Wales; and our interest is still further enhanced, when we learn that this identical novel so captivated the godly founder of Methodism, that he edited a special edition of it for his followers, and in the strongest language of praise, not only for its

* *Apelles and his Contemporaries.* A Novel. By the Author of “Ernest Carroll.” Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1860. pp. 342.

† *The Fool of Quality:* or History of Henry, Earl of Moreland. By HENRY BROOKE, Esq. A new and revised edition, with an Introduction by Rev. W. P. STRICKLAND, D. D., and a Biographical Preface by the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLY, M. A. Complete in two volumes. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860. pp. 404, 879.

moral and religious, but for its literary qualities, recommended it "to all those who are already, or who desire to be, lovers of God and man." Wesley's opinion, and some of the peculiar qualities of the work, may be further gathered from a pithy anecdote. Mr. John Easton, a very zealous Methodist, but quite innocent of sentiment or ideality, took occasion strongly to condemn the book in the presence of Wesley, Dr. Clark, and a company of other preachers. "Did you read *Vindex, John?*" said Wesley, referring to an exceedingly humorous passage in the book. "Yes, sir." "Did you *laugh, John?*" "No, sir." "Did you read *Damon and Pythias, John?*" "Yes, sir." "Did you *cry, John?*" "No, sir." Lifting up his eyes, as in utter astonishment, and clasping his hands, Wesley exclaimed: "O, earth—earth—earth!" The good brother's shot had proved much more damaging to himself than to the book, in the estimation of his leader. After this, we need not say that the "Fool of Quality," though lacking the artistic merit and continuous dramatic interest of many modern novels, is yet a very readable book, abounding both in pathos and humor, and interweaving throughout a high toned Christian morality. It was asserted by the author, that the work was not strictly a fiction. "I can assure you," said he to a friend, "with the exception of a few touches of coloring, everything is founded in fact—even the incidents are facts." The scene is laid in the times of Charles II. Besides the brilliant biographical preface by Charles Kingsley, there is a shorter introduction by Rev. W. P. Strickland, D. D., of New York.

WORKS OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.*—We rejoice to see that our American publishers are beginning to give us handsome editions of the works of the old standard writers of our language. We hail this new movement as an evidence of an improvement in the literary taste of the people. The publications of the day are too ephemeral in their character to deserve such exclusive attention as they have received from the great mass of readers. We hope that the time is not far distant when a familiar acquaintance with this class of English literature will be as common as, we are sorry to think, it is uncommon now. We have before us a beautiful volume, printed in the best style of the Riverside Press of Messrs. Houghton & Co. of Cambridge, which contains the Works of

* *The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Philip Sidney, Knt.* With the life of the author and illustrative notes. By WILLIAM GRAY, Esq., of Magdalen College, and the Inner Temple. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham, Antiquarian Book Store, 148 Washington street. 1860. 8vo. pp. 380.

Sir Philip Sidney, that most accomplished gentleman, soldier, poet, and scholar of his time. The *Arcadia* and the *Psalms* are not given in the collection, but all his other poems, "The Defense of Poetry," and his letters are included.

HISTORY.

VAUGHAN'S REVOLUTIONS IN ENGLISH HISTORY.*—We commend this work to the favorable notice of our readers. It stands midway between a constitutional history, like Hallam's, and a history of facts. It takes up the great and critical events which have occurred, and traces out their effects upon the people. Thus, in the present volume, the first book treats of the Celts and Romans, in successive chapters, headed "The early inhabitants of Britain," "Revolution by the Sword," "Effect of the Ascendancy of the Romans in Britain on Government," "Revolution in Religion," "Effect of the Roman Ascendancy on Social Life." The second book treats in the same way of the Saxons and Danes; the third of the Normans and English; the fourth of the English and Normans; the fifth of Lancaster and York, ending with Henry VII. All these topics are well handled. Much matter is condensed within a small compass; and to one who has made himself acquainted with the facts of English history, such a selection and such a philosophical statement of results upon the progress in civilization of the English race, must be highly useful. The author writes from full knowledge, and a comprehensive survey of the whole field of investigation. The style is good, though somewhat infected with the smartness current—asking pardon of ourselves for saying so—in Review writing. The title itself is inaccurate, though not misleading. The author says, "the sense in which I use the term 'Revolution,' scarcely needs explanation,"—which is true: what it needs, is justification. The conquest of Britain by Julius Cæsar is not a revolution, in the ordinary sense of the word. The author is candid and just in his estimate of men and events, favorable to freedom in civil life and religion, and philosophical in his views of the causes of human progress. There are opinions on particular topics from which we dissent; but, taken as a whole, we know of no History of England which coincides so nearly

* *Revolutions in English History.* By ROBERT VAUGHAN, D. D. Vol. I. Revolutions of Race. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 346 and 348 Broadway. 1860.

with our American views of the progress of liberty among the English people.

MR. GILMAN'S HISTORICAL ADDRESS AT NORWICH.*—In the last number of the *New Englander* we called attention to the "Historical Address," delivered by Daniel C. Gilman, Esq., at Norwich, Conn., on the occasion of the "Bi-Centennial Celebration" of the settlement of the town. The address has been received as a very valuable contribution to the history of the state, and we are glad to see that a second edition has appeared, with additional notes and a good index. It is a beautiful specimen of typography, and is from the press of Messrs. Geo. C. Rand & Avery, of Boston. The researches of Mr. Gilman, among the original papers and documents which have been placed at his disposal, have served to throw much additional light on the value and amount of the services rendered by the people of Connecticut in the war of independence.

BIOGRAPHY.

CUSTIS'S RECOLLECTIONS OF WASHINGTON.†—The number of those whose privilege it was to have anything like an intimate acquaintance with the man whom with proud and filial reverence we call "The Father of his Country," is rapidly becoming more and more small. Whoever now can even remember to have heard his voice, or seen his manly form, acquires thereby a certain kind of distinction; and esteems whatever he can recall to mind among the choicest recollections of his life. Never had man more deservedly such a deep hold upon the intelligent affections of a nation as George Washington. The more we learn of his character, the more noble and symmetrical does it seem to have been. Like some colossal work of art which awes the beholder with its gigantic proportions, and yet is finished with such exquisite beauty that every part is faultless and calls forth admiration; so the

* *A Historical Discourse delivered in Norwich, Connecticut, Sept. 7th, 1859, at the Bi-Centennial Celebration of the settlement of the town.* By DANIEL C. GILMAN, Librarian of Yale College. Second edition, with additional notes. Boston: Geo. C. Rand & Avery. 1859. 8vo. pp. 128.

† *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington.* By his adopted son, GEORGE WASHINGTON PARKE CUSTIS, with a Memoir of the author by his daughter, and illustrative and explanatory notes by BENSON J. LOSSING. With illustrations. New York: Derby & Jackson. 8vo. 1860. pp. 644. For sale by JUDD, New Haven.

more we are permitted to scrutinize his private life and see him as he appeared in his own family, the more do we find to respect, to honor, and to love.

The book, whose title we give above, should be read by every American. It shows what Washington was as a private citizen, as a farmer, and as the head of a family. Our readers are all doubtless aware that the author, George Washington Parke Custis, Esq., who recently died, (Oct. 11th, 1857,) at Arlington House, Va., was a grandson of Mrs. Washington, and an adopted son of Washington himself. His home was therefore at Mount Vernon from his early childhood till the death of his foster father, when he was in the nineteenth year of his age. The reminiscences of such a man cannot but be of interest. He describes Washington as he appeared at home, at Mount Vernon; his personal appearance; his dress; his habits; his manner of spending his time;—as he appeared also at Philadelphia and New York, when they were the seats of government; with full accounts of all his household arrangements in both places. He gives his recollections of "Mary, the mother of Washington;" of his grandmother, Martha Washington; of the various distinguished guests who visited at Mount Vernon; of the servants, with a whole chapter of anecdotes respecting "Bishop" and "Billy," the favorite old body servants of the General.

Prefix to the reminiscences there is a very interesting sketch of Mr. Custis himself, together with some account of the traditions of the family respecting their ancestors, prepared by his daughter, Mrs. Mary Custis Lee. The letters are also published (for the first time) which Washington wrote to Mr. Custis when he was a student in college at Princeton, and afterwards at Annapolis; and also those which Washington wrote during the Revolution to John Parke Custis, the father of the author of the *Memoirs*.

The volume presents a beautiful typographical appearance, is illustrated with several fine engravings, and has received the editorial supervision of Benson J. Lossing, Esq., who has added very copious historical and explanatory notes.

We are confident that when the nature of the contents of this book is known it will have a vast circulation in all parts of the country.

PARTON'S LIFE OF ANDREW JACKSON.*—There can be no question

* *Life of Andrew Jackson.* In three volumes. By JAMES PARTON. Vol. II. New York: Mason Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 672.

that this life of Andrew Jackson will find plenty of readers. The second volume is now before the public, and well sustains the expectations which were awakened by the first. In that, the style was lively and chatty, and occasionally there was a certain air of nonchalance that was quite fascinating, but hardly consistent with our commonly received ideas of the dignity of history and biography. Yet the descriptions of the wild adventures which were so frequent in Jackson's early career were exceedingly spirited and life-like. The chapter in which the story was told of the duel in which Dickinson was killed, is not surpassed in fearful interest by anything in the whole range of fiction; yet it seems probable that the account is truthful throughout. In this second volume the same power of vivid description is everywhere seen. Men, scenes, and events, are brought up before the reader with more than the distinctness of photography. The volume bears the marks, too, of unwearyed labor on the part of the author, who has evidently sought to make himself thoroughly acquainted with everything that would illustrate the life of the hero of his story, and to imbue himself with the spirit of the times. It opens with a graphic description of the appearance of the Delta at the mouth of the Mississippi; of New Orleans, and the condition of that city at the time when General Jackson entered it, in December, 1814, to defend it against the forces of General Packenham. A minute and detailed account then follows, extending over more than two hundred additional pages, in which the full history is given of all that was done for the protection of the city; of the defeat of the British in the famous battle of the eighth of January, 1815; and of the final expulsion of the enemy from the American shores. The history of this period is very much extended, but is so enlivened with stirring incidents, skillfully introduced, that the interest of the reader is kept up throughout.

But at this point commences the more difficult part of the work;—the recounting of the history of that series of bold and high-handed assumptions of power which followed the victory over Packenham. "The execution of the six militia men." "The arrests at New Orleans." "The Seminole war." "The execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister." "The invasion of Florida and the Spanish territory." Now Gen. Jackson begins to display on a more prominent field of action, than ever before, that willingness to assume responsibility, that iron will, and all those peculiar characteristics, which soon called forth the severe censures of a large portion of the people of the United States,

and made even his friends watch his career with fear and anxiety—uncertain what he would do next.

But the difficulties with Spain are adjusted. Florida becomes ours. Jackson returns to the "Hermitage," and the quiet of his own home. Here the second volume closes, just at that most interesting period—the opening of the Presidential campaign of 1824. The political life of Gen. Jackson is thus reserved for the concluding third volume. We doubt not that all who have followed the author thus far, will look with interest for its appearance. Till then we wait before we give our views at length.

LAMARTINE'S LIFE OF MARY STUART.*—A life of Mary Stuart, translated from the unpublished manuscripts of Lamartine, has been added to the series of biographies that Messrs. Sheldon & Co. are bringing out under the editorial supervision of Mr. O. W. Wight. Few of the biographers of the unhappy Queen of Scotland seem to have understood, so well as Lamartine, the character of that beautiful daughter of the Guises, who, after being educated in the voluptuous court of the Valois, was called to reign as a legitimate sovereign over a nation of stern Scotchmen and rigid Presbyterians. Not that Lamartine understood John Knox, or Presbyterians. This was not to be expected. But with the quick wit of a Frenchman he understood the character of the daughter of his countrywoman Marie de Lorraine. Her youth, her beauty, her utter unfitness for the position to which she was called, her sad fate, all move his pity and awaken his sympathy. But true to history, yet with all the tact of his nation, he tells the whole story of her unfortunate career, her imprudences, her crimes; and sums up all with these words:—"we do not absolve, we sympathize; our pity is not ab-solution, but rather approaches to love; we try to find excuses for her conduct in the ferocious and dissolute manner of the age; in that education, depraved, sanguinary and fanatical, which she received at the Court of Valois; in her youth, her beauty, her love. We judge not—we only relate."

THE LIFE OF JAMES WATT.†—We have in this volume an elabo-

* *Life of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.* By ALPHONSO DE LAMARTINE. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 18mo. pp. 275.

† *The Life of James Watt.* With Selections from his Correspondence. By JAMES PATRICK MUIRHEAD, M. A. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. pp. 424.

rate and highly interesting memoir, by a very competent hand, of one of the most remarkable men of modern times; a mechanic, indeed, but one who, by the force of his extraordinary genius, attained the highest rank among men of learning and science, and gave his name to posterity as one of the leading benefactors of his race. It would be difficult to name a man who, single-handed, as it were, and from the resources of his own fertile intellect, has ever contributed more largely or more directly towards the development of individual and national wealth, and the general advancement of civilization, than the great Scotch Engineer, who, by his series of brilliant inventions for the improvement of the steam engine, gave to the world that most wonderful product of ingenuity and science essentially as we now see it—the daily performer, for man's benefit, of an aggregate of labor many times the equivalent of that of all the millions of human hands on the globe. Such a man touches at once the readiest spring of human gratitude—self-interest; and his fame becomes coëxtensive with human civilization. The life of such a man is a suggestive study, not only for those engaged in similar pursuits, but for all who would obtain a glimpse of some of those steps by which God, through the inspiration of genius in man, creates, as it were, the means or instruments which he is continually using in molding human affairs, and working out the great problems of his Providential government over the world. Especially is this true when, as in the case of Watt, his private virtues, weight of character, and high attainments in many and diverse departments of human learning, combine to form an appropriate setting for the brilliant achievements which give him eminence in his chosen sphere. The able author of the biography before us, as a kinsman of the illustrious inventor, enjoyed the most ample facilities for collecting materials, and he has given us, in addition to full details of the life of Watt, as necessary accompaniments, a history of the steam engine, an account of the controversy respecting the discovery of the composition of water, (now universally accredited to Watt,) and many other matters of interest pertaining to science and the useful arts.

LIFE OF BISHOP WILSON.*—Whoever will look and compare the two portraits of Bishop Wilson which accompany this volume, can

* *The Life of Daniel Wilson, D. D., Bishop of Calcutta, and Metropolitan of India.* By JOSIAH BATEMAN, M. A., Rector of North Cray, Kent, his son-in-law and first chaplain. With Portraits, Map, and Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. 8vo.

hardly fail to be attracted by them to a further examination of the book itself. One of these portraits represents him in his early manhood full of the strength, the fervor, and the manly love of right and Christian truth, which he evinced, not once or twice but often, even before his appointment to the conspicuous position which he afterwards filled. The other shows him as he appeared just before his active and useful life of nearly four score years was ended, and when he had been for nearly a quarter of a century the first ecclesiastical dignitary in India. It is beautiful to see how, as he grew in years, a humbler, calmer and more selfless expression softened the energy and vehemence which we trace in the earlier portrait,—how manifestly the inner man was growing in likeness to its Divine pattern,—and how the light of life which shone within him shone also outwardly, upon his countenance. In both pictures there is the evidence of uncommon force of personal character, and of remarkable intellectual vigor,—but in the later one there is, to a singular degree, the beauty which comes from a life-long devotion to Christian duty, and a life-long experience of Christian peace. We feel at once the natural character and the religious history of such a man must have been of more than ordinary interest.

And so indeed it was with Bishop Wilson. We have seldom read the record of any man's religious experiences with more of interest and profit than those which are here given in copious extracts from the Bishop's diary and private letters. His earnest belief and constant defense of a spiritual and practical Christianity as contrasted with the lifelessness of mere forms and the outward adherence to any grand ecclesiastical establishment, are easily understood when we find how thorough, how deep and searching, was his own experience of the power of Divine grace. No wonder that he, whose soul had been the seat of such fierce and long protracted conflict and who had been born into the kingdom of God through such deep penitence and sorrow, almost deepening to despair, should have withstood, with all his might, the dangerous views of that party in the English Church, before whose dogma (we use his own words) "all the religion of Jesus Christ fades away,—regeneration is reduced to baptism—then explained away—then lost sight of." No wonder that he always, in whatever place he found himself, labored with diligence and with great singleness of purpose, to promote the progress of pure and undefiled religion. No wonder that from almost the beginning of the history of modern missions he was conspicuous among those who supported and encouraged them. No wonder that afterwards he gladly entered into the foreign missionary field and gave

the best years of his manhood and his advancing age to the promotion of a cause he had so much at heart.

We have not space to enlarge upon Bishop Wilson's official conduct, nor do we need to do so. The fierce sun of tropical India and the enervating influences of that scenery and climate did not rob him of the firmness and active energy necessary for the discharge of the important duties of his station. He was always industrious, faithful and impartial. He was, perhaps, at times too vehement, too impulsive, and his views of church government certainly inclined him sufficiently to magnify his office. But when a question like that great question of Christianity against caste, was to be met and settled, such qualities as those appeared in their full value. The wisdom, firmness, and kind but practical common sense which he showed in the management of that question, are much to be admired, and may well be studied and imitated.

We were disposed at first to censure Mr. Bateman for having allowed this record of Bishop Wilson's life and services to swell to such a formidable size. A man's life must needs have been of singular interest and importance to justify his biographer in publishing seven hundred and fifty large octavo pages, with the expectation that they will be widely read in this hurrying, impatient age. We still think that Mr. Bateman has been unnecessarily diffuse. But there is in the volume so much that is interesting in relation to the country and the people among whom so much of Bishop Wilson's life was passed, and the style of his biography is so easy and pleasant, that we can easily excuse his somewhat needless minuteness of detail.

MATHEMATICS.

THE MATHEMATICAL MONTHLY.*—Several times have attempts been made to establish in this country a periodical devoted to the pure Mathematics. Yet every time thus far has the attempt failed.

There is, at first sight, a difficulty in sustaining such an enterprise. A *periodical* to have freshness and interest must contain, to a great extent, matter that is new in substance as well as form. But Arithmetic and Algebra are of several centuries growth. Geometry, Trigonometry and the Conic Sections, are still older, coming down to us from the Greeks. The ablest intellects have been occupied in extending our knowledge of these subjects, and the most successful teachers have devised simple and logical methods of presentation. How can enough

* *The Mathematical Monthly.* Vol. I, and Vol. II, Nos. I to VII; Oct. 1858, to April, 1860. Edited by J. D. RUNKLE, A. M. New York: Ivison, Phinney & Co.

that is new and valuable, and at the same time of general interest, be found, that shall warrant the existence of a special journal? For those branches of the Mathematics that lie beyond the subjects above mentioned, while there is perhaps enough in them which is new, there is found a smaller and smaller circle of appreciative readers as we ascend. A journal that addresses itself only to professed mathematicians is useless to others and dies for the want of pecuniary support. How can one be conducted having these somewhat incongruous qualities; novelty without being abstruse, simplicity without weakness, a high scientific character and yet of interest to a wide circle of readers? The number of past failures, both in this and in other countries, shows the difficulty of the task. Mr. Runkle has been thus far very successful. The feeling that there is need of such a periodical in our country has enabled him to secure the more or less active coöperation of a large number of contributors from all parts of the country. Over seventy persons have contributions in the first volume. Thus it has been a not very difficult task to give the variety that is needed to make the Monthly popular.

One prominent feature that was an essential part of Mr. Runkle's original plan is the offer of prizes for solutions of problems and for essays. Two problems are proposed in each number to students in academies and schools, both public and private, not conferring degrees. Three more, of greater difficulty, are proposed, open to the competition of students of all institutions of learning in the United States and the Canadas. The value of such problems in rendering definite the knowledge of the pupil, must be appreciated by teachers.

Methods of presenting the common topics of Arithmetic, Algebra, and Geometry, fill many pages of the numbers that have thus far appeared. Hints on such subjects, from successful teachers, are often of great value.

Another important service promised, and to some extent performed, by the Monthly, is the presentation, in outline at least, of the elements of new branches of the mathematics which have been created within the past few years. While other sciences have been advancing so rapidly, the Mathematics have been by no means at rest. Thus in Geometry, there have been immense additions to our knowledge within the past sixty years—a large part of which may be understood by those who have not studied the calculus. Yet to most of even professed mathematicians in this country they are unknown. Not a work published here, that we are aware of, speaks of them, much less gives the least idea of the nature of the beautiful methods employed. The subject of

quaternions has attracted more notice. Yet how many of our teachers have in their own minds, much less can give to others, an answer to the question often asked, "What is a *quaternion?*" What is true of Geometry is equally true, though perhaps to a less extent, of the other branches of the Mathematics.

The want of our literature in this respect is very manifest by examining Davies & Peck's Mathematical Dictionary, recently published. This work is of great value, and we do not wish to be understood as depreciating it. For the older subjects, it is tolerably complete for a work of no greater size. It is, moreover, we believe, the only work of the kind that has been published in this country. But the word, "Quaternion," we were not able to find. Though the importance of this subject has, we believe, been overestimated, yet the term should be included in any Mathematical Dictionary. Neither could we find such words as "Determinant," "Anharmonic," &c.,—words that are central to wide domains of the science. Almost all the words that it has been necessary to invent during the present century are wanting. Still, with all its deficiencies, it is well worthy of a place in the library of a teacher.

Several articles have appeared in the Monthly that will do credit to American science. One or two deserve special mention. For various reasons the great comet of 1859 was more interesting in its physical changes than any comet that has appeared since the invention of the telescope. It is moreover upon just such objects that the largest telescopes can be most advantageously employed. It was with peculiar interest then that the reports from the great refractor at Cambridge were looked for. These were given in the first volume of the Monthly, together with two very valuable engravings. It is, we believe, the most valuable contribution of the kind ever made to our knowledge of comets.

Another memoir that has less popular interest, but, in our opinion, more merit, is by Prof. W. Ferrel, "On the Motion of Fluids and Solids relative to the Earth's Surface." For fourteen years have the French Academy offered one of their prize medals for even a partial solution of problems here discussed. They have just withdrawn this subject and proposed another, because no essays were offered and the subject was regarded as too difficult. The problem is to determine the effect of the rotation of the earth upon the movements of the atmosphere. Prof. Ferrel has partially solved the problem, explaining much that has hitherto been inexplicable respecting the causes of the trade winds, the westerly winds of the Temperate Zone, the rotary ocean hurricanes,

and of the meteorological phenomena that are evidently connected with these great movements.

Though such memoirs as these are very desirable, yet we are glad that the educational character of the Monthly has been so well preserved. There is a strong temptation to make such a periodical too abstruse. We do not hesitate to commend it to the support of teachers and to all who are specially interested even in the simplest branches of Mathematics.

PROF. STRONG'S ALGEBRA.*—We call the attention of our scientific readers to this work of Prof Strong. They will find in it an actual advancement of the domain of the Algebraic Calculus. The author has completed the solution of Binomial Equations by pure Algebra, and discovered a method of extracting the highest roots of numbers, neither by a tentative process nor by the aid of logarithms. The famous case of cubic equations left *irreducible* by Cardan's method is no longer a *pons asinorum*, as it has been for more than three centuries for the ablest mathematicians of the world. We shall give a more full account of this work in the August number.

MISCELLANY.

SELF-HELP.†—This is a book which we should like to have circulated by tens of thousands in every State of the Union. Its object is to explain, illustrate, and enforce the maxim, "*Heaven helps those who help themselves.*" There is no lesson more important for every young man and woman to learn than this. We would advise every parent, rich or poor, to purchase this book for his children. The rich man should buy it, for if he can teach his children this lesson, it will be worth more to them than the largest estate he can leave them. The poor man should buy it, for he cannot afford to let his children grow up ignorant of the fact that thousands with smaller means than they, and no better opportunities, have yet, by persevering application and energy, raised themselves to eminent positions of usefulness and influence in society.

The book is made up chiefly of sketches of the lives of those who have achieved success for themselves by industry, perseverance, and self-

* *A Treatise on Elementary and Higher Algebra.* By THEODORE STRONG, LL. D. New York: Pratt, Oakley & Co. 8vo. pp. 551.

† *Self-Help*; with illustrations of character and conduct. By SAMUEL SMILES. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860. pp. 308. 12mo. For sale by T. H. Pease.

culture. Being written for Englishmen, the characters selected for illustration are almost entirely from among their own countrymen, and an English author may well be proud that England can afford so many and such honorable examples, to inspire the rising generation. The book, however, is something more than a mere collection of sketches of individual success. The sketches, though some of them are drawn out at considerable length, are all introduced for a particular purpose, to show that opportunities always fall in the way of those who are ready to take advantage of them, or to illustrate some lesson of industry, application or self-reliance. The whole book, therefore, notwithstanding it is somewhat deficient in classification and arrangement, has a unity of plan, and cannot fail to inspire its readers with new hope and courage in their efforts to "help themselves" in the work of life. Clergymen will find here a perfect *thesaurus* of memorable facts and sayings which may serve as illustrations in their addresses and discourses.

NEW MISCELLANIES BY REV. CHARLES KINGSLEY.*—The many admirers of the Rev. Charles Kingsley will be glad to have placed within their reach a new volume of his miscellaneous essays. It contains several of the Articles that he has furnished to different English Reviews, together with three Lyceum Lectures. One or two of these essays are in his best vein, and all are pervaded by that same genial love of mankind, and desire for reform and the advancement of human happiness, that are so characteristic of his other published works. To these essays and lectures are added the Prefaces which he prepared for the Life of John Tauler, and the recent edition of Henry Brooke's "Fool of Quality." This last betrays views respecting some of the most important points of theology which some of his previous writings had prepared us to ascribe to him, but which we are none the less grieved to see so flippantly stated.

PRENTICEANA.†—The lovers of a good laugh cannot do better than take an occasional dip into this book. It is made up of selections from the witty and humorous paragraphs which for nearly thirty years have made the names of G. D. Prentice and "The Louisville Journal" famous the country through. It is of course impossible to embalm wit

**New Miscellanies.* By Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, Rector of Eversley. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859. 12mo. pp. 875.

† *Prenticeana: or, Wit and Humor in paragraphs.* By the Editor of the Louisville Journal. New York: Derby & Jackson. 12mo. 1860. pp. 306.

in a book ; and now that the occasions which called it forth are forgotten, these paragraphs have lost much of that which gave them their original relish ; yet the old jokes and repartees which once were copied into every newspaper from Maine to Missouri, and made the whole country ring, have still vitality enough in them to shake the sides of the reader right heartily.

THE ELEMENTS OF PERSPECTIVE.*—The elements of perspective are here presented, by a distinguished master and teacher of art, in their simplest and most comprehensive form, yet with sufficient fullness for all the ordinary purposes of the draughtsman and artist, and with special reference to the wants of learners. The problems are interspersed with occasional remarks by way of familiar illustration, and with observations on many practical applications of the principles taught, particularly in architecture and painting. The name of Ruskin is sufficient, of itself, to render the work attractive ; while the beauty of the letter-press will still further commend it to favor. It would be an excellent book in schools, for the use of which it was professedly prepared.

SPIRITUALISM TESTED.†—This is a new edition of a little work entitled “To Daimonion,” published seven or eight years ago under the *nom de plume* of Traverse Oldfield, with a supplementary chapter on the later history of Spiritualism, and the speculations in regard to its origin. The book attracted some attention when first published, as a learned and concise *résumé* of the leading facts bearing upon the subject, both of ancient and modern times. Such facts are fully admitted, and a theory is propounded to account for them. That theory ascribes the facts, not to trickery, nor to the agency of spirits, good or bad, but to the “nervous principle.” This is regarded as distinctively the “spiritual medium,” that is, a force or agency intermediate between mind and matter, by which the mind, through the nerves, produces outward

* *The Elements of Perspective*, arranged for the use of schools, and intended to be read in connection with the first three books of Euclid. By JOHN RUSKIN, M. A. New York: John Wiley. 1860. pp. 144.

† *Spiritualism Tested; or, the Facts of its History Classified, and their cause in nature verified from ancient and modern testimonies*. By GEORGE W. SAMPSON, D. D., President of Columbian College, Washington, D. C. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. pp. 186.

physical effects, and by which, under certain circumstances of diseased or abnormal action, it may, on this theory, become the source of the various phenomena of Spiritualism. As a candid and learned, though by no means complete examination of the subject, in a clear and attractive style, it is well worth the attention of those who are at all interested in the singular and abundant manifestations of the marvelous which have characterized the last few years and become the basis of what may be regarded as a new religious faith. Whether the author's explanation—which is essentially that of Rogers, Mahan, Count de Gasparin, and others—does not itself need explanation as much as the difficult subject to which it is applied, we will not pretend to decide. To our mind, however, it leaves the solution of Spiritualism, in many respects, still an open question.

GOETHE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH A CHILD.*—This beautiful volume, printed on the most delicately tinted paper, will open to many American readers a new page of German literature, and perhaps reveal to them a phase of German sentiment not easy to understand. The day of blind and passionate idolatry for Goethe is even in Germany slowly and surely waning; and with it, the value of such memorials as this correspondence contains, will, bye and bye, diminish, except as curiosities of Literary History.

BARTON'S HIGH SCHOOL GRAMMAR.†—This Grammar has been prepared with an especial aim at simplicity, without loss of fullness. We had hoped to find some improvement in the Syntax, but we find all the complex relations that ought to be philosophically distinguished, disposed of as *modifications* of the subject predicate and copula. We should not call, as the author does, on page 177, *brother* the grammatical subject of the sentence, “Brother William wrote to me yesterday.”

LIFE'S EVENING.‡—This is a sequel to the handsome volume published by Messrs. J. E. Tilton & Co., under the title of “Life's Morning

* *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child.* Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859. 12mo. pp. 504.

† *High School Grammar; or, An Exposition of the Grammatical Structure of the English Language.* By W. S. BARTON, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. 12mo. pp. 378.

‡ *Life's Evening; or, Thoughts for the Aged.* 1860. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 18mo. pp. 265.

and contains twelve essays, besides several original odes which are all prepared with special reference to the wants of the aged.

DEGERANDO'S SELF-EDUCATION.*—This well known and much valued work is now given to the public in a third edition, in a very handsome volume. It has our best wishes for its continued usefulness. Its quiet moralizing, its elevated ideal of life and character, and its benevolent and self-sacrificing spirit, need only the infusion of a more distinct recognition of a positive Christianity to make it the best book of its kind. Notwithstanding this defect, there is no book which can take its place.

THE GLORY OF THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL.†—This book will be recognized by many as a reprint, under a new title, of a very popular work which was published in this country, in two volumes, about thirty-five years ago, under the title of "Helen's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem." It was originally written in German, by a Christian pastor, Rev. Frederic Strauss, (not the notorious author of the "Life of Christ,") and was translated into English, and published in London with the title just named. It presents a picture of the Jewish people, in which their ecclesiastical and civil constitutions, their social and domestic life, are represented as they existed at the time when the advent of the Messiah was at hand. The general plan of the work cannot be better stated than in the author's own words. "A young Jew, who had been enamored of the prevailing Grecian philosophy, has returned to the observance of the law of his fathers, at one of those important crises in life which decide the character of succeeding periods. Bent on the fulfillment of the law, which he believes it impossible to accomplish anywhere but in the place where the altar of Jehovah is fixed, he makes a journey from Alexandria, where he had been brought up, to Jerusalem, in the spring of the year 109 before the birth of Christ, remains there during the half year which includes the principal reli-

* *Degerando's Self-Education; or the means and art of Moral Progress.* Translated from the French of M. LE BARON DEGERANDO. By ELIZABETH P. PEABODY. Third Edition, with additions. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1860. 12mo. pp. 468.

† *The Glory of the House of Israel; or, the Hebrew's Pilgrimage to the Holy City: Comprising a Picture of Judaism in the Century which preceded the Advent of our Saviour.* By FREDERIC STRAUSS. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1860. pp. 480.

gious festivals; becomes a priest; enters into the married state; and, by the guidance of Providence, after varied experience, attains to the conviction that peace of mind is only to be found in believing in Him who has been promised for the consolation of Israel." The story is told with great simplicity and beauty of style, and strongly enchains the attention of the reader. But its chief interest lies not so much in its attractiveness as a historical novel, as in the vividness of the picture it gives of the civil, religious, and domestic life of the chosen people, at the period referred to, and the consequent light it affords in the study of the Holy Scriptures. It will be read with avidity by those who would never think of consulting Jahn's Archæology, and cannot but leave impressions which, for truth and accuracy, as well as depth, no treatise on Jewish Antiquities would be likely to produce.

THE NEW EDITION OF LORD BACON'S WORKS.—We have seen a few specimen pages of the beautiful new American edition of the works of Lord Bacon, which Messrs. Brown & Taggard of Boston are soon to publish. This edition is to be stereotyped and printed by Messrs. H. O. Houghton, at the "Riverside Press," Cambridge, and will consist of fifteen volumes, crown octavo, of about five hundred pages each. We would advise those who wish to have ocular demonstration of the princely style in which this work is to appear, to send to the publishers by mail for a specimen sheet.

THE PULPIT AND ROSTRUM.—This little 16mo. serial continues to furnish, in convenient form, phonographic reports of such orations and lectures, and occasional sermons, as are of general interest. The form in which they appear is very convenient for preservation. The contents of the last six numbers are as follows: No. 8. An Oration by the Hon. Edward Everett on the occasion of the Dedication of the Statue of Mr. Webster, in Boston, September 17, 1859. No. 9. A Cheerful Temper. A Discourse by Rev. William Adams, D. D., delivered Thanksgiving Day, 1859, at Madison Square Church, New York. No. 10. A Tribute to the Memory of Washington Irving. An Address by Hon. Edward Everett, before the Massachusetts Historical Society, delivered at Boston, December 15, 1859. No. 11. Inauguration of the Mills Statue of George Washington, in the city of Washington, February 22, 1860. Oration by Hon. T. S. Bocock. Address by the Artist, Clark Mills, Esq. Prayer by the Rev. B. H. Nadal, D. D. No. 12. Travel, its Pleasures, Advantages, and Requirements. A Lecture

by J. H. Siddons. No. 13. Italian Independence. Addresses by Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, D. D., Rev. H. W. Beecher, Rev. H. W. Bellows, D. D., and Prof. O. M. Mitchell. These numbers average about thirty pages, and are published by Messrs. H. H. Lloyd & Co., No. 25 Howard Street, New York City.

THE MERCHANTS AND BANKERS' REGISTER, FOR 1860. To be continued annually. Published by J. Smith Homans, Jr., Office of the Bankers' Magazine. 1860. Price \$1.25. Copies mailed to order. Postage prepaid. This octavo volume of 190 pages contains a vast amount of statistical and other information indispensable to every banker.

THE FINE ARTS.

THE CARTOONS OF RAPHAEL.—We have had an opportunity of examining a set of Line Engravings of the celebrated Cartoons of Raphael, which for two hundred years have been regarded as the chief treasures of the Gallery at Hampton Court. The subjects, it will be remembered, are, I, St. Paul preaching at Athens; II, The Charge to Peter, "Feed my Sheep!"; III. The Death of Annanias; IV, Elymas, the Sorcerer, struck with Blindness; V, The Miraculous Draught of Fishes; VI, Paul and Barnabas at Lystra; VII, The Beautiful Gate of the Temple—Healing the Lame Man. It is not necessary to enlarge here upon the character of these great works of Art. They are everywhere known, and their value understood. Copies, literally numberless, of all sizes and degrees of excellence, have been circulated for centuries throughout Christendom. It may be well, however, to state that the Cartoons were produced by Raphael in the years 1513 and 1514. They are "drawn with chalk upon strong paper, and colored in distemper." They were originally prepared in order that tapestries might be worked to decorate the interior of the Sistine Chapel, where those tapestries still exist, although in a faded and dilapidated condition. They were purchased by Charles I, acting under the advice of the painter, Reubens, and now occupy the Gallery at Hampton Court, which was built for their reception by Sir Christopher Wren. We have already said that engravings of these Cartoons have been made without number, but never, with the exception of the present series, have the copies been at all comparable with the great originals. The engravings of which we speak were made under the patronage of His Majesty, George III, by the late Thomas Holloway, assisted by R. Slann

and T. S. Webb. It was nearly forty-five years after the work was undertaken before it was brought to a close, and the seven engravings, completely finished, submitted to the public. Each print was originally published separately as it was produced; and, as might be expected, the price corresponded to the immense labor bestowed upon them. The proof impressions were sold for \$850.

We mention these engravings of the Cartoons, in the *New Englander*, at this time, because the present proprietors of the plates have offered a limited number of copies of the whole series—size of 38x25 inches—for ten dollars,—a price which places them within the reach of all who will be likely to be interested in them. When these copies are sold, the plates will be destroyed. We understand that the sale has already been so rapid that it is probable the whole number printed will soon be exhausted. Those who intend to avail themselves of the opportunity, should therefore secure sets without delay. It is perhaps not too much to say that engravings like these will be full as valuable fifty years hence as they are to-day, since it is not at all likely that new plates, equal in excellence to these, will ever again be engraved.

For further information, we refer to the advertisement of the Agent of the proprietors, C. B. Norton, Esq., of New York, which will be found on page 17 of "The *New Englander Advertiser*." Those of our readers who reside in New Haven may find it convenient to be informed that the sets are also for sale at the Bookstore of T. H. Pease, 88 Chapel street.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE.

How Could He Help It!*—We do not know whether we have added any word of commendation to that of the hundreds or thousands of honest young people, and the scores or hundreds of sensible parents, who always welcome with new interest the honest, truthful, and Christian tales of Mr. Roe. His characters are not too bright nor good for human nature's daily food, and his incidents and scenes are so little exaggerated that they delight us for their truth, while they charm us with their simple pathos, their great humor, their elevated but homelike heroism.

LIFE OF LAFAYETTE.†—A life of the friend of Washington, and the

* *How could he help it? or the Heart Triumphant.* By A. S. ROE. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860. 16mo. pp. 443.

† *Life of Lafayette.* Written for children. By E. CECIL. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1860. 18mo. pp. 218.

benefactor of our country in the trying days of the revolution, written expressly for children, and beautifully illustrated with colored lithographs.

LIFE OF DANIEL BOONE.*—This is one of a series of biographies of distinguished Americans that George Canning Hill, Esq., is writing for the young. Few characters are more likely to interest the minds of American boys than the father of the famous “hunters of Kentucky.” There is a charm in the name of Daniel Boone almost as great as in that of Robinson Crusoe; and the romance of the story is heightened by the consideration that it is “true.”

FRANK WILDMAN'S ADVENTURES ON LAND AND WATER.†—A book for boys, full of adventure, giving the story of a young German who was born in a village upon the Hudson, and enticed on board a slave ship, with the promise that he should see the world. On the first opportunity he effected his escape. But it was only after long wanderings in all parts of the world, and many adventures on land and water, that he succeeded in regaining his home. The book has eight illustrations printed in oil colors.

The Florence Stories. Florence and John. By JACOB ABBOTT. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. pp. 252. 18mo.

The Florence Stories. Grimkie. By JACOB ABBOTT. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 18mo. pp. 252.

The Oakland Stories. Kenny. By GEORGE B. TAYLOR, of Virginia. Sheldon & Co. pp. 176. 18mo.

The Old Battle-Ground. By J. T. TROWBRIDGE. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. pp. 276. 18mo.

Youth's Bible Studies. Part IV. The Acts, Epistles, and Revelation. 1860. 18mo. American Tract Society, New York. pp. 246.

Emilie, the Peacemaker. By MRS. THOMAS GELDART. 1859. pp. 179. New York: Sheldon & Co.

* *Daniel Boone, the Pioneer of Kentucky.* By GEORGE CANNING HILL. New York: Mason Brothers. 1860. 18mo. pp. 262.

† *Frank Wildman's Adventures on Land and Water.* By FREDERICK GERSTAECKER.

Sunday Morning Thoughts; or, Great Truths in Plain Words.
1859. 8vo. pp. 216. Sheldon & Co., New York.

Sunday Evening Thoughts; or, Great Truths in Plain Words.
1859. 8vo. pp. 206. Sheldon & Co., New York.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

The Critic Criticised, and Worcester Vindicated; consisting of a Review of an Article in the "Congregationalist" upon the comparative merits of Worcester's and Webster's Quarto Dictionary, together with a reply to the attacks of Messrs. G. & C. Merriam, upon the character of Dr. Worcester and his Dictionaries. 8vo. pp. 67.

The Divine Law in the Physical Being concerning Alcoholic Beverages.
By WILLIAM DeLOSS LOVE, Pastor of the Spring street Congregational Church, Milwaukee. Delivered at the Church, Sunday, January 23d, 1859. Published by request. 8vo. pp. 20.

An Introductory Lecture delivered before the Law Class of Columbia College, New York. By THEODORE W. DWIGHT, Professor of law, &c., &c., on Monday, November 1st, 1858. Published by request of the College Corporation. 8vo. pp. 55.

Established in Righteousness. A Discourse to the First Church and Society in New Haven, on a day of Public Thanksgiving, Nov. 24, 1859. By LEONARD BACON, Pastor. New Haven: Peck, White & Peck. 8vo. pp. 20.

Slavery Viewed in the Light of the Golden Rule. A Discourse delivered in the Fourth Congregational Church of Norwich, at Greenville, Conn., December 19, 1859. By R. P. STANTON. Norwich. 8vo. pp. 19.

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THE
N E W E N G L A N D E R.

No. LXXI.

A U G U S T, 1860.

ARTICLE I.—A HYMN AND ITS AUTHOR—AUGUSTUS L.
HILLHOUSE.

SEVERAL of the more recent hymn-books contain a hymn which they refer to "Hillhouse" as its author. The reference is in one sense correct; and yet, as understood by readers generally, and by most of the compilers copying one from another in succession, it is erroneous.

The entire hymn was first published in the *Christian Spectator*, at New Haven, April, 1822. It is as follows:

- " 1. Trembling before thine awful throne,
O Lord! in dust my sins I own :
Justice and mercy for my life
Contend!—O ! smile and heal the strife.
- " 2. The Saviour smiles ! upon my soul
New tides of hope tumultuous roll—
His voice proclaims my pardon found,
Seraphic transport wings the sound.
- " 3. Earth has a joy unknown in heaven—
The new born peace of sin forgiven !
Tears of such pure and deep delight,
Ye angels ! never dimm'd your sight.

- "4. Ye saw of old, on chaos rise
 The beauteous pillars of the skies:
 Ye know where morn exulting springs,
 And evening folds her drooping wings.
- "5. Bright heralds of th' Eternal Will,
 Abroad his errands ye fulfill;
 Or, thren'd in floods of beamy day,
 Symphonious in his presence play.
- "6. Loud is the song—the heavenly plain
 Is shaken with the choral strain—
 And dying echoes, floating far,
 Draw music from each chiming star.
- "7. But I amid your quires shall shine,
 And all your knowledge shall be mine:
 Ye on your harps must lean to hear
 A secret chord that mine will bear."

A portion of this exquisite hymn (including only the first three stanzas) was copied by Dr. Nettleton into his Village Hymns, in 1824. The hymn, as a whole, remained unknown (save to those who happened to remember the original publication) till it was inserted entire in the Supplement to Dwight's Psalms and Hymns, which was published at New Haven, in 1833, and which was used for a few years in some of the Connecticut Churches. In 1845 it was inserted, with the omission of the sixth stanza, in the book of Psalms and Hymns prepared and set forth by the General Association of Connecticut. Since that time it has found a place in the Plymouth Collection, in the Congregational Hymn Book, and in the Sabbath Hymn Book. In the first of these it is given entire. In the second, two stanzas, the fourth and fifth, are omitted. In the last, we find the fourth, fifth, and sixth stanzas of the original cut down and patched into one, after this fashion :

- "4. Ye know where morn exulting springs,
 And evening folds her drooping wings
 Loud is your song: the heavenly plain
 Is shaken with the choral strain."

The complete hymn, in its original form, is unsurpassed in the English or any other language. Perhaps it is as near per-

fection as an uninspired composition can be. The thought, the feeling, the imagery, the diction, and the versification are all exquisite. It is not easy to say why or how such a hymn was omitted both by the Old School Presbyterian compilers, and by Dr. Beman, whose work has become the book of the New School Assembly.

Who was the author of that hymn? "Hillhouse," said Nettleton, when he inserted three stanzas of it in his Village Hymns. At that time, the poet Hillhouse, whose name is now classical in American literature, had published Percy's Masque, and the Judgment; but neither of the poems bore his name, and probably it did not occur to Nettleton that the author of the hymn needed to be distinguished from the author of Percy's Masque, more than from the well known patriot and statesman, the Commissioner of the Connecticut School Fund. Nine years later, when "Hillhouse, the poet," was almost as well known in literature as his venerable father had been in politics, the compiler of the Supplement to Dwight's Selection referred this hymn distinctly to "A. L. Hillhouse." The compilers of the Connecticut Psalms and Hymns knew well enough who was the author of that hymn; but accidentally, in their index of first lines, they referred to him only by his family name, "Hillhouse." Mr. Beecher, in making his Plymouth Collection, copied the hymn from the Supplement to Dwight, and probably knew that "A. L. Hillhouse" was not "the poet Hillhouse;" but, like the Connecticut compilers, he did not mark the distinction. The compiler of the Congregational Hymn Book *knew* that he found the hymn in the Connecticut book and in the Plymouth Collection, and that in both it was referred to Hillhouse; and, very naturally, he *inferred* that he knew who the author was. Consequently, in his "index of authors," he informed his readers that this hymn was written not merely by some person bearing that family name, but by James A. Hillhouse, who was born in 1790, and died in 1841. In like manner the compilers of the Sabbath Hymn Book have been betrayed into the same inference. Their first edition gives the names of authors in the index of first lines, and ascribes the hymn, "Trembling

before thine awful throne," to Hillhouse; but a more recent and cheap edition gives, like the Congregational Hymn book, an "index of authors," in which their Hillhouse is testified to be none other than the James Abraham Hillhouse, whose period of life extended from 1790 to 1841.

A definite answer, then, to the question, "Who was the author of that hymn?" is needed in some quarters. One of the most distinguished names in the history of Connecticut, is that of James Hillhouse, of New Haven, who was a member of the Second Congress under the present Constitution, and who, after having served twenty years in Congress, (six years a Representative, and fourteen years a Senator,) served his native State still more efficiently for fifteen years in the arduous trust of Commissioner of the School Fund. He was the father of two eminently gifted sons. James Abraham was the elder of the two; and he, as the author of *Hadad*, the *Judgment*, *Percy's Masque*, and other poems, is widely known and is commonly called "the poet Hillhouse." The other, Augustus Lucas, about two years younger, was not at all inferior to his brother in any element of genius. Constitutionally gentle, affectionate, sensitive, full of imagination, he was the idol of his sisters, and the joy and hope of the domestic circle in his father's house. His natural love of knowledge, and of philosophic and poetic thought, was developed and cultivated by the discipline of education and guided by the elevating influence of evangelical religion. All who knew him would have predicted for him a bright career of usefulness. But while he was a student in Yale College, (where he was graduated in the class of 1810,) he had already begun to suffer under some of the infirmities which beset the lives of studious men, and especially of those who are born with the characteristic temperament of genius. Thus the depressing effects of chronic dyspepsia on the nervous system were wrought into the habits of his mind, before his character had attained its manly strength. In the hope that a change of scene and of climate, and the excitement of foreign travel, might overcome his growing tendency to depression of spirits and shyness of manners, his father consented to his going abroad. He went

in 1816, soon after the restoration of peace with Great Britain, and the general pacification of Europe, had made traveling in the old world a practicable thing again for American citizens; and, for a time, there was every prospect of a favorable result.

Mention is made of him in the *Memoirs* of Robert and James A. Haldane. Robert Haldane, having long cherished the hope of doing something for the revival of evangelical religion in France, went from Edinburgh to Paris, on that mission, in October, 1816. In a letter written twenty-three years afterward, when the results of his influence in France and Geneva had become important to the religious history of the age, he said,

"On arriving at Paris, involved, as it appeared, in Egyptian darkness, I soon perceived that I had no means of furthering the object of my journey in that great metropolis. Unexpectedly, however, I met with Mr. Hillhouse, a gentleman from America, of whom I had not before heard. He had landed at Bourdeaux, and traveling through the south of France, had gone to Geneva, and thence to Paris. Having passed through Montauban, where the French Theological Protestant Faculty was founded by Napoleon, he had there, and in other places, inquired respecting the Protestant ministers, and he communicated to me all his information on the subject. He told me that at Geneva there were only two individuals to whom I could have access, the one a pastor, in advanced years, the other not a pastor, but what is termed a minister, and that nearly the whole of the other pastors were Arians or Socinians. Finding no opening at Paris, I immediately set out for Geneva, hoping that something might be done through the two individuals referred to by Mr. Hillhouse."—*Memoirs of Robert and J. A. Haldane*, p. 375, Carter's Edition.

Thus the subject of this notice was incidentally connected with the beginning of that religious awakening at Geneva which has made the city of Calvin once more a center of evangelical influences, and which has given to the evangelical literature of our century the name of Merle d'Aubigné.

In the *Memoirs* of the Rev. Matthias Bruen, whose early death, more than thirty years ago, those who knew him have not ceased to lament, we find many notices of what Augustus Hillhouse was doing in Paris in the years 1817, '18, '19. Mr. Bruen, in a letter dated at Paris, Oct. 20, 1817, says:

"I have to tell you that my friend Hillhouse had the virtue to propose, and

I had the virtue not to resist, but to carry into effect, the design of having public worship here, in our apartments, last night. We accordingly sent out our invitations among the few American families and young men here. I read the Scriptures, prayed, and preached a sermon which my friend as well as myself thinks applicable to the poor sinners who are found wandering here. The text, 'O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thy help.' We hope to have a similar meeting [at the house of the American Ambassador, Mr. Gallatin] next Sabbath evening."—*Memoirs of the Rev. M. Bruen.* New York: 1881. p. 40.

This beginning lead to an organized arrangement by Americans and other English-speaking Christians in Paris, for social worship according to the forms of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches. The meetings were held under the official protection of Mr. Gallatin, who then represented the American government at that capital, and who, in that capacity, had formerly obtained from the government of Napoleon for Protestant American citizens the use of a chapel in the great Church of the Oratoire. In that chapel Mr. Gallaudet (the late Dr. G.) had officiated while he was in Paris, in the spring of 1816. Not many months after Mr. Bruen's first sermon, the few who had assembled at one of those meetings, resolved themselves, just as they were separating, into an almost informal association. They agreed that they would "meet every Sabbath morning for social worship,"—and to that agreement it was added,—"When a minister of the Gospel, of whatever denomination, who professes its essential principles in their genuine spirit, providentially comes into our assembly, he shall be requested to perform the rites of worship; when no public teacher of evangelical Christianity is present, the sober-minded persons that compose the meeting, will endeavor to advance each other's piety and knowledge by serious conversation, by reading, and by prayer." At the same time, the association was to have its treasury for the reception of alms that were to be employed in relieving the outward wants, and improving the moral condition of the poor. Of this little church, as it might be called, Mr. Hillhouse was the secretary, and the most active member; and it is from the rough draught of a minute in his handwriting, that these facts are derived.

In October, 1818, Mr. Bruen was just embarking from Liverpool, for his native country, when he received from his friend Hillhouse a letter which induced him to change his plan. The letter is given in the *Memoirs of Bruen*, and shows so much of the writer's heart that it is worth transcribing here :

“PARIS, September 20th, 1818.

“We have formed a little church in this place, and as we are destitute of a pastor we pray you to come over and help us. During the summer we have assembled every Lord's day in a private house, but are on the point of getting one of the Protestant temples. Consider, my dear friend, whether you could spend the winter in a manner more useful to the cause of your Lord, or more honorable to yourself, than by residing in Paris in this character. Will you not acquire more boldness in the faith, more influence in the Christian world, and more intellectual improvement, than by studying and preaching at home? Perhaps we shall be unable to pay you; but it is doubly important you should accede to our proposal because you can afford to do it for nothing. The request is made in behalf of all our countrymen, and of many Scotch Presbyterians, and English dissenters. . . . I shall be disappointed, dear M., if you do not yield to so manifest a call of Providence. The field of Christian usefulness here is as large as the most expansive charity, and it promises no scanty harvest to the Christian laborer.”—*Memoirs of Bruen*, p. 71.

A few weeks later, Bruen, writing from Paris, where he had just begun his work, says :

“You will be surprised, after what has been done, to know that there are but three or four Christian people here; that nothing would have been done at all, had it not been for Hillhouse, who is a treasure, to me, of genius, and intellect, and imagination, and Christian principle, so based and combined as it never was in any other mind.”

In another letter, Feb. 9, 1819, he mentions some of the efforts that were in progress for the diffusion of evangelical influences in the French language, and among the French people. Speaking of tracts translated from English, he says :

“Most of the English French tracts are shockingly done, but this, the Countess says, does not contain a single English idiom. The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain, is translated, and half a volume of the Cheap Repository tracts will soon be finished. These things are owing to Hillhouse.”

A rough draft, or an autograph copy of a letter from Hillhouse to Hannah More, the author of the Cheap Repository,

is among the papers in the possession of his surviving friends. Some passages from it may be here transcribed for the unconscious revelation which they make of the writer's mind and heart. The letter bears date Paris, June 12, 1819.

“I have at length the pleasure of enclosing to you a prospectus of the French Repository, in the publication of which, no delay will be suffered to intervene that is not conducive to its ultimate success. I have received from Mr. Owen the sum which you had kindly appropriated to my use. It would not enter my thoughts, dear Madam, to thank you. Every interest of humanity is a personal interest of your own; such is the noble prerogative of a life spent in labors of benevolence.

“As your works have become the heritage of the public, you would readily allow me to use them as I pleased; but after explaining my views of the only mode in which the tracts may be rendered useful in France, I shall be obliged by your counsels, and shall pay the most willing deference to your opinions.

“I am at a loss to conceive the ease with which good people sometimes console themselves for the ill success of their efforts, by the consideration that they have done their duty, and are not accountable for the results. Whatever enterprise it is worth while to begin, it is worth while to succeed in; and it is not more our duty to propose virtuous ends than to select prudent means. The strangers who seek to do good in this country, fail from ignorance of the tastes and habits of the people, or from mistaken scruples about conforming to them. ‘We are right; if they will not think like us, let them suffer,’ is the spirit in which many good intentions are conducted to an abortive issue.

“That exclusive attachment to the persons and things of our own country, which is not the less illiberal because it is general and because it is decorated with specious names, is strongly felt by the French. Whatever is of foreign origin is received with suspicion, or rejected with contempt. You know, Madam, the severity of their literary taste—which to us appears tameness—by which the most extravagant people in the world, in some respects, is, in others, the most quickly offended by exaggeration. I need not say how easily to minds not destitute of moral sentiment, but incredulous and uninformed about revealed religion, the truth and soberness of the Gospel may be made to wear the appearance of absurdity and fanaticism.

“Among the religious writings in our language, destined for the uneducated classes, the Moral Repository is, in my opinion, the best adapted to the use of the French. As it consists of pictures of real life, whose sober coloring is unmixed with those fanciful hues with which the author of the Dairymen’s Daughter gilds his productions, and as it contains many excellent precepts of economy, and just observations of human nature, blended with a calm and rational tone of evangelical morality, it will be more useful than works more purely devotional. The greatest difficulty in conveying religious instruction to the French, is to induce them to remain long enough in the presence of truth to receive its impressions.

“In conformity with these views, I have taken the liberty of transferring the scene of your tales to France, and of modifying all the passages which betray

your national feelings or religious associations. Upon the preservation of their evangelical spirit, I assure you, Madam, I shall conscientiously insist; but if I should leave the tracts which prove you to be a *dissenter* from the Romish communion, the Catholics who have a tincture of devotion would decry the work as dangerous; and if presented in its English dress, its reception, both from Catholics and Protestants, would partake of that coldness which is manifested towards everything foreign. Instead of needlessly shocking the prejudices of mankind, we should use them like the feather on our shaft, to bear us more surely to our aim.

"I have lately had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with the Marchioness de Pastoret, with whose name you are doubtless familiar. . . . Mme. de Pastoret, and Mme. Gautier Delessert, a Protestant lady of great consideration, have promised to aid me with their advice. They have already examined two or three of the manuscripts, of which they highly approve. Mme. Gautier gave me, the other day, a very useful hint, with a very pleasant illustration, by which I shall not fail to profit. The Duke de Liancourt, some time since, proposed a prize, in the Society of Elementary Education, for the best work of popular morality. The successful production declares itself to be intended for the people. A certain shoemaker, seeing this, took the book out of the hand of his son, saying that it was not meant for them, and that *he had better give it to the cobbler.*"

[After some details in regard to the expense of the publication, for which the writer was making himself responsible, the letter proceeds:] "Mr. Foster, the author of the Essays, resides near you. He is in easy circumstances; will he not give us something?

"Pray, Madam, do you understand French? Why will you not come and make a tour in France? It would brighten the glow of benevolence upon your soul, to see this interesting people, and to witness how much is to be done for them, and how deserving they are of becoming virtuous and happy. Your English writers totally mistake in saying that there is no domestic comfort or respectability here. Except the grateful incense of the morning and the evening sacrifice, I have never witnessed sweeter domestic scenes than I have in Paris. Does Mr. Foster speak French? Is he amiable? Is he a *lady's man*? Pray send him as a *missionary into French society*. His cultivated taste and powerful understanding would give him a commanding influence. Why can you not get up a little party together, and, when the aguish year begins to put on his russet weeds, come and prolong the summer in this more genial climate? Appear in the Paris circles, where you would be welcomed with cordial veneration—proceed by easy journeys to the Protestant seminary at Montauban, where you would find a few Christians of primitive hearts—go and see the pious Mr. Liseignol, at Montpellier, whose hands would be strengthened by the interview for all the remainder of his painful warfare—visit Geneva, and the mountains—pass, in the vintage, through Burgundy and Champagne—and go home to delight your friends and reassure the public by your renovated health—and to bless God ever after, if you please, with more fervent devotion, that you were born an Englishwoman.

"You see, dear Madam, that I write to you as to an old acquaintance. Indeed, I feel you to be such, almost as much as if I had grown up in your sight. As there is something uniform and defined in the Christian character, we necessarily feel acquainted with a Christian when we know him to be such, and the more eminently in proportion to his eminence in virtue. I hope to become known to you also and to obtain a place in your esteem. If my freedom offends you, I can only allege that I have been taught the old-fashioned principle that *Plainness is the interpreter of honesty.*"

It was from Paris, and while he was engaged in these religious undertakings, that Mr. Hillhouse sent home a copy of the hymn which is the only permanent memorial of his poetic genius. Just then it was, that the prospect of his realizing all that his friends had hoped from the change of climate, of scene, and of occupation, was most promising. Perhaps if he had then completed the tour of European travel, and returned to pursue in his own country, among his kindred and early friends, and under the genial influences of home, the great schemes of literary enterprise and labor to which he was devoting himself, the completed story of his life would have been as brilliant with achievement as the beginning of it was with promise. But the hope of his return became a "hope deferred." For a time his literary engagements seemed to detain him. In 1818, he published an "Essay on the History and Cultivation of the European Olive-tree," moved, as he said, by the patriotic "hope of diffusing that rich branch of culture over the southern parts of the United States"—a hope not yet fulfilled. At a later date, 1819, he published, in two large volumes, a translation of Michaux's *Silva Americana*. These things, however, were only digressions from his main pursuit. The nature and scope of the great work which he had projected, and upon which his powers were sedulously employed, was made known, to a somewhat limited circle of readers, by a pamphlet which he published at Paris in 1826. Some notice of that pamphlet seems necessary to a just view of its highly gifted author.

It is entitled, "The Natural Method in Politics, being the abstract of an unpublished work,"—and it is gracefully inscribed to General Lafayette, who had then just returned from his memorable progress through the United States. A

brief "advertisement," prefixed, informs the reader, by way of apology, "that it was written originally in French, and at a single sitting, except five or six pages, [of more than fifty,] and the notes." It is in the form of a letter to the Editor of the *Constitutionel*, having been originally commenced as a communication for that journal. The publication of a work by Dunoyer on "Industry and Morals considered in their relation to liberty," led Mr. Hillhouse to reveal the fact that he had himself "written a work which is in part an analogous development of the same principles." Of his own work his letter to the Editor of the *Constitutionel* is partly an abstract and partly a history. His work, which was to be entitled "A Demonstration of the Natural Method in Politics, or, the Political Experience of the United States, applied to Europe," was at that time, in his own words, "not a labor projected nor a task begun," but had been "written at considerable length," having been "begun three years since, and terminated in the following twelve-month." Yet he could not announce it as finished in a manner satisfactory to himself; for he had encountered a difficulty which may best be described by permitting him to speak for himself.

"The immediate object of my work is to generalize the political experience of the United States, by showing that we have exemplified the best possible form of human society, and that, not under leave of our geographical position, and recent establishment on a soil, the waste and measureless domain of nature, as by a vulgar error is believed;* but in virtue of principles inherent in society, by whose development other nations not only may hope to attain the same state, but are tending to it by laws as regular and constant as those which govern the physical world."

"From the abundance of matter, (an inevitable consequence of seizing the first principles of a science in which observation has long accumulated,) and the error of too extensive a plan, embracing, with the demonstration of the principles, their application to history and to the political questions of the day, my manuscript attained the size of four or five volumes. * * *

On reviewing it I perceived that it would be necessary to swell the number, in order to produce that essential unity, the defect of which, in literary and philosophic works, arises oftener from the incompleteness of an author's conceptions than from their diversity. I thus found myself in the same dilemma as the

* These circumstances favored the solution no doubt. What I mean to assert is, that they are not necessary conditions of it.

dramatic poet who offends against the rules of Aristotle by too complicated a plot, and who is unable to develop it without exceeding the dimensions assigned by taste to the productions of his art.

"To escape from it, I adopted the plan of dividing my materials into three distinct series: a didactic work, in which the *theory* of politics is considered in an abstract and philosophic manner, and fortified by inductions of general experience; a pamphlet, in which the present crisis of Europe is examined in its light; and a treatise of theology, in which I propose to unite and expand whatever had reference to that subject, and in which I ventured to believe that I should also ascertain positive and scientific principles, and hoped, by ending the controversies that for so many ages have absorbed and agitated the human mind, to fix the religion as well as the politics of the world. I need not suggest the reflection, sir, to what lengths the enthusiasm of the imagination, freed from all human restraint, and *stung* by solitude, can hurry even a sober mind.

"The last of these works, which is of a higher order, more difficult of execution, and fuller *periculosa aera*, is less advanced though its foundations are laid; and I am not equally confident of its success." pp. 9—12.

In the few last sentences is found the key to the sad mystery of the writer's life, which was prolonged for the third part of a century after those words were written. As he writes, he seems half-conscious that the habits of his mind were becoming morbid, and that he was beginning to need the natural stimulus, the wholesome restraints and correctives, and all the genial influences of home and of daily intercourse with kindred and friends such as those whom he had left in his native land, and whose hearts were longing for his return. A foot note appended to the sentence in which he had uttered the hope that his book was to end the conflict of ages and "to fix the religion as well as the politics of the world," shows something of his hereditary shrewdness and good sense. "I propose to publish an abstract of my *Natural Method* in religion also; in order to submit it to the common sense of virtuous and enlightened men, (the test of moral truth,) before the spirit of system, which it is so difficult to avoid, renders me less capable of profiting by their remarks: 'He that seeks to convince others on a subject of this importance, should be sure that he is not deceived himself.'" Another foot note at the phrase "*stung* by solitude," gives the three Greek lines from *Aeschylus* which had suggested the image to his mind. The words are those in which Io says to Prometheus:

—“ Naming the malady
Which, heaven-inflicted, stings my tortured soul
To frenzy.”

Many passages might be selected from this pamphlet which would charm the reader by the suggestiveness of the thought and the rare felicity of the expression. One or two examples must suffice.

“ In politics, as in other parts of our knowledge, science is the daughter of experience, and ‘the child of her old age;’ though when her tongue is untied, and her infant limbs are strung, the clear-sighted nursing guides the steps of the blind mother that bore her.” p. 27.

“ If I abandon these speculations, it will be to explore some other path of perfectibility. Perhaps without success. Such, often, is this our human condition, even in the pursuits of virtue! We devote ourselves, and Providence rejects the sacrifice.

“ Yet I discern that its magnificent plans of mercy to our race are unfolding; and though it seems, for their accomplishment, to prefer confounding the malice of the wicked, rather than favoring the efforts of the good,—by whatever means,—they are accomplishing. ‘ Therein I rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.’ Yes! the iron temper of the fates is softening, and a better [age revolving on mankind! Those who will not run before it, must follow after it, or be crushed beneath its wheels.” p. 56.

The great work which he had undertaken with such wealth of learning, with such acuteness and grasp of thought, and with so much power of illustration and expression, was the ever engrossing and at last unfinished labor of his life. His attempt was so bold, his ideal so lofty, and his critical sensibility so far beyond his own most admirable faculty of execution, that old age, and at last death, overtook him in his voluntary exile, before he could realize the gorgeous dream with which “the enthusiasm of the imagination” had inspired his youth. In the zeal of his one pursuit, he withdrew himself more and more from society, especially from the society of Americans at Paris, and became more and more sensitively shy of intercourse with strangers. As the friends whom he had left at home departed, one by one, from among the living, his epistolary intercourse with the survivors became more irregular. While he never lost his affection for his native country, nor relinquished his purpose of returning, he was still detained by the stronger purpose of first finishing his great work. The

slight eccentricities of his youth, such as often accompany an exquisite sensibility, seem to have grown upon him as he grew old in his strange mode of life. With a competent income and with a disposition the very opposite of parsimony, he lived in close seclusion, rigidly limiting his personal expenses, and sometimes permitting large balances to remain uncalled for in the hands of his banker. Now and then some privileged person from America, with a special claim on him, either on the score of early acquaintance and old friendship, or on the score of some family connection, was permitted to find him out and to draw him from his seclusion, and such opportunities of conversation with him were never afterwards forgotten. One who had enjoyed the privilege, says, "I shall never forget his earnest, profound conversation,—his childlike, amiable manners, his benevolent smile, his large and glowing heart. He was a man of no ordinary stamp; the world little knew him. He had sounded the depths of all moral, social, and metaphysical science, and he exemplified in these latter days of self-seeking the devotion and self-sacrifice of an ancient philosopher, with a better motive, being always actuated by the purest and highest aims. Though he published nothing [on these topics] I knew what he was capable of doing and confidently believed he would leave an impress on the world and make an epoch in moral and philosophical history."

On the 15th of March, 1859, the United States Consul at Paris was informed that an American gentleman had died, the night before, at one of the villages in the neighborhood of that metropolis. Repairing to the place, he found the villagers all mourning the loss of a friend whose beneficence to the poor among them, and whose sympathy with the afflicted, had taught them to regard him not merely with grateful affection, but with something of the reverence due to a superior being. Among those simple villagers, the deceased had long resided for several months in each year; and a few days before, hoping that a change of air would relieve him from what he thought a temporary illness, he had left his town lodging for his retreat in the country. They knew him only by his Christian name, "*Monsieur Auguste.*" A letter in his pocket,

from a sister, was inscribed with his full name, Augustus L. Hillhouse, and gave the clue to his city residence and to his connections with his native country. His grave was made in the village where he died ; and the whole population there followed his hearse with unaffected lamentations.

It was afterwards ascertained that he had expressed a desire to be buried among his kindred in that natal soil which he had never ceased to love. Accordingly, on the 16th of June, just three months after the first burial, his remains, having been disinterred and conveyed across the ocean, were brought to the resting place which he had desired for them. It was late in a long summer afternoon, when a few friends assembled in the cemetery to witness the re-interment. Strangely did the past and the present seem to mingle in that hour,—the thought of the New Haven from which Augustus L. Hillhouse went away for the circuit of European travel in 1816, setting itself in contrast with the thought of the New Haven to which, after so long a time, his remains had been at last brought home. How much of the world's history was included in the interval ! How unlike the America, the Europe, and the world of 1816, to the America, the Europe, and the world of 1859 ! A few gray men were gathered around that open grave, whom the westerling sun and the lengthening shadows might remind that with them also the day was far spent. They remembered that when he who was now gathered to his fathers went from his home in all the blossoming promise of his youth, they, too, were young ; and at the thought of what he was when they saw him last, they could not but recall the venerable image of his father, and the names and forms of all who sat around his father's table, and amid whose love his childhood grew. Of that household circle, there stood beside his grave one sole survivor ; the names of all the rest were already carved on monumental marbles, there in the family burial place. A few words of devotion, of remembrance, and of consolation, were spoken, and the remains were left to mingle with kindred dust.

The life of Augustus L. Hillhouse may seem not to have fulfilled its early promise. Yet he did not live in vain.

While he had not ceased to be a young man, he said, "I feel a real need of deserving the gratitude of my fellow men. I should esteem the labor of my life well employed if, according to the ancient superstition, I could prophesy at its close, and bequeath one useful truth as a legacy to mankind." Whether anything may hereafter be produced from the great mass of papers which he left like Sibylline leaves, is not known. But—not to speak of his incidental connection with the evangelical *renaissance* at Geneva and among the French Protestants—the one hymn which he has given to the churches that worship in the English language, will be his imperishable memorial. Already that hymn is sung not only in the churches of New England, but in kindred churches wherever, westward, even to the "western hills of golden ore," a Christian civilization has taught the wilderness to know the voice of Christian song—nay, wherever the sons of those churches are renewing the labor of the Apostles, whether in the remotest isles, or in the shadow of hoary Lebanon, or where the Tigris rushes in his rocky channel among the graves of ancient empires. And if the prophetic word which he so long was hoping to utter, and the "one useful truth" unknown before, which it was his life-long labor to bequeath to mankind, should never be found, those who knew him and loved him may remember that

—“In a Roman mouth the graceful name
Of poet and of prophet was the same.”

ARTICLE II.—REFLEX BENEFITS OF THE CLERICAL OFFICE—
A LETTER FROM A COUNTRY CLERGYMAN TO HIS
DESPONDING BRETHREN.

THE future historian of the literature pertaining to our profession, will doubtless characterize our age as the *Shady Side* epoch.

The various ills which (ministerial) flesh is heir to, have been exhibited in kaleidoscopic variety and profusion. Whatever may be thought of our claims to an *Apostolical* succession, our title to a *Martyrological* one seems clearly established. Should the old Jewish mode of estimating moral character according to the sufferings endured, again come into vogue, we shall probably be regarded as sinners above all contemporaneous Galileans, because we suffered such things.

But seriously, brethren, are we indeed of all men most miserable? Is there no sorrow like unto ours? Is there not danger to our happiness and usefulness, in looking too often at our trials, and too seldom upon our rewards, or in looking only at the former through a telescope, and the latter through the telescope inverted? The evils indeed of our profession are neither few nor small; but is it fair to be ever heaping them into the scale of despondency, while we neglect to place in the opposite scale those many hopes and blessings which lie so thickly strewn around? Is it not well for us sometimes to take off the somber-colored ministerial spectacles, (which we are possibly inclined to wear more than is best for us, and look out upon the sunlight that diversifies, if it does not completely flood our professional landscape? Let us then in this way take a hasty glance at our work in some of its temporal aspects,—pecuniary, social, and intellectual.

I. We begin with the lowest—that of which we are most disposed to complain, and of which we have too much reason perhaps to complain. After our long, toilsome, and expensive

preparation, we see the skillful mechanic, whose knowledge has not cost him a tithe of ours, and whose expenses are perhaps not the moiety, receive an equal or superior income. If we ever cast a longing eye upon the salaries of even subordinate officers of state,—civil, judicial, military, or naval,—“distance will lend enchantment to the view.” From the income of our neighbors, the successful lawyer or physician, our own must stand at a respectful distance. And the plain attire and equipage which our five, eight, or twelve hundred dollars can afford, must present but a sorry appearance in contrast with the glossy broadcloth and dashing equipments of the clerk who comes from the city to spend a part of his fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five hundred a year, in our quiet parishes, during his vacation, although his intellectual and literary circumference could hardly embrace the trivium of the would-be pedagogue’s three R’s—“Reading, Riting, and Rithmetic.” Possibly, too, we may see some of our old schoolmates rolling in their splendid carriages, while we plod on foot, or take an airing in our somewhat antiquated vehicle. But, after all, does our condition in regard to this world’s comforts and possessions compare unfavorably with that of the average condition of those with whom we commenced the journey of life, or of our parishioners around us? If there are some who have drawn larger prizes than we in the lottery of fortune, are there not more who have drawn smaller ones, or blanks? To say nothing of our intellectual treasures, our libraries and periodicals, in which few if any surpass us, do we not live in better houses, in more elegantly furnished apartments, sit at tables better supplied with comforts, and even luxuries, and wear better apparel, than the very great majority of those with whom our lot is cast? But you say, perhaps, we are obliged to maintain a style of living more expensive than our income will warrant, to meet the requirements of our position, and so we have but little prospect of laying aside much surplus for future wants. But even in this view, is our case peculiarly hard? We are apt to think when we see one engaged in extensive business, that he must be on the high road to fortune. But appearances are deceitful. We see and admire the gal-

leon that comes proudly into port; not the wrecks that strew the bottom of the deep. A gentleman of Boston, than whom perhaps no one had enjoyed better opportunities of observation, declared that, "Among one hundred merchants and traders, not more than three in that city ever acquire independence." It requires innumerable shrimps and minnows to make up the bulk of the whale, both on sea and shore, and the probabilities are certainly as great that in the sea of business we should have been swallowed minnows, as swallowing whales.

Another consideration that should not be lost sight of, is the fact that while men of other professions, even after they have completed their course of preparation, must wait long and anxiously till their reputation is established and the confidence of the community secured, before they can expect scarce any income, our salary commences with our work. We enter at once upon its full responsibilities, and receive its full pecuniary rewards.

I might speak of the perquisites, privileges, hospitalities, and immunities pertaining to our profession; but I will not enlarge upon these. Enough has perhaps been said to show that as regards the comforts, luxuries, and even riches of this life, we as a class are certainly not worse off than the great mass of our fellow-men; and that our profession, like the godliness which it is designed to recommend and illustrate, is not altogether without promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come.

II. In the next place, let us glance at the social position and privileges pertaining to the ministerial office. The value of this social standing will of course be estimated very differently, according to the position from which we view it, whether the tub of Diogenes, or the house of Mr. Fungus of the Fifth Avenue with its freestone front. Mr. Fungus evidently sets a value upon it very much too high, our friend of the tub one much too low, although really a good deal higher than he is willing to admit; for it is hard to rid ourselves of the suspicion, that notwithstanding his protestations to the contrary, he chose his residence with motives very much like those which led him

of the Fifth Avenue to choose his. The two men have their eye on the same thing, (notoriety,) and only take different roads to reach it. And in the language of the day, these are "representative men." The great mass of mankind are scrambling after them, jostling, trampling down, climbing over each other, all eager to be foremost in the race of social distinction. Now our profession renders it alike improper and unnecessary for us to engage in this scramble. It enables us to look upon this matter, not from the position of the cynic, or the parvenu, nor any point between, but from a far higher plane. It makes it right for us to desire an open door to the society, the hearts, and the homes of all classes of men, not to gratify a vain and selfish ambition, but to give us an opportunity to convey to them the messages of our Lord and King. And as ambassadors from one human government to another, no matter how humble otherwise, have, by their credentials, free admission to the halls of nobles, and even to the palaces and courts of royalty, so may we, in virtue of our office as ambassadors from the King of kings, stand among the mightiest of earth, and call no man master. We have no need to feel abashed in any earthly presence. Our families need not confess their social inferiority to those of any caste or station. They may form matrimonial or other alliances with those of any rank, with the consciousness that they receive no greater honor than that which they bestow. "With a great sum" other men obtain this freedom for their children, while ours are "free-born."

All doors, whether of hovels or palaces, are freely opened to us, and among all ranks we may freely mingle. Paul, as a minister of the Gospel, when writing to the Roman Church from Corinth, was commissioned to send, with other humbler salutations, that of the Chamberlain of the city, and when writing to the Philippians from the proud metropolis of the world, could say, "All the saints salute you, chiefly they that are of *Cæsar's* household." Now, this social position, viewed from whatever stand-point, earthly or heavenly, has indisputably attractive features; weighed according to whatever standard, it has value. But whatever these attractions and this value, in virtue of our office, they are ours.

Our profession also gives us the opportunity of exerting an influence over our fellow men, which no other class enjoys. It was the boast of Archimedes that with his newly invented lever, if he could have a "Pou stō" given him he could move the world. To us has been given such a standing place, with a lever of greater power than his. That standing place is Calvary, that lever God's everlasting truth. This instrumentality has already lifted how many nations and empires from the depths of heathenish degradation to the lofty heights of Christian civilization! It is our happy privilege to be coworkers with God in the moral upraising of our fallen world. And though we are weak as children of ourselves, when we use God's instruments we wield a power in the world greater than that of the mightiest who rely only upon worldly instrumentalities. Though we can do nothing of ourselves, we can do all things through him who strengtheneth us. Satan is indeed strong, his emissaries numerous and powerful, but Christ is stronger, and armed with his weapons, one may chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight. The waves of sin and the storms of opposition may dash and beat against our pulpits, but they shall not fall, for they are founded upon a rock—the rock of ages. Amid the din and bustle of the world we may sometimes feel that our voice is unheard and our influence unheeded, but it is not so. The mightiest forces of nature are not those most noisy and obtrusive, as the tornado or the thunderbolt, but rather those which work in silence, as light and heat. Those may rive here and there an oak, or even prostrate now and then a forest, while these are covering a thousand hills with forests, and ten thousand fields with verdure. So it is in the moral world. The brawling politician, the fiery reformer, the infidel lecturer, the circus clown, may for the time draw a larger crowd than we can, and receive greater ovations. But they have no such hold upon the hearts of the community, as we have. Our people do not go to hear them several times a week, and that too week after week and year after year, as they come to hear us. A few may be blighted by their influence, while many are benefited by ours. What influences, in forming the character and institutions of New England,

can be compared with that of our predecessors in the sacred office? It is perhaps safe to say, that their influence was not only more potent than that of any other class of men, but greater than that of all others combined. A minister ought to be the most influential man in his parish or congregation, and if he is half a man he cannot well fail of being so.

Again, what avenue of life opens the prospect of a more enduring remembrance than ours. Our office not only accords to us a high place of present consideration and influence, but a memorial among those who come after us. Select almost any town of New England, and what names appear more prominent in its written history or unwritten traditions than those of its former ministers. The world, notwithstanding its seeming ingratitude, will not soon forget its greatest benefactors. The surest way to secure a lasting reputation, is not by seeking it with selfish motives, but by doing good to others. The names of those who sought to build a tower whose top should reach unto Heaven to make themselves a name, have been long buried in oblivion; his who built an ark for the saving of the faithful shall never be forgotten. The frowning castles of the feudal despots of the middle ages are crumbling ruins, their possessions are scattered, their very names have perished; while the foundations of charity, learning, and religion, laid in faith and prayer, still remain unmoved through all surrounding changes, and the names of their founders are held in grateful remembrance, fresh and fragrant as the tree planted by the rivers of water.

If men expend their energies and leave their impress only on the perishable objects of time, "their memorial shall perish with them." It were a sad sight to see a sculptor like Phidias or Powers spend weary months and matchless skill in exquisitely carving a statue of snow, which would disappear in the first warm breath of spring. And even should he shape the more enduring marble into symmetry and grace, it will ere long crumble into decay, like the masterpieces of ancient skill. But not thus perishable is the material upon which our labor is expended. That material is nothing less than God's eternal truth, and man's immortal soul! He who fashions that truth

more nearly "according to the pattern seen in the mount," does a work which shall outlast that of Phidias; and receive greater honor; he who with God's aid forms a soul to holiness and fits it for heaven, leaves his impress upon what shall survive, when all material objects shall have perished. If then an ancient poet could say, in the contemplation of his work, "*Eregi monumentum aere perennius*," with how much more propriety might his language be applied to ours, whose memorial is imperishable?

III. In the next place let us glance at the reflex *intellectual* benefits of our profession. What other offers such advantages for a large, symmetrical and complete intellectual development as this? Most pursuits quicken certain faculties into an unnatural and abnormal growth, while others are neglected or dwarfed. Our calling brings all the powers into healthy exercise, and full, harmonious development. It was the famous saying of Lord Bacon, "Reading makes a full man; conference (or speaking) a ready man, and writing an exact man." This "threefold cord" of mental strength "not quickly broken" is peculiarly the gift of our profession. It combines in a greater degree than any other these three activities, and enjoys their several and united advantages. Neither a life spent wholly in reading, wholly in speaking, or wholly in writing, would make a complete man, but only the union of these in due proportion and harmony.

It has always been expected of our profession to take the lead in intellectual culture and activity. Nor has this expectation in any age of the church been disappointed. The name *Clergyman*, or *Clerk*, was formerly synonymous with a learned man, or one who could read. The phrase "benefit of clergy," as is well known, signifies in old English law the exemption of clergymen from criminal process before a secular court, but as when the law was framed the clergy probably embraced nearly all who could read, so it naturally happened that all who could read claimed and received the benefit of the enactment—"the benefit of clergy." But though learning is now more generally diffused, it is still expected of us

to maintain the same relative position of advance. And it has always been the glory and blessing (*deus atque tutamen*) of our branch of the church to have a learned and active ministry. For the good both of church and ministry may it never be otherwise!

The very nature of our work, and our themes of thought and study, seem inconsistent with intellectual littleness or feebleness. It is said that men who follow the sea are never near-sighted, because always looking upon grand and distant objects; while too long and intent gazing at near and minute things, renders the eye incapable of a wide and distant vision. Is it not so with our work in comparison with others, in enlarging and extending our mental vision, and strengthening our mental powers?

Like Jacob wrestling with the Angel, we are called to grapple with what requires for the mastery, more than human strength. We have to do with mysteries, whose depth profound, angelic wisdom has never sounded, and to whose dazzling hights angelic pinion has never soared. We are invited to walk in thought with God along the track of the past centuries to behold his wondrous dealings with our world and with our race. We are bidden to accompany him in faith into the distant future, to contemplate the fulfillment of prophecy, the completion of redemption, the end of time, the endless vista of eternity!

And in these contemplations and pursuits we have the intellectual companionship of the wisest, the greatest, and the best men of all times and countries. Is there nothing, then, in these intellectual advantages to awaken our gratitude, and make us prize the channel through which they come to us? And is it strange, that with such incentives and equipments, even aside from direct Divine aid, the foolish things of the world are often able to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world the things which are mighty?

Did the limits allowed to this letter permit, it would be a pleasing theme to consider the bearing of our studies and duties, upon our exaltation and happiness in the future world,

particularly as connected with this mental and moral development here commenced. If this life has value only as connected with the future, how better than in the duties and studies connected with our holy calling could we spend it, to profit by the privileges and enjoy the felicities of Heaven!

But I have purposely endeavored to confine myself to a view taken from an earthly stand-point. I have left out of sight the highest and sweetest rewards and blessings which it brings to us even in this life, those of a spiritual nature, blessings which, like the cluster of Eschol, are only intended as a pledge and foretaste of what awaits us in the promised land.

I have endeavored to present only such considerations as might suggest themselves to a mere man of the world, on the supposition that there is no world beyond, and, if I mistake not, have shown that we have more than our fair proportion of the emoluments, comforts, honors, influence, reputation, and intellectual advantages of this life; that our earthly blessings weighed against those of the mass of our fellow-men decidedly preponderate. Merely as citizens of the world, then, have we any good reason to complain of our allotment? How much less, when we take into the account our spiritual blessings, and future hopes and prospects?

ARTICLE III.—THE NEW PLANETS.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century but six primary planets and one satellite were known as members of the solar system. Very few, even of the learned, had at that time adopted the theory of Copernicus; and indeed, before the invention of the telescope, the evidence in its favor was not absolutely conclusive. On the 7th of January, 1610, Galileo first saw the satellites of Jupiter. The bearing of this first great telescopic discovery on the theory of the universe, was obvious and almost decisive. Such was the prejudice, however, against the Copernican system, that some of its opponents, who were determined to reject whatever was inconsistent with their own views of the universe, denied the reality of Galileo's discovery. The following is a specimen of the logic with which the great discoverer was opposed:

"There are seven windows given to animals in the domicile of the head, through which the air is admitted to the tabernacle of the body; which windows are the principal parts of the microcosm, or little world; viz, two nostrils, two eyes, two ears, and one mouth: so in the heavens, as in a macrocosm, or great world, there are two favorable stars, (Jupiter and Venus,) two unpropitious stars, (Mars and Saturn,) two luminaries, and Mercury alone undecided and indifferent. From this and many other phenomena of nature we gather that the number of planets is NECESSARILY *seven*. Moreover, those satellites are invisible to the naked eye, and *therefore* can exercise no influence on the earth, and *therefore* would be useless, and *therefore* do NOT EXIST. Besides, as well the Jews and other ancient nations, as modern Europeans, have adopted the division of the week into *seven* days, and have named them from the seven planets; now, if we increase the number of planets, this whole system falls to the ground."*

The author of the above was a Tuscan astronomer, who sustained in his day no inconsiderable reputation.

No other secondary planet was discovered till March 25th, 1655, when Titan, the sixth satellite of Saturn, was detected

* Drinkwater's Life of Galileo, as quoted by Prof. Nichol.

by Huygens. An unfortunate prediction put forth by this astronomer in connection with his discovery, serves to illustrate the tenacity with which the old Pythagorean notions of the harmony of numbers, were adhered to, even by superior minds. This discovery of a Saturnian satellite made the number of secondaries six—precisely equal to the number of primaries. Huygens affirmed that it would not comport with the harmony of the universe that the number of secondary planets should exceed that of the primaries. Besides, the whole number of both was then twelve, which was regarded as a perfect number. Accordingly he predicted that no more planets would ever be discovered.

About two years later (December 7th, 1657) the same astronomer discovered the true form of Saturn's ring; and before the close of the century (1671–1684) four more satellites, Iapetus, Rhea, Tethys, and Dione, were added to the Saturnian system by the elder Cassini. Our planetary system, therefore, as known at the close of the seventeenth century, consisted of six primaries and ten secondaries.

Nearly a century had elapsed from the date of Cassini's discovery of Dione, when, on the 18th of March, 1781, Sir William Herschel enlarged the dimensions of our system by the detection of a planet—Uranus—exterior to Saturn. A few years later (1787–1794) the same distinguished observer discovered the first and second satellites of Saturn, Mimas and Enceladus, and also the six Uranian satellites. He was the only planet discoverer of the eighteenth century.

As long ago as the commencement of the seventeenth century the celebrated Kepler observed that the respective distances of the planets from the sun formed nearly a regular progression. The series, however, by which those distances were expressed, required the interpolation of a term between Mars and Jupiter—a fact which led the illustrious German to predict the detection of a planet in that interval. This conjecture attracted but little attention till after the discovery of Uranus, whose distance was found to harmonize in a remarkable manner with Kepler's order of progression. Such

a coincidence was of course regarded with considerable interest. Towards the close of the last century, Prof. Bode, who had given the subject much attention, published the law of distances which bears his name, but which, as he acknowledged, is due to Prof. Titius. According to this formula the distances of the planets from Mercury's orbit form a geometrical series of which the ratio is two. In other words, if we reckon the distances of Venus, the earth, &c., *from the orbit of Mercury*, instead of from the sun, we find that—interpolating a term between Mars and Jupiter—the distance of any member of the system is very nearly half that of the next exterior.* Baron de Zach, an enthusiastic astronomer, was greatly interested in Bode's empirical scheme, and undertook to determine the elements of the hypothetical planet. In 1800 a number of astronomers met at Lilienthal, organized an astronomical society, and assigned one twenty-fourth part of the zodiac to each of twenty-four observers, in order to detect, if possible, the unseen planet. When it is remembered that at this time no primary planet had been discovered within the ancient limits of the solar system—that the object to be looked for was comparatively near us, and that the so-called law of distances was purely empirical—the prospect of success, it is evident, was extremely uncertain. The most sanguine could not have anticipated that the latent orb would be detected without persevering observation. How long the watch, if unsuccessful, might have been continued, is doubtful. The object of research, however, was fortunately brought to light before the members of the astronomical association had fairly commenced their labors.†

On the first of January, 1801, Prof. Giuseppe Piazzi, of Palermo, noticed a star of the eighth magnitude, not indicated

* Bode's law fails for the new planet, Neptune; a fact which some astronomers consider sufficient ground for its rejection. But may it not be either that the failure, in this instance, results from the interference of some other law, or that Bode's formula itself requires merely some modification?

† The discoverer, Piazzi, was not, as has been so often affirmed, one of the astronomers to whom the search had been especially committed.

in Wollaston's Catalogue. Subsequent observation soon revealed its planetary character; its mean distance and angular velocity corresponding very nearly with the calculations of de Zach. The discoverer called it *Ceres Ferdinandea*, in honor of his sovereign, the King of Naples. In this, however, he was not followed by astronomers, and the planet is now known by the name of *Ceres*, alone. The discovery of this planet was hailed by astronomers with the liveliest gratification, as completing the harmony of the system. What, then, was their surprise, when, in the course of a few months, this remarkable analogy was again interrupted! On the 28th of March, 1802, Dr. William Olbers, of Bremen, while examining the relative positions of the small stars along the path of Ceres, in order to find that planet with the greater facility, noticed a star of the seventh or eighth magnitude, forming an equilateral triangle with two others, where he was certain no such configuration existed a few months before. In the course of a few hours it had sensibly changed its position, and on the following evening it no longer formed an equilateral triangle with the other two. Another planet was therefore detected, and Dr. Olbers immediately communicated his discovery to Prof. Bode, and Baron de Zach. In his letter to the former, he suggested *Pallas* as the name of the new member of the system—a name which has been universally adopted. Its orbit, which was soon computed by Gauss, was found to present several striking anomalies. The inclination of its plane to that of the ecliptic, was nearly thirty-five degrees—an amount of deviation altogether extraordinary. The eccentricity, also, was greater than in the case of any of the old planets. These peculiarities, together with the fact that the mean distances of Ceres and Pallas were nearly the same, and that their orbits approached very near each other at the intersection of their planes, suggested the *Olberian* hypothesis that they are fragments of a single original planet, which, at a very remote epoch, was disrupted by some mysterious convulsion. The subsequent discovery of other members of the group was for a long time generally regarded as confirming

the hypothesis. The following is a tabular view of the order and dates of discovery, together with the names of the discoverers:

DISCOVERY OF THE ASTEROIDS.

No.	Name of Asteroids.	By whom Discovered.	Date of Discovery.
1.	Ceres,	Piazzi,	1801, January 1,
2.	Pallas,	Olbers, I,	1802, March 28,
3.	Juno,	Harding,	1804, September 1,
4.	Vesta,	Olbers, II,	1807, March 29,
5.	Astrea,	Hencke, I,	1845, December 8,
6.	Hebe,	Hecke, II,	1847, July 1,
7.	Iris,	Hind, I,	1847, August 18,
8.	Flora,	Hind, II,	1847, October 18,
9.	Metis,	Graham,	1848, April 25,
10.	Hygeia,	De Gasparis, I,	1849, April 12,
11.	Parthenope,	De Gasparis, II,	1850, May 11,
12.	Clio,	Hind, III,	1850, September 18,
13.	Egeria,	De Gasparis, III,	1850, November 2,
14.	Irene,	Hind, IV,	1851, May 19,
15.	Eunomia,	De Gasparis, IV,	1851, July 19,
16.	Psyche,	De Gasparis, V,	1852, March 17,
17.	Thetis,	Luther, I,	1852, April 17,
18.	Melpomene,	Hind, V,	1852, June 24,
19.	Fortuna,	Hind, VI,	1852, August 22,
20.	Massalia,	De Gasparis, VI,	1852, September 19,
21.	Lutetia,	Goldschmidt, I,	1852, November 15,
22.	Calliope,	Hind, VII,	1852, November 16,
23.	Thalia,	Hind, VIII,	1852, December 15,
24.	Themis,	De Gasparis, VII,	1853, April 5,
25.	Phoebe,	Chacornac, I,	1853, April 6,
26.	Proserpine,	Luther, II,	1853, May 5,
27.	Euterpe,	Hind, IX,	1853, November 8,
28.	Bellona,	Luther, III,	1854, March 2,
29.	Amphitrite,	Marth,	1854, March 2,
30.	Urania,	Hind, X,	1854, July 22,
31.	Euphrosyne,	Ferguson, I,	1854, September 1,
32.	Pomona,	Goldschmidt, II,	1854, October 26,
33.	Polyhymnia,	Chacornac, II,	1854, October 29,
34.	Circe,	Chacornac, III,	1855, April 6,
35.	Lenothea,	Luther, IV,	1855, April 19,
36.	Atalanta,	Goldschmidt, III,	1855, October 5,
37.	Fides,	Luther, V,	1855, October 5,
38.	Leda,	Chacornac, IV,	1856, January 12,
39.	Letitia,	Chacornac, V,	1856, February 8,
40.	Harmonia,	Goldschmidt, IV,	1856, March 31,

No. Name of Asteroids.	By whom Discovered.	Date of Discovery.
41. Daphne,	Goldschmidt, V,	1856, May 22,
42. Iris,	Pogson, I,	1856, May 28,
43. Ariadne,	Pogson, II,	1857, April 16,
44. Nysa,	Goldschmidt, VI,	1857, May 27,
45. Eugenia,	Goldschmidt, VII,	1857, June 27,
46. Hestia,	Pogson, III,	1857, August 14,
47. (Not named.)	Goldschmidt, VIII,	1857, September 9,
48. Aglaia,	Luther, VI,	1857, September 15,
49. Doris,	Goldschmidt, IX,	1857, September 19,
50. Pales,	Goldschmidt, X,	1857, September 22,
51. Virginia,	Ferguson, II,	1857, October 4,
52. Nemausea,	Laurent,	1858, January 22,
53. Europa,	Goldschmidt, XI,	1858, February 4,
54. Calypso,	Luther, VII,	1858, April 4,
55. Alexandra,	Goldschmidt, XII,	1858, September 10,
56. Pandora,	Searle,	1858, September 10,
57. Mnemosyne,	Luther, VIII,	1859, September 22,
58. (Not named.)	Luther, IX,	1860, March 24.

We have already referred to the hypothesis proposed by Dr. Olbers to account for the origin of the asteroids, viz, that they "may be fragments of a single large principal planet which has been destroyed by some natural force, and formerly occupied the gap between Mars and Jupiter."* The phenomena, however, of some recently discovered asteroids, are regarded by most astronomers as nearly conclusive against this hypothesis. It is well known that if these bodies diverged from a common point, the several fragments, however various the forms of their respective orbits, must, on completing their revolutions, pass through the point of original separation. But the orbits of Flora and Hygeia, or those of Clio and Euphrosyne, do not approach each other more nearly than those of Venus and the Earth. That so great a deviation from the primitive form of their orbits should have been produced by perturbations, is thought to be extremely improbable. Every new discovery in this region is adding to the data by which the question must ultimately be decided.

The year 1846 will ever be memorable in the annals of science for one of the greatest triumphs of physical astron-

* Monath. Corresp., Bd. VI, p. 88.

omy—the discovery of the planet Neptune. A detailed account of this important discovery, or any explanation of the mathematical processes by which it was accomplished, would not comport with the design of the present Article. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with a few general statements.

Within a short time after the discovery of Uranus, the planet had been sufficiently observed to enable astronomers, not only to calculate its *future* position, at a given time, with some approximation to accuracy, but also to determine its place at any *past* epoch. It occurred to astronomers, therefore, that the planet might have been observed and its place recorded before its planetary nature was known, and that if so, a comparison of the heavens with the star-catalogues of different observers would reveal the fact, and thus furnish the means of a more exact computation of the elements of its orbit. The examination was undertaken by Bode, in 1781, and in a very short time was crowned with success. Uranus had been seen by Flamsteed as early as 1690; and previous to 1781 it had been observed, in all, twenty times; viz., six times by Flamsteed, once by Bradley, once by Mayer, and twelve times by Lemonnier. The elements of the orbit were corrected by the aid of these old observations, and for a time the theoretical and observed places of the planet were nearly coincident. Discrepancies appeared, however, which gradually increased till it was found wholly impossible to explain the perturbations without admitting the existence of an undiscovered planet. Such was the state of the case when, about 1845, two young astronomers, U. J. Leverrier, of France, and J. C. Adams, of England, each ignorant of a similar purpose on the part of the other, conceived the bold and original design of determining mathematically what the position and mass of the unknown body must be in order to account for the mysterious perturbations.

If the planets revolved round the sun without exerting any influence upon each other, their orbits would be perfect ellipses. The mutual attractions of the planetary bodies, however, compel them to deviate from the regular curves which they

would otherwise describe. For example, whenever Venus and the earth are in conjunction, the distance of the former from the sun is *increased*, while that of the latter is *diminished*. In the same way the anomalous motion of *Uranus* was caused by an unseen exterior planet. During the first forty years after its discovery it was found to be advancing more rapidly in its orbit, and also receding to a greater distance from the sun than theory indicated; but having about this period reached its greatest distance, it began to return gradually to its computed orbit. Now it was evident that if this effect was produced by the attraction of a more remote planet, the deviation must have been greatest when Uranus was nearest the disturbing body, or, in other words, when in a direct line between it and the sun. The position of the exterior planet for a particular epoch would thus be ascertained; and, if its distance were known, its longitude for any other epoch could be calculated. Hence the great problem for solution was—To assign to the trans-uranian planet such a mass and distance as will account for the unexplained perturbations.

Leverrier submitted the result of his laborious calculations to the Paris Academy of Sciences in August, 1846. His memoir at the time attracted much attention; but although the utmost confidence was expressed by the author in the correctness of his deductions—although the elements of the orbit of the unseen planet were given, and the place in which it was to be looked for designated; perhaps few, if any, expected his calculations to be verified by observation.

Shortly after presenting this paper to the Academy, Leverrier by letter requested Dr. Galle, of Berlin, to examine the portion of the heavens in which the planet, as he said, was then moving. On the evening of September 23rd, 1846, the very day on which the letter was received, Dr. Galle actually discovered, within less than a degree from the point designated, a star of the eighth magnitude not marked on the map. This he immediately suspected to be the looked-for planet, and, on the following evening his suspicion was confirmed by observing that it had moved from its former place, and that its mo-

tion, both in direction and distance, was such as to correspond very nearly with the elements of the constructive planet.

The same problem, that of determining from its known disturbing influence, the elements and position of the exterior planet, was solved independently by Mr. Adams, with almost the same result, some months prior to the publication of Leverrier's researches. Not only had Adams's elements been communicated both to Professor Challis and the Astronomer Royal, but the former had commenced an exploration for the planet, and had actually recorded two observations of it, previous to its optical discovery by Dr. Galle. But as he did not detect its planetary character, and as Mr. Adams unfortunately deferred the publication of his researches, the honor of discovery has been generally awarded to Leverrier.

The period of Neptune is nearly one hundred and sixty-five years. It has performed, therefore, but thirty-six revolutions since the epoch of the Adamic creation. Its mean distance from the sun is thirty times that of the earth; consequently, the apparent diameter of the sun as seen from the planet is but sixty-four seconds, or rather less than that of Venus when at its least distance from the earth. The amount of light and heat which Neptune receives from the sun, is to that enjoyed by the earth as one to nine hundred; but even this degree of light is several hundred times greater than that of our full moon.

It is not improbable that Neptune may have a retinue of satellites as numerous as those of the other large planets. Owing to their great distance, however, they require telescopes of very high power to render them visible. In October, 1846, but a few weeks after the discovery of the planet, Mr. Lassell, of Starfield, near Liverpool, observed the first satellite, with his twenty-feet reflector. This discovery was confirmed on the 11th of September, 1847, by Mr. Otto Struve, at Pulkova, and on the 16th of the same month, by Mr. William C. Bond, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. The discoverer, Mr. Lassell, observed the satellite to be much brighter in one part of its orbit than in another; indicating that, as in the case of other

secondaries, the time of rotation is equal to the period of revolution round the primary.

The second satellite of Neptune—noticed also by Lassell and Bond—has not been distinctly observed. It is, according to the observations of the latter, more remote from the primary than the first, but its distance and period are unknown.

HYPERION, the seventh satellite of Saturn in the order of distance, was discovered by Mr. Bond, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 16th, 1848. It was also observed independently by Mr. Lassell, of Liverpool, England, September 18th, 1848.

The probability of the existence of a planet interior to Mercury, has been frequently suggested. The writer, in an article published more than thirteen years since, used the following remarks : “The distance from the center of Jupiter to the nearest satellite is about three times the equatorial diameter of the primary. If, therefore, we suppose the distance of the nearest primary planet to have the same ratio to the diameter of the sun, the orbit of such planet will be somewhat less than three millions of miles from the sun’s center. Consequently, in the interval of thirty-seven millions of miles, there may be four planets, the orbit of the nearest having the dimensions above stated, and their respective distances increasing in the ratio of Mercury’s distance to that of Venus. Such bodies, however, could hardly be detected, except in transiting the sun’s disk.” The possibility of explaining, at least partially, the shortening of the period of Encke’s comet, by the disturbing influence of a planet, or more than one, interior to Mercury, had also been conjectured several years since.* If we except, however, the casual observation of black spots crossing rapidly over the solar disk, we had nothing but the merest conjecture in regard to the subject, till within a very recent period.

In September, 1859, the celebrated Leverrier communicated to the French Academy some highly interesting results of his researches on the theory Mercury. The transits of this planet,

* Silliman’s Journal for Sept., 1852, p. 214.

from 1697 to 1848, give twenty-one trustworthy observations of the internal contact of its disk with that of the sun. Leverrier's discussion of these observations developed a "remarkable progressive error, which amounted to nine seconds of arc in 1793." He found, moreover, that an addition of thirty-eight seconds to the secular motion of Mercury's perihelion would satisfy all the observations. The adopted motion of the perihelion—five hundred and eighty-one seconds in a century—the effect produced by the received masses of the known planets. But in order to increase the secular variation of the longitude of the perihelion by thirty-eight seconds, we must grant the existence of an unknown disturbing force, or increase the received value of the mass of Venus by at least *one-tenth*. Such a change, however, is wholly inadmissible. Leverrier accordingly adopts the alternative of a disturbing cause between Mercury and the sun; and in view of the improbability that a single planet could so long have escaped observation, he prefers the hypothesis of a zone of asteroids, like that between Mars and Jupiter.

The publication of Leverrier's interesting researches soon led to the announcement that at least *one* of his theoretical asteroids had been discovered.

Dr. LESCARBault, a young physician of Orgères, near Chartres, France, had long since conceived the idea of making frequent and thorough examinations of the sun's disk in order to detect, if possible, any small planet during its transit. While pursuing his medical studies in Paris, he is said to have saved out of his very limited income, a sum sufficient for the purchase of a telescope. This instrument, of about four inches aperture, and fifty-seven and one-half inches focal length, was simply mounted on a wooden tripod, and placed in a revolving dome, built chiefly by his own hands, on the roof of his private residence. His measuring apparatus was entirely the result of his own ingenuity. His observations, for the most part, were recorded in pencil, *on white wood planks, smoothly planed*; and in this novel manner was the entry made which must forever associate his name with that of LEVERRIER.

In 1858, Dr. Lescarbault commenced a series of systematic

observations, which he patiently carried on without any important result, till March 26th, 1859, when he discovered what was doubtless a small planet transiting the sun. It appeared as a well-defined, black, circular spot, with an apparent diameter about one-fourth that of Mercury when crossing the sun in 1845. The discoverer, in the hope of again observing the object, and thus determining within reasonable limits of error, the elements of its orbit, did not announce his discovery till December 22d, 1859, when he communicated his observations to Leverrier.

On the receipt of this interesting letter, the distinguished Director of the National Observatory went immediately to Orgères, examined carefully the apparatus used, and received from Dr. Lescarbault an exact account of all the circumstances of the observations. This examination, together with the thorough explanations given by the discoverer, was regarded by Mr. Leverrier as entirely satisfactory. The plank containing the original record was accordingly carried off in triumph, and publicly exhibited at the next meeting of the Academy of Sciences.

A discussion of the observations gives, on the assumption of a circular orbit, about fourteen millions of miles as the distance of the new planet from the sun. Its time of revolution is about twenty days, the inclination of its orbit, twelve degrees, and the diameter of the planet nearly one thousand miles.

The action of this body on Mercury is by no means sufficient to account for all of the unexplained perturbation; hence the probability that it is a member of a group of asteroids. The following facts, moreover, seem to warrant the opinion that several others of the cluster have been seen by different observers;—Mr. Benjamin Scott of London, states that on an evening near sunset, in the summer of 1847, he saw a well-defined black spot on the solar disk, which was not to be found on the following morning. He mentions also that a similar spot was seen by Mr. Loft, January 6th, 1818. Mr. E. C. HERREICK of New Haven, in a note communicated to the American Journal of Science and Arts, for November, 1859, calls attention to a number of similar observations. The subject is one of more

than ordinary interest, and must claim the earnest attention of astronomers for some time to come.

Taking it for granted then that *one* intra-mercurial planet has been observed, the *primaries* belonging to our system, as at present known, will number sixty-seven; and, as there are twenty-one secondaries, the whole number of known planetary bodies is eighty-eight—more than three times the number known but fifteen years since. How many may yet be added, it is impossible to conjecture. The group within the orbit of Mercury in all probability contains a vast number, the largest of which may be discovered and their orbits determined. So also of the zone between Mars and Jupiter. Nor is it probable that the minute asteroids of our system are confined to these two groups;—the phenomena of meteoric stones indicate that the region of the earth's orbit is traversed by extremely small bodies of a planetary character. In regard to the existence of any large planets exterior to Neptune we can only say that we have not, and perhaps never *can* have, any *negative* evidence; while on the other hand it may be remarked that the interval between the sun and the nearest fixed stars is much greater in comparison with Neptune's distance from the sun, than the interval between Venus and the earth, compared with the moon's distance from the latter. The distance of the nearest fixed star, *Alpha Centauri*, is 226,000 times the earth's distance from the sun, or more than seven thousand times the distance of Neptune. Its mass is but little more than one-third that of the sun. May we not conclude, therefore, that the attractive influence of the central orb of our system would control the motion of a planetary body at a distance 100,000 times greater than that of the earth? The period of such a body would be 31,623,000 years; in other words its annual motion would be less than one-twenty-fourth of a second of arc. Even at one-tenth of this distance the annual motion would be little more than one second;—less than the proper motion of many of the fixed stars. Between the orbit of Neptune and this remote region may be several planets, the nearest of which may be within the reach of our telescopes.

ARTICLE IV.—THE BAPTISTS IN CONNECTICUT.

*Notes of the Baptists and their Principles in Norwich, Conn.
From the Settlement of the Town to 1850.* By Rev. FRED-
ERICK DENISON, A. M., Pastor of the Central Baptist Church,
Norwich. 1857.

*A Memoir of the Life and Times of the Rev. Isaac Backus,
A. M.* By ALVAN HOVEY, D. D., Professor of Christian
Theology in Newton Theological Institution. Boston: 1859.

THESE two books show us, to our great satisfaction, that the spirit of historical research, so much increased in our country of late years, has not left our Baptist brethren unaffected. Perhaps no denomination are more tempted than they to frown upon or despise such a spirit,—rejecting (as they do) not only the dogma of a priestly authority transmitted from the apostles through the successive generations of Christ's ministers, but also the better principle of a vital connection between the several generations of his people by virtue of the covenant first declared unto Abraham. We rejoice, therefore, to know that one or more societies have been formed for the purpose of illustrating the history of the Baptists in this country. We believe that this history is worthy of record and preservation; and even if in some cases the record should commemorate errors and sins on the part of our ecclesiastical fathers, we will hope that naught will be set down in malice, or tend to the hindrance of the truth as it is in Jesus.

The books before us have a limited range. The first indeed is just what its title indicates—*notes* of such matters in the history of the Baptists in the town of Norwich as seemed worthy of presentation. Some ninety pages 12mo. are thus well occupied, though in glancing our eyes over them, we have noted one or two passages which seemed to us to indicate a misconception of Congregational principles and practices. The second of these volumes is a duodecimo of three hundred and sixty-nine pages, containing not only an account of Mr. Backus,

but such notices of contemporaneous events as throw light upon the history of the Baptist churches. The work was undertaken at the request of the Backus Historical Society, and may be considered as introductory to a proposed new edition of Mr. Backus's Church History. The subjects with which Dr. Hovey deals are not matters of fancy, nor do his pages glow with the splendor of some modern biographers and historians. Perhaps, however, his plain and serious manner is in keeping with the character of the man whom he portrays. We have certainly felt in following his narrative the satisfaction arising from confidence in the sincerity and honesty of the writer.

The perusal of these books has recalled to our minds the interest with which a few years since we studied the brief but instructive history of the Separatists in Connecticut. In the eleventh volume of this Quarterly, (pp. 195 et seq.,) the curious reader may find a succinct statement of the results of our investigations. We there mentioned the fact, which is more fully developed in these books, that a part of the Separate churches went over to the Baptist ranks, either bodily or as individuals. We say *a part* of those churches, for another considerable part returned to the denomination from which they had separated. It may be interesting to view at greater length the relation of these events to one another. For this purpose, we shall draw freely on the works before us, supplying some facts from other sources.

It may be premised that Connecticut was planted *almost exclusively* by Congregationalists. Probably at an early date a few Episcopalians were found in the seaports of New Haven and New London; but no provision for Episcopal worship in the latter place can be traced back of 1721, the year before Rector Cutler avowed his predilection for the Church of England. A single Presbyterian church was formed in 1723, composed in considerable part of emigrants from the north of Ireland, who had settled in Voluntown, on the eastern border of the colony. The pastor of this church, Rev. Samuel Dorrance, being also of Scotch-Irish birth and education, encountered some opposition at first from the native American portion of the congregation, but continued in charge there for many

years, conducting the local affairs of his church after the Presbyterian fashion, but joining his ministerial neighbors in their county association. Somewhat before these dates, a few Quakers and Baptists appeared within Connecticut. In 1680, the magistrates, writing to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, say, "Our people in this colony are some strict Congregational men, others more large Congregational men, and some moderate Presbyterians, &c. There are four or six Seventh-day men, and about as many more Quakers." These Quakers and Seventh-day men were probably all in the town of New London, and mostly in the Rogers family, from whom sprang the troublesome local sect of the Rogerenes, who were half Baptists, half Quakers, and wholly enthusiasts and fanatics. From this early date, there was a slow growth of Baptist ideas and professors in the eastern part of Connecticut. At first, those who were immersed by Baptist preachers from Rhode Island were enrolled as members of churches in Newport, in Kingston, or in Westerly. But soon after 1705, the first Baptist church in Connecticut was formed in the town of Groton, at that time just separated from New London. This was soon followed by one in the western part of New London, (now Waterford.) A third arose in Wallingford in 1785, and three more in 1743, in Stonington, Lyme, and Colchester.

The location of these churches points to the influence under which they sprung up. The colony of Rhode Island had never that homogeneous character, which Connecticut at first enjoyed. The noble proclamation of Roger Williams's doctrine of soul-liberty had invited thither men of every faith, and some doubtless without faith. Thither, as a natural consequence, resorted for asylum from the other colonies "every one that was in distress and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented." There Quakers of every variety, orderly or disorderly, found the largest liberty, with no man to make them afraid. There Baptists, First day and Seventh day, Six Principles, and perhaps of other kinds still, flourished and filled the land. Thence, guided by the law that directs American emigration in right lines Westward, has flowed a steady current of men and thoughts into the adjoining parts of Connecticut.

On the 1st of January, 1708, Gurdon Saltonstall took the oath of office as Governor of Connecticut, having been called to that post from the pastorship of the First Church in New London. During his seventeen years of service in that charge he had been a witness of the disorders of the Rogerenes, and perhaps was on that account more ready to recommend a course of dealing in church and state alike, that would promise a more stringent discipline, a more perfect uniformity of doctrine and practice. Tradition ascribes to him a good degree of influence in procuring the construction of Saybrook Platform by the convention of September, 1708, and its subsequent ratification by the General Assembly. To this constitution most of the churches assented; pains being taken to soften its rigid aspect and thereby conciliate the disaffected. For a time we may suppose that the experiment was deemed tolerably successful. True, the clerical Governor was called towards the close of his life to meet Rector Cutler of Yale College in defense of the Congregational way; yet, when he died, in 1724, the colony still remained with but small exceptions attached to the faith and order of their fathers.

The peace which now prevailed through the churches was, however, rather the result of a formal agreement than of a cordial union in the truth. Subsequent events made it remembered like the hush that precedes the bursting of the volcano or the quiet that reigns before the thunder utters its voice of majesty. Spiritual religion had been steadily declining throughout New England since the days of the Forefathers. The temptations of the wilderness had in some respects prevailed over the piety of primitive days. The half-way covenant and the Stoddardean view of the sacraments, as means of conversion, had loosened the bonds of discipline and opened wide the doors of the churches. In these steps of degeneracy the ministers and people of Connecticut had followed too closely their brethren of Massachusetts. Ecclesiastical order and ministerial authority had become more prominent (not to say more valued) than truth and piety. A day of new things drew on.

In 1734-5, revivals of religion prevailed through several of

the towns of Eastern Connecticut, connecting themselves seemingly with the "surprising conversions" which appeared at Northampton under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards. About the same time there was an awakening in New Jersey under the labors of the Tennents. Some of the pastors in Connecticut, Pomroy, Wheelock, Croswell, and others, labored and prayed not without success for the revival of God's spiritual work in the land. A few years afterward, and before the impression of these events had passed away, there came to New England reports of the wonderful effects that had accompanied the labors of the Wesleys and Whitefield in the mother country and in the southern colonies.

In 1740 the great evangelist himself passed through the cities and principal towns of the North, arousing the minds of men to earnest thoughts, if not to sincere and settled purposes on the subject of personal religion. His example of itinerant preaching was followed soon by some zealous pastors of Presbyterian and Congregational churches, much to the annoyance of the more staid and formal of their brethren. These latter, by their backwardness to encourage the evangelizing movement of the day, incurred the severe censures of Whitfield and still more of his imitator, Davenport. In their turn they not only launched against the "New Lights" ecclesiastical rebukes, but invoked in their aid the arm of the civil power, which was laid heavily upon some who seemed to intermeddle in another man's line of things.

In this time of great excitement not only were some pastors stirred to unwonted and sometimes unwise endeavors for the good of men's souls, but laymen in many places felt called to the work of exhorting their neighbors, and that too in public assemblies, to flee from the wrath to come. This course, so unusual in those days, seemed to some of the clergy an evident infraction of their official rights, and called forth therefore their severe reproofs. It were vain to tell all the steps, by which the parties in this controversy went on from diversity of opinion, and tastes and feelings, to utter and open alienations.

The Separate churches may be said to have begun in Connecticut with the division of the church in Canterbury about

the settlement of Mr. James Cogswell. During his employment as a candidate, part of the congregation had withdrawn and worshiped in a private house, denouncing him as a formalist. At his ordination, December 28, 1744, he was received as pastor only by part of the church, while his opponents (claiming to be the majority) made their arrangements for an independent existence. The example thus set was speedily followed in many of the towns about Canterbury. Secessions took place in Mansfield, Scotland, Windham, Coventry, Brooklyn, Killingly, Plainfield, Voluntown, Preston, Lisbon, Franklin, Bozrah, Colchester, Norwich, Ledyard, North Stonington, Stonington, Groton, Montville, New-London, East Lyme and Lyme, as likewise in Enfield, Suffield, Windsor, Wethersfield, Middletown, Prospect, Tolland, Somers, Torrington, New Milford, and perhaps other places. In some of these towns (we name them as now organized) the secession was but short-lived, never taking the form and style of a church. More than twenty such churches were, however, formed and supplied with teachers, generally from their own body, in Connecticut alone, while in the southeastern parts of Massachusetts the same things were done to no inconsiderable extent, and a few churches of like spirit were established on Long Island.

If now we consider the geographical position of these churches, for the most part in near vicinity to Rhode Island, we shall see that an effectual door was thus opened for the entrance of Baptist principles. It may be well to remark the singular position taken by the civil authorities of Connecticut about this time. In 1729, under the administration of Gov. Talcott, the Legislature at their May session passed an act to exempt from ministerial taxes all Quakers who should produce certificates that they belonged to societies in that connection, and in October of the same year granted the same privilege to the Baptists. Yet at this time the whole number of Quakers and Baptists must have been very small indeed. But when the separations took place, of which we have been speaking, a very different spirit showed itself in the enactments of the Legislature and the conduct of the executive officers.

The administration of Gov. Law from 1741 to 1750, seems to have been characterized by an attempt to quell by violence the disorders of the times. In vain did three hundred and thirty separatists petition the Assembly in 1748 to grant them the same liberty of conscience and worship as was now enjoyed by Episcopalian, Baptists, and Quakers. In vain did they send their remonstrances and petitions across the water, where the English Dissenters told them that to represent such violations of chartered rights to the King (as they had proposed) would endanger the abrogation of the colony's charter. They therefore endured, as well as they might, the fines and imprisonments that were laid upon them, until time had caused the zeal of their opponents to grow cool and strengthened the hands of their friends. It is a remarkable fact that not many years had elapsed before those who had been most eager to put out the New Lights among the clergy, found themselves in a minority, without power in the councils of church or state. In fact, the enginery of consociations standing on the Saybrook Platform was in some instances worked to the confusion and hurt of those who had formerly thought by their means to rule over their brethren. By this revolution the Separatists gained peace, and finally having served their ends passed out of sight as a body of believers.

It is not impossible that the position in which the Separatists were placed by the civil law may have inclined some of their number to listen to the arguments of their Baptist neighbors. Besides, it will be observed that some of the grounds of their separation from the Congregational churches were such as the Baptists held in common with them.

Thus both insisted not only on the need of piety to constitute a worthy church-member, but also on the propriety of public narrations of spiritual experience. Both encouraged the exhortations of laymen in public meetings, and the introduction of uneducated men to the ministry. Both rejected the authority of any ecclesiastical body, other than the churches, and claimed for the churches the power not only to choose, but to induct their own officers into office. Both asserted the propriety of depending not on taxes or rates, but

on voluntary contributions for the support of the gospel institutions. In most of these points the Separatists went back to the original practice and belief of New England Congregationalists; and in all of them Congregationalists of the present day are nearer the position of the Separatists than of those from whom they separated. They cannot, therefore, be justly called *Baptist* principles by way of distinction, as they are in substance by both the authors before us. Yet as they were then lost sight of in Connecticut, it is not strange that the Separatists looked for sympathy to Rhode Island, where they were in full favor.

Differences in opinion on the subject of baptism early showed themselves among the Separatists, yet they held together for a while. Councils and conventions of the body were repeatedly held to discuss the several questions growing out of this subject. At length elders and brethren from forty churches—twenty-four in Connecticut, eight in Massachusetts, seven in Rhode Island, and one on Long Island—met at Stonington, May the 29th, 1754, and spent three days in this business. The leading men of the Pedobaptists were Solomon Paine of Canterbury, and Thomas Stephens of Plainfield, while Stephen Babcock led the opposite party. It was the largest council of the Separates ever convened, and it did much to confirm the division among them. While the Rhode Island influence led its followers over to the Baptists, that of Connecticut prepared the way for a reunion to, and an absorption in the body from whence they had sprung. But the end was not till many years had passed, for “the contentions of brethren are like the bars of a castle.”

Had we time and space, we would sketch here the outlines of the life of Isaac Backus, who was born in Norwich in 1724, converted in 1742, in the midst of the Great Awakening, connected first with the old Norwich church, under Dr. Lord, but separating therefrom in 1746, ordained in 1748 as the pastor of a Separate church in Middleboro, Mass., embraced Baptist sentiments in 1751, installed in 1756 pastor of a Baptist Church in Middleboro, to which he ministered until his death in 1806.

His long life served therefore to illustrate the mutual relations of the Congregationalists, the Separatists and the Baptists. Nor is this all; for Mr. Backus was, perhaps, more than any other man in his day, the champion of the American Baptists. His published writings were thirty-six in all, many of them being single sermons or essays. His principal work, and that by which he will be remembered, is his history of the Baptists, especially in New England. This work was published in three volumes, as the material was collected, and the means attained, in the years 1777, 1784 and 1796. The three volumes are dissimilar in appearance, and are seldom found now, except on the shelves of some antiquary. They contain invaluable stores of information laid out in a right honest and earnest manner, though with no nice regard to method, in no very elegant style, and with no pretense whatever to philosophical analysis. A new edition of them, with carefully prepared notes, appendices and indices would be welcomed by all who desire to know the past as well as the present, and so to forecast the future. Over past, present and future, alike, presides One Being, who justly claims our trust and faith, as He makes Himself known through Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and forever.

We are glad to know that the great body of the Baptists hold to this Divine Head in sincerity and truth. Nor is this all which we have in common with them. They maintain with us the parity of Christ's ministers and the completeness of a church within itself for all its necessary work, dependent only on the grace of God. They reject with us all those schemes by which men seek to consolidate the churches into a vast ecclesiastical commonwealth under the rule of Conferences, Conventions or Synods. They stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made his people free, and will not be entangled again by any yoke of bondage. It is probably owing to their influence that in Eastern Connecticut, out of the few large places, there is scarcely to be found a Methodist Society and not one Episcopal parish that has attained much vigor or has the promise of rapid growth; while in much of this region Baptist churches are planted not only in the cities and villages,

but on the rugged hill-tops, and in the green valleys of the whole country-side. We are content that it should be so. We remember that Baptists and Independents stood shoulder to shoulder in the armies of Cromwell, fighting for "the good old cause" of England's rights. We remember that they suffered together in the days when a false king gave his people as a prey to harlots and sycophants. We recall with pleasure the noble stand which Backus and his coadjutors took in the war of our Independence, not withholding themselves from the ranks of freedom because of the grievances of which they justly complained.

We observe with delight the growing love of all good learning, which shows itself at Suffield, at Providence, at Newton, at Rochester. We thank God for the gifts and graces showered so abundantly on Wayland and Sears, on Williams and Kenrick, as well as on the multitudes of Baptist pastors and teachers through the land. We feel no jealousy of their zeal or their successes, but, (by God's help,) will emulate their labors for Christ. Meanwhile we pray for the whole church on earth, under whatever name;—"Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sake, I will now say Peace be within thee."

**ARTICLE IV.—THE FINE ARTS; THEIR PROPER SPHERE,
AND THE SOURCES OF EXCELLENCE THEREIN.**

BEFORE the principle, on which depend the right execution and the just criticism of works of art, can be reached, it is necessary to be known that our minds are affected in a different manner when we view any specimen of them, such as a painting, from that in which they are when we view the subject itself represented by the painting, for instance, a human figure, or a landscape; as well as in what the difference consists.

A marble or bronze statue of the living human figure, of the natural color of the material, and exquisite in form, symmetry and expression, conveys to the mind a vivid feeling of pleasure, unalloyed by any feeling of an opposite kind derived from the thought that the object before us is not living, and is of a material alien from life. But if, instead, we have before us such a figure, of similar materials, or of wax, equally perfect in execution, but colored so as to represent exactly the human countenance and body,—while we may have the same admiration of the exquisite work, this has inseparably joined to it disgust, from the thought of the apparent body not being real, and of its material.

Or take a case closer still. The drawings for the newly invented instrument, the Stereoscope, are usually well executed, and afford pleasure when looked at by the naked eye, as specimens of art. Suppose that, after having examined with satisfaction such a drawing, representing human figures engaged in some animated employment, and colored to resemble life, we place it in the instrument,—instantly the feeling is changed, and, while we wonder at the transformation of a picture on a flat surface into a scene having many of the

characters of reality, we revolt from the galvanized, corpse-like appearance of the figures, even more than from the colored statue. The very same picture, which at one moment gave us pleasure, at the next almost conveys disgust, and this in consequence of the scene represented being made to appear more real.

The feeling of repugnance, produced by a statue or a painting, whenever the representation has so many of the characters of reality as to force the thought of reality on us, shows, that in seeking gratification from a work of art, the mind does not intend to deal with the real object, as being directly there presented. The same appears from the pleasure received from a good uncolored engraving, which suggests the real figures or scene, with feelings appropriate, while yet the tints are utterly discordant from those of the real objects, and could not be attached to them in imagination, without extinguishing all sympathy. Yet this circumstance does not disturb our thought ; nor, indeed, is the discordance readily noticed, and, even when attention is drawn to it, the notice is unaccompanied by any feeling of distaste or incongruity. It appears, then, that, by a law of the mind itself, the distinctive feeling, to which a work of the Fine Arts gives rise, does not depend on the suggestion of Sameness or Identity in the representation with the real object ;—that, on the contrary, the nearer the approach to this, the more is the end frustrated by feelings destructive of it ;—and that there must be something in the work, which, at the moment of observation, destroys the thought of Sameness or Identity, to allow it to convey the satisfaction which gives it its characteristic value.

What produces the conjoined and coexisting Sameness and Difference, which we thus see to be called into play in the examination of a work of art, is no doubt made up of many particulars, arising out of the sphere of the artist's labor, and the nature of the material which he uses. We shall quote several passages from Coleridge's Literary Remains and Table Talk, both to confirm the foregoing observations, and to suggest principles for solving the difficulty at which we have arrived :

"Art, used collectively for painting, sculpture, architecture, and music, is the mediatrix between, and reconciler of, nature and man. It is therefore the power of humanizing nature, of infusing the thoughts and passions of man into everything which is the object of his contemplation; color, form, motion, and sound, are the elements which it combines, and it stamps them into unity, in the mold of a moral idea."

"Philosophically, we understand that in all imitation two elements must co-exist, and not only coexist, but be perceived as coexisting. These two constituent elements are, Likeness and Unlikeness, or Sameness and Difference; and in all genuine creations of art, there must be a union of these disparates. The artist may take his point of view where he pleases, provided that the desired effect be perceptibly produced,—that there be likeness in the difference, difference in the likeness, and a reconciliation of both in one. If there be likeness to nature, without any check of difference, the result is disgusting; and the more complete the delusion, the more loathsome the effect. Why are such simulations of nature, as wax-work figures of men and women, so disagreeable? Because, not finding the motion and the life, which we expected, we are shocked as by a falsehood; every circumstance of detail, which before induced us to be interested, making the distance from truth more palpable. You set out with a supposed reality, and are disappointed and disgusted with the deception; whilst, in regard to a work of genuine imitation, you begin with an acknowledged total difference, and then every touch of nature gives you the pleasure of an approximation to truth. The fundamental principle of all this is undoubtedly the horror of falsehood, and the love of truth, inherent in the human breast."

"Imitation is the *Mesothesis* of Likeness and Difference: the Difference is as essential to it as the Likeness, for without the difference, it would be a copy, or fac-simile. But, to borrow a term from Astronomy, it is a librating *Mesothesis*; for it may verge more to likeness, as in painting, or more to difference, as in sculpture."

"Painting is the *Mesothesis* of Thing and Thought. A colored wax peach is one *thing*, passed off for another thing,—a practical lie, and not a work appertaining to the Fine Arts,—a delusion, not an imitation."

"It is a poor compliment to pay to a painter, to tell him that his figure stands out of the canvas, or that you start at the likeness of the portrait. Take almost any daub, cut it out of the canvas, and place the figure looking into or out of a window, and any one may take it for life. Or take one of Mrs. Salmon's wax queens or generals, and you will very soon feel the difference between a copy, as they are, and an imitation of the human face, as a good portrait ought to be. Look at that flower vase of Van Huysum, and at these wax or stone peaches and apricots! The last are likest to the original; but what pleasure do they give? None, except to children."

In these observations, this profound analyst of consciousness both points out the difference between the copy, or fac-simile, of a natural object, and the imitation of it according to the rules of art, as intimated by the natural feelings, and places

the difference on a philosophical footing. Using the language of mental science, he says of the mental conception, Likeness or Sameness, and its opposites, Unlikeness or Difference, taken as Thesis and Antithesis,—that Imitation is their Mesothesis or Indifference; of which abstract conceptions, when put in a concrete form, and expressed by the opposites, Thing and Thought, the Mesothesis or Indifference are the works of imitative art, such as painting and sculpture.* The Mesothesis or Indifference, being that which represents the act of the mind as mediating between two opposite conceptions, is inherently different from, while intimately related to both, and will constantly suggest both, though in different relations; but it must never put on the exclusive qualities of either, but always combine both in a unity, else it will forfeit its genuine character, and give rise to a hybrid, or patch-work. At the same time, as it may be placed nearer to, or more remote from, either of the opposites, it is susceptible of great variety in form; whence the extensive range in art, yet nothing arbitrary. Coleridge wishes to show, by these explanations, that the Fine Arts, as being the mediating representation to the mind between outward things and the thought of them, are not means of pleasing by mere arbitrary efforts at resemblance, and the illusion of the senses, but have a distinct place of their own to occupy, according to the known laws of the human mind, and hence have true principles.

Coleridge's editor quotes the following from Schelling, as being probably in his mind when writing of this subject:

“How comes it, that to every cultivated sense, imitations of the so-named real, carried even to illusion, appear in the highest degree untruthful,—even convey the impression of specters; whereas a work, in which the idea is dominant, seizes us with the full force of truth,—nay, transports us, for the first time, into the genuine world of reality? Whence does this arise, save from the more or less obscure perception, which proclaims, that the idea is that alone which lives in things,—that all else is beingless and empty shadow?”

In this translation, “imitation” has the sense of “copy,” or “fac-simile,” in Coleridge. In conformity with the German dislike to dualism, and desire to impute everything to one

* See note on page 624.

immaterial principle, the ideal is here regarded by Schelling as being the only substance in what is seen in a work of art, instead of the truer view of Coleridge, which, by means of the Mesothesis, connects the mental consciousness with the sense, as well as with the mind, each according to its proper character. Both equally hold, that genuine works of art are something quite different from the illusive presentment of outward objects, and that works merely such would not deserve the name.

The above may suffice as to the ground-work of these distinctions, without going deeper into their Metaphysics. That the distinctions themselves are real, has already appeared; and, in further proof of this, we shall add a few illustrations, chiefly taken from the effects observed in the use of the Stereoscope.

Let it be observed, that our minds have a positive satisfaction in associating a fine effect in statuary with the knowledge, forced on them by the eye, that it is fixed in a solid and enduring substance, such as bronze or marble, rather than in a soft and more perishable material—that is, that it is fixed in a material the most unlike to that of the human body, and to that to which life can pertain. So, the distinct perception of a painting being on a flat surface intensifies the impression of a fine effect in the work. In both cases, the mind is in fact looking at the mediated representation of its own conception, and can, by the means noticed, more perfectly close itself up to the mental impression, in its supersensual and enduring character of an image in thought. The incurable fault in almost all stereoscopic views consists in their unreal outward reality, in other words, their deceptiveness, arising from the absence of anything corresponding to what has just been pointed out, on which to rest the sense of Unlikeness or Difference, so as to qualify that of Likeness or Sameness, and thus cause the effect to coalesce with a genuine law of the mind. The sense of falsehood, conveyed by a mere copy of nature, as noticed by Coleridge, does not connect with anything in the intention of the maker of it, but arises from the offense being committed against the laws of the mind itself,—an offense,

from which there can, before the tribunal of just taste, be no exculpation, and no absolution.

The reason for the disgust, excited by the painted wax figure and the stereoscopic colored portraits, is, as we have seen, that the condition of the mind's Indifference is destroyed, and that to the eye Identity takes its place ; or, rather, that there is a heterogeneous mixture of the two, giving rise to a feeling even more distasteful. The work having thus, more or less, been taken out of its proper sphere, and brought into that of reality, the mind revolts from it, as was just said, as from a falsehood. Uncolored stereoscopic figures are more tolerable, because the want of color keeps, to a certain extent, the representations out of the range of reality, and causes the mind to retain somewhat of the state of Indifference. But the stereoscopic view of a good pictured statue, uncolored, is positively pleasing, because the change is for the better, by converting drawing into statuary, leaving Indifference wholly unaffected. Again, the stereoscopic view of a natural scene, such as a garden, or a forest, which pleases the eye when looked at as a drawing, may not, indeed, when seen through the stereoscopic glasses give rise to disgust, there being nothing in it calculated to rouse so powerful a sentiment, but it affords little satisfaction beyond that of surprise at a show so ingenious and unexpected, and presenting so much of the features of reality. The best that can be said of it is, that it is a *bad or poor reality*, not to be compared for a moment with the true, while it conveys nothing at all of the pleasure given by a work of the Fine Arts. Winter scenes, rocks, ruins, and buildings, without living figures, particularly those having picturesque forms, answer better, because, from the want of life, and the inert character, and sombre hues, of the materials, they seem to place the reality before us, somewhat as in the original scene ; but still it is directly as a reality, and not by means of the subtle creation by the mind, conscious of its act towards what is seen at the moment not to be real, through which a well executed work of the Fine Arts delights us. Whilst the pleasure partly may not be unwarranted, arising from surprise at the novelty of the sight, and from the interest of the objects,

none of it springs from the gratification of the peculiar taste to which the Fine Arts appeal. The effects are a marvel in optics, and nothing more.

The principles to be gathered from what has been said, are these :

1. The aim of the imitative arts is not the illusive present-
ment to the eye of the real object, and successful, therefore, in
proportion to the success of the illusion.

2. On the contrary, the more the actual presence of the ob-
ject is suggested by illusion, the more the mental effect is
shrouded, and the greater the departure from the true princi-
ples of art; for the absence of the object, yet its present like-
ness, should at once be consciously apparent to the mind, in
the contemplation of the work.

3. Art has thus a substantive and peculiar province, equally
distinct from reality, in the one direction, and from unmateri-
alized thought, in the other; which the mind can recognize,
and the artist's powers replenish with appropriate objects.

4. The pleasure and instruction, derived from works of the
Fine Arts, require the clear recognition by the mind of this
distinct place, as one of their indispensable conditions.

5. Consequently, Art has laws of its own, differing as
much from those of the real object, as from those of the mere
thought of it.

It is a great point gained, when it is recognized that Art
has a distinct and peculiar part of its own, and not merely the
part of providing copies of nature. From not knowing, in
what the excellence of works of art consists, and where to
look for it, many never have any enjoyment of them; while
others find a futile enjoyment, in searching for and discover-
ing real or imagined illusions of the sense. It may be asked,
how the peculiar characters of Art are to be distinguished and
pursued?—a question which is to be answered by two consid-
erations:—

1. Art has in itself the means of preserving the sense of its
separate province; of which, in painting, the flat surface is the
chief, and, in sculpture, the material and its color; and of
these the effects, in the just degree which Art requires, are in

nowise to be disguised or eluded. The degree is all that remains after artistic effect and expression are satisfied; the balance, when Likeness is provided for, is to be left for Difference,—all of it, without a jot wasted on Illusion. The perspective of a painting is quite a different thing from the perspective of nature, as is shown by the different effects of the perspective in a landscape for the Stereoscope, when seen by the naked eye, and under the instrument. The former thus appears to be merely for pictorial ends on the face of the paper or canvas. The expression of a statue differs essentially from that of a living person, in this respect, that, consciously to our feeling, it is disjoined from life and reality, and made capable, by means of the material and its color,—that is, by means of very unlikeness,—of being contemplated by the mind as such, not only without repugnance, but with equal power and satisfaction. Similar observations might be made as to all the other characteristics, which distinguish the representations of art from real objects. It is the business of the artist to work in the region thus indicated,—a region, which probably cannot be better distinguished than as Coleridge does, by assigning its place to the Mesothesis, or the Indifference, of the Thing and the Thought; and in which, as existing neither in the real, nor the ideal, the skilled artist is able to convey, by means of visible, expressive and powerful touches, what will make present to the feelings of the intelligent beholder the best and truest characters of both, as it were, brought out and isolated for that end,—(as Coleridge said of Chantrey's bust of Wordsworth, that "it had more of Wordsworth than Wordsworth himself.") Nothing more is required to enable the artist to keep his work within this sphere, than the clear conviction of its existence, and the fit use, under this conviction, of his peculiar materials, avoiding all endeavors after the simulation of nature. What has now been adverted to will secure that the artist's work be genuine; but its excellence in the higher sense of the Fine Arts will depend chiefly on his successful attention to the second consideration.

2. To occupy the right sphere, is one thing; to occupy it well, is another. The absence of the knowledge of Art, in its

distinct function, will show itself in failure to produce a groundwork for the exhibition of its true characters; the work will be confused and pointless; its ornaments will be meretricious and without simplicity; and it will be wholly wanting in distinctive features and just effects. But suppose the right course entered on, what are to be its results, and from what sources are they to be drawn? As the practical answer to this question, as to one branch of Art, will form the chief subject of the sequel to this Article, the matter need here be noticed only in general terms.

The imitative arts, we have seen, mediate between the consciousness of external objects as present, (which comes to us by Sensation and Perception,) and the purely mental Conception of them, when they are nothing to the sense, but dwell in the mind. Of course, the mental conception is in ready communion with all the other states of the soul, as connected with the judgment, the imagination, the affections, the conscience, and the will, whether in themselves, or as their operations are symbolized in the actions of men, and their expression by countenance or gesture, and in the scenes of inanimate nature; all which, by their constitution, are fitted to be significant in these ways to our discerning and shaping minds. In this mediation of art from its own determinate place, while, on the one side, illusion, or the suggestion of the actual presence of the object, is not permissible, because this would contradict the fact, and while, on the other, the consciousness of the mental conception, a purely mental state, cannot literally be presented by a work addressed primarily to the sense, yet the various movements of the soul, connected, or capable of being connected, with the object, as being part of the soul's permanent possessions, may be revived or produced by means of the artist's work, through its relations with the opposite consciousness of the sense and the mind. To use the former, by this peculiar means, in order to arouse the latter, is the chief end of the Fine Arts. The excellence of works of art lies rather in what they prompt, than in what they directly present, and is not forced on the observer, whether he will or no, but is discovered through the activity excited in his mind. The repre-

sentation has merit, just as it gives activity to the mind, and makes it alive with the feelings connected with its subject. Of what value is a feature, or a prospect, except as it symbolizes, and arouses, emotions of the soul? An *expression* of face means just this. The likeness, therefore, is not to be that of the dead physical marks, which the memory recalls, and which a photograph may present, or to convey merely some commonplace amount of effect from its features. It is to be that which, in portraits, stirs up in the mind the best feelings, and the highest conceptions, allied to the forms and faces pictured, and which holds up a standing lesson of what the persons might, and ought to appear;—in imagined figures, suggests, in the most elevated degree, the thoughts connected with the scene or personages delineated;—and, in landscapes, provides symbols, whence the mind can form ideas of unity in variety, of beauty, of sublimity, of richness, of softness, of serenity, of peace and security, of turmoil and danger, and the like;—in all these cases, transporting the mind out of itself to recognize these various expressions as living on the canvas, according to the manner proper to the several subjects. The accomplished painter and sculptor design from their mind, quite as much as from their eye or their memory, and they produce what begets in the intelligent beholder the mental image, after which they worked, with its best properties and associations. The truth and excellence of the representation legitimately vindicate themselves in this way; for the artist is not permitted to reach the end of his work by means which contravene the principles of his art, but must hold the means subordinate to the end.

Tried by the principles explained, Church's striking painting, "The Heart of the Andes," may be said to speak too much to the sense, and too little to the mind. Its highest power is from illusion, and the most fascinating effects are in the trees and banks of the foreground, which would hardly attract notice in the real scene; while distinctive symbolic impressions, suggestive to the mind, are not adequately conveyed, either by this, or by the magnificent materials around,—the wooded and the snowy mountains, and the overarching

heavens ;—nor indeed, is there much effect beyond that of the wondrous illusion of the lower half of the painting, which in this respect recalls the effect of Dioramic pictures, and in so far is a fault against the principles of art. Nothing grows on the mind after the first impression.

Those only are proper subjects for the artist which are capable of suggesting, through the physical form, mental emotions of an elevated kind, and when, consequently, his work will have important relations towards the ideal side, as well as just ones towards the natural. What the French term *genre* pictures afford little genuine pleasure, because they have hardly any relations except to the natural. Such paintings as Winterhalter's "Florinda and her Ladies" are little better than higher examples of this class. Of this character, also, is the irremediable fault of photographs. Animals, unconnected with human actions, are hardly fit subjects for the Fine Arts. The reason why landscapes, though from a lower province of nature than animals, occupy a high place in painting, is, that inanimate nature forms a world of itself, absolutely contrasted with that of human life, and capable, by effects of great beauty, variety, and power, of calling forth, as it were, by reflection, and symbolically, almost the whole compass of human emotion and passion ; while animal expression is the same in kind with the lower in man, and altogether inferior in quality and depth. It indicates a low state of art, and of taste for it, when animal paintings are comparatively of superior excellence, and in high esteem ;—although, without question, they have their own place and value.

In the foregoing observations, we have examined, at some length, the sphere and character of works of the Fine Arts, as distinguished from those of the impressions made on our minds, not only by the real objects delineated, but by illusive representations, or simulations, of those objects ; so as to point out the condition which is indispensable in works of art of every kind. We have also adverted, very generally, to the nature and the sources, through the associative powers of our minds, of the excellence which may appear in such works, on the

basis of the due fulfillment of this condition ; as well as to what are their appropriate subjects. The chief part of the discussion, however important and instructive its aim to those who wish to master the principles of this department of knowledge, cannot, we fear, but have somewhat taxed the attention and patience of the reader,—the searching out of foundations being at all times a task much more necessary than agreeable. It may be well now to enliven the interest of the inquiry, by mingling synthesis with analysis, and, leaving behind the consideration of recondite principles,—a region, lofty and hard of access, as well as of barren aspect, like what occurs in the analogous scenes of nature, yet, like them too, the source of healthful breezes and fertilizing streams for the habitable valleys and plains beneath,—to direct our attention to an actual work of art, as if it were before us, and endeavor to distinguish and appreciate the various and exquisite powers which enable the artist, by this means, to convey vivid pleasure to our most refined tastes, and to stir up many of the elevated emotions of the soul. In order to keep the subject within reasonable limits, let us confine our attention to a work of Figure-painting. Among other topics worthy of notice, this will lead to the consideration of the interesting question of the difference between Genius and Talent, as shown in works of the Fine Arts. In what follows, it will be supposed, that the artist is well acquainted with the peculiar sphere of his art, and has skill to occupy it.

Figure-painting, (as a branch of the Fine Arts,) may be defined as the art of representing the human face and person in form and color, by drawing, according to a genuine and elevated expression of a moral and mental character, conceived in the mind of the artist as justly belonging to the subject, and so executed as to excite in the intelligent beholder similar feelings to those of the artist when he conceived it.

In this definition, there are several distinct things to be carefully kept in view.

I. There must be an apprehension of the mental state, which is the ground-work of the expression. The artist must so discipline his mind as to participate in the feelings supposed

to actuate the subject of the painting, because such feelings are the cause of the expression, and the artist cannot attain to the effect except through the cause. There will of course be a difference in the degree of the personation, in the case of the more simple feelings, and in the case of those which may be termed the heroic, that is, those of great historical or poetical characters, embracing profound thought or emotion, with perhaps complicated relations of action, or otherwise. But for every case there will be found, in the true artist, the faculty of adopting the mood of the character to be depicted, *so far as this has the effect of producing expression*, and of realizing it to his mind with adequate earnestness and vigor.

What has been stated is not peculiar to the painter, but should be the common accomplishment of the intelligent. It is to be acquired and perfected, only by the internal discipline of the mind, as a part of its education. But for this there are many helps, provided they be used strictly as helps, and not as substitutes. The example of the greatest painters shows, that the Holy Scriptures not only furnish the highest class of subjects, but—(and this is the point pertinent to what is in hand,)—guide to the elevated spirit of action or suffering, without which, as a basis, the Fine Arts lose their chief end and true value. The careful study of the higher class of poets is important, because it accustoms the mind to contemplate subjects, not in their confined and naked literality, but according to the ideal or universal character, which is the charm of a genuine work of art. It need hardly be added, that vigilant observation only can provide the indispensable raw material in the ways of man, without which study and reflection would be in vain.

II. To come nearer the proper domain of the artist,—the consciousness of genuine and elevated emotions suitable to the chosen subject is not enough; this must be accompanied by the conception of their embodiment in expression by feature and gesture. The artist must be a hearty believer in symbolism. He must know,—not as a mere theory, but vividly, and almost instinctively,—the power of the human face and form to signify externally what is felt within. He will be enthui-

siastic in discovering the symbols in expression, by means of features, of proportion, of bodily habitudes, of costume, and otherwise, which correspond with feelings, and will appreciate with nicety the modes and degrees in which the variety of internal moods thus indicate themselves ; and he will discriminate what is not capable of such expression at all. He will habitually, in imagination, project mental conceptions of emotions and sentiments into their bodily correspondences, and, in the mind's eye, see them conjoined, as one, in the execution of the act of the soul. Examples show us to what an amazing perfection of delicacy this power may be attained, when the natural capacity for it is carefully cultivated.

III. What has been remarked are merely the discipline, and the conceptions, of the mind. If nothing more were possessed, a critic might be formed, but not a painter. There must besides be the power of transferring to the canvas the images arrived at mentally in the way above set forth—images, which, as we have seen, the principles of art require as much to express thought, as external forms and features. The execution, we believe, never comes up to the idea of the artist, and yet it must correspond to it in some adequate measure. Then the artist will see his idea in his painting, and the observer will be led to supply it. Hence, there should not be an overfinish in a painting ; this is a sign of weakness, as it withdraws attention from the idea, and substitutes the pleasing of the eye for the activity of the soul. The artist must never forget, that the chief merit of a painting lies, not in what it looks to the eye, but what it means to the mind.

The object of the artist, as already observed, should be to paint, not on the level of literal, ordinary life,—which would be mere photography,—but according to an ideal or universal expression, such as the figures might and ought to possess, if actuated by the loftiest spirit of the characters they represent, or of the situations they fill, and such, consequently, as is at once individual and comprehensive in its nature. This ideal, or universal, is neither easily described, nor easily attained. It must not be confounded with misty obscurity, or with inflated pretension. It must not be imagined to exclude indi-

viduality; on the contrary, the want of this, (and well marked too,) would be a great defect; but the individuality must be such as not to belie the generic character of the expression, as embracing a class, or its elevation, as raised quite above the commonplace. Every one must have observed how tame are pictures of the abstract passions, from the want of this quality. Even in so simple a matter as that of handwriting, a vigorous and characteristic hand, though not a letter will stand the test of the strict rule, is far more pleasing and expressive than the finest copperplate. The elevated style demanded has much the same quality as that which distinguishes true poetry from prose. How different is the character of the elevated parts of Shakspeare and Milton from even the best prose composition; and yet how solid, how tranquil, how definite and lucid, as well as high-toned and lofty, their flow and comprehensiveness of thoughts, not less than of words! The kind of expression in question is connected with a faculty which the soul possesses, and which belongs to its essence, of contemplating, and of representing, the qualities and the unity of being, according to a higher and more spiritual measure, than is experienced, or would be suitable for us, on the level of the common earthly life. All men are more or less conscious of having such an ideal in their souls. This ideal does not extinguish, but should ever illuminate, the particular example. While most men have only a transient impression of it, it should be habitually present to the mind of the artist, as the perfect standard, which his work indeed does not represent, (for this is impossible,) but which it is constantly to suggest. How is this style to be attained by the artist? Only by his being himself under the influence of the elevation which he tries to confer on his subject. The means are in his power to produce the desired effect, if he have reliance on the truth of his convictions. So united is our nature, in all its powers, that the capable and well-instructed hand will, under this influence, depict forms, fitted to express, and to suggest to the intelligent observer, in all their delicacy, the very intellectual and passional experiences, present to the mind which guides it.

IV. There are many preliminary and indispensable, though

subordinate matters, connected with finished excellence in the art of Figure-painting, on which we need not dwell,—such as, the mechanical rules of drawing and perspective, the principles of anatomy bearing on external form and action, those of grouping, the laws of color, the due use of examples by acknowledged masters, and such-like.

The principles above set forth furnish the means for judging what is a work of genius in Figure-painting, and what is a work of mere talent.

There are, we have seen, three fundamental requisites : 1. The conception in the artist's mind in an elevated form of a genuine human character, under a true emotion, or other mental affection ; 2, his conception of the embodiment of this in just expression and gesture ; and, 3, the transfer of the idea thus obtained to the canvas, under the impulse of the same mental energy which gave birth to it. We purposely keep the first two apart, because the duality of the mental act is apt to be overlooked, and one of them surreptitiously made to stand for both ; which leads to these results,—that the first without the second produces an abortion, and that the second without the first leads to a melo-dramatic aping of effect, without substance. A painting, possessed of all the requisites described, is a work of genius. It may represent a character of the simplest kind,—such as "Peele's Little Reedplayer," a compound of innocent simplicity and rapt intelligence,—and it will arouse the mind, and seem to shed a very light all around it; or it may represent a complicated historical scene, with incidents and characters of the highest dignity ; and yet, though in the latter case the interest will be more elevated, and a superior ability acknowledged, the mind, in both cases, will be affected in modes not generically different. The artist having, in both alike, painted after a living model conceived in his own mind, his work will transmit to the observer the consciousness of the living image which suggested it. One of Reynolds's masterpieces was a Strawberry Girl.

On the other hand, a painting, not originating in some considerable amount of elevated mental activity, such as has been

before explained, may be a work of talent, and even of research and learning, but, (whatever other merits it may have,) it cannot be a work of genius. It may be possessed, in a high degree, of all the qualities connected with the fourth of the foregoing general heads,—a good design, accurate drawing, and all the requisites of beauty, in form, contour, and color,—but let the painter have derived them only from imitation, and be void of a living portraiture in his mind, as the prototype of his work, and the result, (as regards genial expression,) will have no more life, than the source from which he took it.

Intermediate between these two styles,—of true art, and of that which is inferior and imitated,—there is that of the representation of natural expression from real life, not commonplace but characteristic, yet without Ideality. This is a style which is not uncommon, and which has solid merit of its own. The subjects of pictures of this class are usually taken from familiar life, as those of Hogarth and Wilkie were ; but one cannot fail to notice the generic difference between a specimen of the former, and the pictures of the latter, (notwithstanding the tendency of Hogarth to caricature.) It is important that this style should be carefully observed by the young artist, as a stepping-stone to the highest, for this can be successfully reached only from the basis of exact and literal nature. The drawing of those artists, who do not rise above this style, has usually a lumpish, unintelligent character, arising from the want of elevation in their thoughts.

It will readily be seen, from the above explanations, that the onward progress of a painter of genius can be arrested only by the decay of his powers ; because his work, and its objects, are both infinite. It is a continued education of his soul. The progress of a painter of mere talent is confined within comparatively narrow limits, and may be terminated by an early maturity of powers.

It is remarkable, that the capacity for producing works of the Fine Arts of the highest class, distinguished a period, which we are apt to regard as much behind the present in point of intelligence ; while it is not to be found in modern times. The following is the remark of Coleridge to this effect,

in regard to one branch of art:—"The more I see of modern pictures, the more I am convinced, that the ancient art of painting is gone, and something substituted for it,—very pleasing, but different, and different in kind, and not in degree only. Portraits by the old masters are pictures of men and women ; they fill, not merely occupy, a space ; they represent individuals, but individuals as types of a species. Modern portraits give you not the man, not the inward humanity, but merely the external mark, that in which Tom is different from Bill."

The reason for this state of things is indicated in an observation of Edmund Burke, which appears in the "Recollections of Rogers":—"In this age, more respect is shown to talent than to wisdom,—but I consider our forefathers deeper thinkers than ourselves, because they set a higher value on good sense, than on knowledge of various sciences ; and their good sense was derived very often from as much study, and more knowledge, though of another sort."

A few words of comment on these statements of two of the greatest thinkers of modern times, will form a fitting close to this discussion.

The scientific mind is predominant in our days, and this, though capable of producing surprising results in its own sphere, is shallow as regards human nature ; and its comparative value is quite over-estimated. It requires the attention to be carried outward, its instruments being the intellect and the senses, where are found the faculties for observing, classifying, and computing agreements and differences among external things, according to relations, whose nature is superficial. The knowledge of the human heart, and of its outgrowths, morally and spiritually, is quite alien from the habit of mind thus produced. Not but that there is a great deal of information (as distinguished from insight) as to this, and all subjects, in so observing and indefatigable an age as the present, possessed, as it is, of so great abundance of materials, derived from the past. But it is knowledge, which it can use chiefly for criticism, and but little for creation. Its consciousness, that is, its knowledge of self and its laws, instead of prompting to ac-

tions from within, is used rather as material for judgment of what is without, the fruit of which is self-sufficiency and lean-ness. The skill is that furnished by dissection, guiding by an external law; not the power of an internal life, which demon-strates its perfection by its results. There is a just sense, in which an artist is to be led on and possessed by his work; that is, it must be in such a way, as shows that he is master in the process, and is not subject to it. There is an interpenetration of the fact, in which lies the capacity for symbolic significance, and the mind, which discerns and shapes the truth of representation, of which the fact is capable; and it is the just bal-ance of these, which manifests in the work the Idea of the artist, as paramount throughout. The power of a decisive Mesothesis, (to use the language adopted by Coleridge,) places a man at the helm of knowledge, so far as this depends on just discrimination; for, dropping the scholastic term, this just means, that the man, as a person, rising above both the thing contemplated, and his own passive thoughts of it, mediates be-tween them, so as to bring out the highest and best result for the work in which he is engaged. It was the vigor of this inner life,—unsystematized, beclouded, unpurged, and mostly instinctive, as it was,—which gave to former ages their robust power in literature and art. The decay of it in the present, shows itself in these departments in various forms,—such as, in the excessive elaboration of critical principles, and undue engrossment with them, while the substance they relate to is starved and meager,—in the subjection of the man under the material he works in,—in subserviency to pleasurable excite-ment,—in the delineation of particular humors and morbid affections, tending often to caricature, instead of the broad features of humanity,—in the exhibition of mere undergrowths in the byways of life, for universal human interests,—and in the substitution for truth and inward depth, of artistic skill and mechanical polish. The result is much pretension, but real inward weakness and barrenness, with lack of moral power, over the whole field of mental occupation; and of this the Fine Arts manifestly partake.

We will conclude with a single word of caution. There is, we

believe, nothing detrimental to the principles of religion and virtue in the pursuit of the Fine Arts, provided the mind is rightly disciplined. But if otherwise, there is a seductive power in the subject, which may lead to the substitution of the sentiment of taste, and of the thoughts of material grandeur and beauty, for the searching and purifying truth of Christianity, and which may thus insinuate a secret Sybaritism into its votaries. Something of this kind is painfully perceptible in Willis' Tale of "Paul Fane;" and a similar spirit appears, more subtly, but not less truly, in some of the lighter parts of modern English literature, such as Mrs. Browning's "Aurora Leigh."

NOTE REFERRED TO ON PAGE 608.

It is much to be regretted that Coleridge did not fulfill the intention, often mentioned by him, of preparing a treatise on Polar, or Criterional, or Constructive Logic, or the Logic of Premises, or of Ideas,—for by all these names he designates it in different places. He had thought much on it, and it seems to have been the chief instrument of the wonderful powers of analysis which he possessed. He speaks of it in the highest terms. "The Logic of Ideas," he says, "is to that of syllogisms, as the infinitesimal calculus is to common arithmetic; it proves, but, at the same time, it supersedes." "The Criterional Logic, or the Logic of Premises, is of course much the most important, and it has never been treated." His published works contain only hints, and incidental illustrations, of this mode of investigating and unfolding truth; which, however, like everything of this writer, are so pregnant with meaning, as to make us wish that something more detailed had remained. The following notice of the subject, taken from what he says, can only be general and brief.

Common logic, or that of syllogisms, affords no test of truth. It merely gives rules for determining, whether specified conclusions can, or cannot, be deduced correctly from assumed premises; but whether the premises are just, it gives no information. It tells in a formal way, what good sense will tell without form; and its chief value consists in showing how to place propositions so that their agreement or disagreement may be at once seen and judged of. Hence, it is of much use in education, as discipline to the mind for the right order of the thoughts, and for freedom in managing them.

It is the part of criterional logic to try the value of principles, by bringing them into relation to other truths. Every truth is, as it were, organized under relations to others, and none is isolated. The relations being real, the application of the test throws a flood of light upon everything subjected to it. One of the most important of those relations is that of opposition,—such as, Likeness and Unlikeness, Sameness and Difference, Thing and Thought, mentioned in the Essay,—in each of which, if the former term be stated as Thesis, the latter is

Antithesis, and vice versa. Terms so related spring from a common root, Prothesis, or the Identity of the two, "which," says Coleridge, "is neither, because in it, as the transcendent of both, both are contained, and exist as one. Taken absolutely, this finds its application in the Supreme Being alone, the Pythagorean Tetrachys, the ineffable Name, to which no image can be attached; the point, which has no (real) opposite, or counterpart. But, relatively taken, and inadequately, the germinal power of every seed might be generalized under the relation of identity." Next, Thesis and Antithesis suppose the Mesothesis, or the Indifference, of the two, which is either, in relation to the other, or both at once, only in different relations: for instance, (to take the illustration dwelt on in the Article,) a painting, in relation to the Thought of the subject represented, is a Thing, but, in relation to that subject itself, it is no more than a Thought. "To which," Coleridge continues, "if we add the Synthesis, or Composition [of Thesis and Antithesis,]—in its several forms of equilibrium, as in quiescent electricity, or neutralization, as of oxygen and hydrogen in water, and predominance, as of hydrogen and carbon, with hydrogen predominant, in pure alcohol, or of carbon and hydrogen, with the comparative predominance of the carbon, in oil,—we complete the five most general forms of constructive logic." Observe, that Prothesis differs from Synthesis, in this respect, that it represents the essential ground of Thesis and Antithesis *a priori*, but Synthesis, the combination of the two *a posteriori*, and, consequently, the former contains a unity much more profound.

Coleridge considered, that all creation, material and immaterial, has these principles entering into it as governing rules, according to which every part was constituted, and operates; and that they will be found the key to all science. For instance, in regard to Chemistry, he regards the different kinds and combinations of matter, as being means for exemplifying their operation; and he rejected what is called the Atomic Theory, as materialistic, holding that the clue to the interpretation of matter exists in mind, and not in itself.

He explained the principles of language thus: Prothesis, the Verb Substantive, *Sum*, as expressing the identity, or co-inherence, of act and being, 2. Thesis, Noun, *Res*, expressing being, 3. Antithesis, Verb, *Ago-Patior*, expressing act, 4. Mesothesis, Infinitive, *Agere*, which is either substantive or verb, or both at once, but in different relations. And 5. Synthesis, Participle, *Agens*, implying both being and acting. To which add, 6. Adnoun, or the modification of the noun by the verb, and 7. Adverb, or the modification of the verb by the noun. Every language, he says, must have the first five of these parts of speech; and none can have more than the seven; for he held prepositions and conjunctions to be resolvable into the other forms, and interjections to be the expression of sensations only, and not of thoughts, and therefore merely sounds and not parts of speech. He subjected colors to similar distinctions.

These explanations may convey some notion of the Logic of Ideas, which Coleridge prized so highly, and warrant the regret, that he did not show in detail the applications and qualifications of the system, illustrated from his abundant resources in the whole range of the sciences and of philosophy.

Coleridge makes an important use of the principles of the Logic of Ideas, in the expositions, which occur in various parts of his writings, of the doctrine of the Trinity. Those who believe that this doctrine contradicts the fundamental

laws of the mind, (as Socinians pretend,) cannot receive it on any authority, and, were their objection well founded, would be justified in denying, that it could have been revealed by God. Those who rightly believe in the Trinity (that is, the Tri-unity) of God, have a clear conviction, that it involves no such contradiction; while yet some may be perplexed by the intellectual enigma. Now, the principles of the Polar Logic show, that the apparent inconsistency in the resolution of one into three, and the co-inherence of three in one, is in unison with the profoundest consciousness of reason. Accordingly, Coleridge says, in "Aids to Reflection," "I am clearly convinced, that the Scriptural and only true idea of God will, in its development, be found to involve the idea of the Trinity. But I am likewise convinced, that, previously to the promulgation of the Gospel, the doctrine had no claim on the faith of mankind; though it might have been a legitimate contemplation for a speculative philosopher, a theorem in metaphysics valid in the schools." Coleridge's views of this subject will be found more fully expressed in the *Omniana* at the close of the concluding volume of his *Marginalia*, pp. 383 and 395; and they seem to coincide substantially with those of Thomas Aquinas, set forth in his "*Summa Theologiae*," *Questio 27*.

ARTICLE VI.—THE CONGREGATIONAL POLITY AND A BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.*

Reports and Doctrinal Volumes of the Congregational Board of Publication.

THIS Board seeks to combine under the term Congregational, the Polity and the Theology of the Puritan fathers of New England. Though this term strictly has reference only to polity—so that any covenanting body of believers which maintains the autonomy of the local church, is *Congregational*, whatever its particular confession of faith or its usages in worship and ordinances, under the gospel—yet both the historical and the controversial use of the word have associated with it the *theology* as well as the polity of the fathers of “the Congregational way.” There is reason and propriety in this usage. We often trace, in ecclesiastical systems, a logical connection between polity and doctrine. Devout veneration for a hierarchy, the official sanctity of a priesthood, require the doctrine of sacramental virtue as distinguished from justification by faith. And while a single element of the mass as a sacrifice by priestly hands is retained in the administration of the Lord’s Supper, the “real presence,” whether by transubstantiation or consubstantiation, or vague mystification, will be there also. Though we may not go fully with John Wise, of Ipswich, in ascribing the Arian heresy of the fourth century and the general apostasy of the middle ages to “the frowns of

* This Article was prepared in the form of a Discourse, founded upon Titus i, 9: “Holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers.” And 1 John, iv, 1: “Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.” In this form it was delivered before the Congregational Board of Publication at its Anniversary in Boston, May 30th, 1860. This will account for the rhetorical cast of some portions of the Article.

Providence pursuing the Christian world " for their subversion of the primitive independency of the churches; yet the fatal facility with which error is propagated under a system of ecclesiastical centralization, where doctrinal discussion becomes identified with the struggle for numerical ascendency and official control, suggests some profound and wide-reaching connection between Polity and Theology.

Without pursuing this hint further with reference to other systems, we propose to consider THE RELATION OF THE CONGREGATIONAL POLITY TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A TRUE BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

The precepts cited from Paul and John are not isolated mottoes, but links in one common chain of thought which runs through the apostolic instructions to ministers and churches, binding both Christian teachers and the whole brotherhood of believers to the constant study of the Scriptures, with a view to the faithful exposition, defense, and application of the truths therein contained. The Christian minister is instructed to "hold fast the faithful word," the reliable truth of God, "as he hath been taught" by the word of inspiration; that "by sound doctrine," in which he is thus established, "he may be able both to exhort" believers for their instruction in righteousness, and "to convince or confute the gainsayers." And while this studious devotion to the faithful word of God is demanded of the minister, it is enjoined equally upon all believers that they should test preachers and their doctrines by that infallible Word. The obligation of preachers and hearers to guard the integrity of Christian doctrine, with the Bible as its test, is reciprocal and constant. The minister is set for the defense of the gospel, with a direct personal responsibility to Christ, and a responsibility also to the intelligence and the conscience of the Christian hearer, who is authorized and required to try him and his teachings by the Word of God. Both these conditions of a true Biblical theology—the responsible teaching, the critical and judicial hearing—are provided for in the Congregational polity. The adaptation of this polity to develop a true Biblical theology is seen,

I. In the fact that it leaves the minister untrammeled by human systems and authorities, to mine for truth in the Word of God. That intelligent and divinely regulated freedom which conduces to the most efficient, stable and successful working of the mind in the sphere of truth, and which is the birthright of all who are born of the Spirit of God, is here enjoyed, without any drawback of human dictation or control. The pastor of a church which maintains its autonomy under Christ, and which recognizes no human authority or control in spiritual affairs, has never to ask himself whether this or that opinion comports with the views of his Diocesan, his Synod, Conference, or Classis, or with the standards of a Council or other ecclesiastical body claiming to set forth the faith of the Church. His mind comes freshly and freely to the oracles of God. Systems, catechisms, creeds, commentaries, he may use as helps in his own investigation, or in the statement of truth; but he never looks to these as having authority, nor feels obliged to shape his views by theirs.

This independent thinking, which is a condition of mental health, is most favorable to the discovery of truth. It does not despise creeds, but neither will it worship them. Calvin says, "the subject of doctrine contains two parts—the authority to establish doctrines, and the explication of them."* A creed has to do solely with the latter. It is of the nature of an explication—a formal or philosophical statement of Christian doctrines. For purposes of agreement and reference this is always useful, and sometimes necessary. Men must agree in something, and must know substantially in what they agree, in order to act together. When there are two diametrically opposite interpretations of the Constitution of the United States, upon the question whether it recognizes property in man, it is not enough to proclaim the Constitution as the basis of a political party. There must also be a "platform" of explication. And so amid all the diversities of interpretation, it is hardly possible for Christians to unite in church fellowship without some "explication" of doctrine in which they sub-

* Institutes, B. 4, C. 8, Sec. 1.

stantially agree. But this is quite another thing from a vested "authority to establish doctrines." The earlier creeds grew out of the exigencies of Christian doctrine, as from time to time this was perplexed by various and contrary interpretations of the Scriptures. Of some of these, Calvin says truly, that "they contain nothing but the pure and natural interpretation of the Scripture, which the holy fathers, with spiritual prudence, applied to the discomfiture of the enemies of religion who arose in those days."^{*}

But any "explication," even by the Holy Fathers, may prove defective. While a doctrine may be substantially true under various forms of statement, the philosophical theory of that doctrine, embodied in a particular creed, may be erroneous or incomplete, *pars pro toto*; or the verbal statement of the creed may be ambiguous, inadequate, or otherwise capable of improvement. A possible advance in exegesis, or in the philosophy of mind or of language, may suggest a more accurate statement of a Biblical doctrine; and such advance is open to every student, since, as Augustine says, "the one God hath tempered the Holy Scriptures to the senses of many, who should see therein things true but divers."[†]

We believe the record of ancient historians concerning the appearance of comets; but "we do not accept their belief that comets were omens of the birth or death of heroes." We receive the records of the ancient astronomy touching eclipses of the sun and moon, and the various phases of the planets—but we do not believe the theory of Ptolemy, who made the earth the center of the system. It is no heresy to reject the creed and to retain the record. Yet for interpreting the heavens for himself, and not by the Ptolemaic creed, Galileo was arraigned and confined as a heretic. "Before the Inquisition," writes Galileo to his pupil Rnnieri, "I strove to prove my case, though, unfortunately, I could not convince them. To all my mathematical reasons for the motion of the earth, I got no answer but a shrug of the shoulders, the usual refuge of whoever is governed by prejudice and a preconceived opinion.

* Institutes, 4 : 9, 8.

† Confessions, 12 : 31 : 42.

At length I was compelled, *as a true Catholic*, to retract my opinions." He who attempts to read the Bible through a creed, is like Galileo attempting to read the heavens through the catechism instead of a telescope. As the same astronomer wrote, when freed from the terror of the Inquisition, "It is not in the power of the man of science to alter his opinions, to turn them this way and that; he cannot be commanded, he must be convinced. To cause our doctrine to disappear from the world, it is not enough to shut the mouth of a man; it would be necessary not merely to prohibit a book, and the writings of the adherents of the doctrines; but to prohibit all science, to forbid men to look towards the heavens, in order that they should see nothing that *does not fit with the old system, while it is explained by the new.*"* Truth, as fact, should never be confounded with theories, speculations, or systems based upon the fact. Now the scriptures reveal truth as matter-of-fact,—"the reality of things;" and mainly as an objective reality to the infinite mind of God. This is stated "not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." But the creed of necessity states this truth in words which man's wisdom frames. It is therefore liable to the imperfections of uninspired judgment and uninspired speech. It may be a help, but cannot be an authority. He who should sit down to study the Bible with a circle of cardinals around him shrugging their shoulders at every honest statement of belief, could make little progress in the knowledge of God's word. He would make a good Catholic, but a poor Theologian. The theology of the Bible must be learned from the patient and untrammeled study of the Bible itself.

The mind of a minister should be trained in a school of theology; made familiar with systems; taught to be modest in view of the labors of others, and kept from presumption by their failures; as many a sanguine inventor might have saved time and money by examining at the Patent Office the abortive attempts of his predecessors. The minister should know especially the history of dogmas, and the creeds of theologians

* Letters to Madame Christina Granduchessa Madre.

and of councils. But with this preliminary training, he should come to the Bible, not to find the creed, but to test it; and when he stands in the pulpit, the creed should serve him only as side-lights, while in the open Bible he beholds, "as in a glass, the glory of the Lord," and tells the people what he there sees, and not how the side-lights are adjusted. "It is only in theology that men seem to fear lest their minds should have too free a range, and lest their judgment should have too ample exercise. Yet men are commanded to *go on* to know the Lord, and to *grow* in the knowledge as well as in the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. The students of theology are encouraged to stretch the compass of their minds, that they might take in the length and breadth, the height and depth of Gospel truth. Has any creed yet stretched to all this length? Have any formularies yet covered all this breadth? Have any seraphic doctors yet measured all this height? Have any sects or parties yet fathomed all this depth? Is any theological system to say to our minds, 'this is the length, or this is the breadth, and hitherto shall ye go and no further?' No, no. The mind of man, like the eye of man, is not made for a limited horizon, but for the universe of Nature."* Or, to borrow the beautiful figure of Augustine: "As a fountain within a narrow compass is more plentiful, and supplies a tide for more streams over larger spaces than any one of these streams which, after a wide interval, is derived from the same fountain, so the relation of that dispenser of Thine [Moses in his account of the creation,] which was to benefit many who were to discourse thereon, does, out of a narrow scantling overflow into streams of clearest truth, whence every man may draw out for himself such truth as he can upon these subjects; one, one truth, another, another, by larger circumlocutions of discourse."†

This spirit of free investigation is the true spirit of the Congregational polity and of the Puritan-fathers of New England. It is what has made the New England theology. The spirit

* Cassel's Biblical Educator, p. 7.

† Cen. xii, 27, 27.

grows out of the polity, and that free, sound, vigorous, living, growing theology is its natural fruit. The great lesson of Robinson to the Pilgrims was, that they were called unto liberty. After the spirit of his noble exhortation at Leyden has infused itself into the very life of our theology, it is too late to restrict his words to mere "points of church order and liberty of conscience."* He must be little versed in the writings of Robinson, who would hazard the assertion that the Pilgrim Reformer favored liberty in *polity* only, and leaned to dogmatism and church authority in *theology*. The Leyden pastor exhorted his departing flock "to follow him no further than they had seen him follow the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . If God reveal anything to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am very confident the Lord hath more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word." Had Robinson's godly ministry been confined to church polity? Or in that solemn hour of parting did he think of the externals of government and order as the vital truths of his ministry, and the vital truths of God's holy word which he would chiefly commend to his flock? "For my part," he continues, "I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed Churches, who are come to a *period* in religion, and will go, at present, no further than the instruments of their first Reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our good God has imparted and revealed unto Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things." But was Luther's Reformation mainly a reformation of Church polity? and was the difference between Luther and Calvin solely upon points of church government? Was no *doctrine* involved in the sacramentarian controversy between Luther and the Swiss? "Though Luther and Calvin were burning and shining lights in their times," continues Robinson, "yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but were they now living, they would be as willing to embrace

* Am. Theo. Review, April, 1860.

further light as that which they first received." But did the great light which Luther and Calvin first received from the Bible have reference merely to church order and liberty of conscience in matters of worship? "I beseech you to remember it," he adds, "it is an article of your church covenant, that you will be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth; examine it, consider it, compare it with the other scriptures of truth before you do receive it. For it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick, anti-Christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."* What a caricature of these noble sentiments, to say that Robinson referred only to some possible improvements in church order beyond what he believed himself to have made by the light of the Scripture.

But the theological essays of Robinson show how fully he acted upon that independent investigation of the Scriptures which is the sacred right and duty of every teacher of Christianity. "Whoever," he says, "offers the word of God and holy scriptures for justification of his religion, deserves to be heard, and to have his cause examined for the very Word's sake, whose testimony he offers to produce." In his essay on Authority and Reason, he says: "God, who made two great lights for the bodily eye, hath also made two lights for the eye of the mind; the one, the Scriptures, for her supernatural light; and the other, reason, for her natural light. And, indeed, only those two are a man's own: and so is not the authority of other men. The Scriptures are as well mine as any other man's, and so is reason, as far as I can attain to it. But the authority of others is not mine, but theirs: which, when I use I borrow, and lay to pawn unto them, whom I cannot satisfy, or secure by the other means, which are mine own. Who would borrow of others that hath enough of his own to satisfy as well?" * * * *

"The credit commanding a testimony to others cannot be

* See in Hanbury, vol. 1, 393. "New England's Memorial," p. 407.

greater than is the authority in itself of him that gives it ; nor his authority greater than his person. The person, then, being but a man, the authority can be but human, and so the faith but human, which it can challenge. The custom of the church is but the custom of men : the sentence of the fathers but the opinion of men : the determination of councils but the judgment of men : what men soever. And so, if all the men in the world, not immediately directed as were extraordinary prophets and apostles, in whom the Spirit spoke and testified by them, should consent in one, as they, notwithstanding their multitude, were but men, though many, so was their testimony but human, though of many men ; neither could it challenge any other than human assent to it : and not that, neither absolutely, either in matters of discourse of reason wherein it is possible that men should deceive themselves ; or of relation from others, by whom they may be deceived. We are therefore to beware, that we neither wrong ourselves by credulity, nor others by unjust suspicion. To receive without examination men's sayings, is to make of men, God ; to reject them lightly, is to make of men, devils, or fools at the best."* How plain is it that Robinson would have the word of God the only standard and test of faith, and would use the creeds and opinions of men to assist the judgment, but never to determine it by authority. So *Prince* interpreted the parting address of the Leyden pastor, as inculcating "a noble freedom of thinking and practicing in religious matters. He labors to take off his people from their attachment to him, that they might be the more entirely free to search and follow the Scriptures." Prince gives, with admiration, these sentiments of Robinson, "that the inspired Scriptures only contain the true religion ; and that every man has the right of judging for himself, of trying *doctrines* by them, and of worshiping according to his apprehension of the meaning of them."† This free spirit of theological inquiry inculcated by Robinson impressed itself upon the early theology of New England. In 1642, the Reverend and Learned John Cot-

* Works, vol. 1.

† New England's Memorial, p. 408, Ed. Cong. Board.

ton of Boston published his "modest and clear answer to Mr. Ball's discourse of set forms of prayer :" in which he says : " God himself hath set before us sundry forms of catechism. David's catechism was of one form, Solomon's of another, the Apostles of another : yea, the Apostles name the heads of their catechism, but neither propound the questions nor answers then in use : an evident argument, they never mean to bind churches to set forms of catechism. The excellent and necessary use of catechizing young men and novices, we willingly acknowledge ; but little benefit have we seen reaped from set forms of questions and answers devised by one church and improved by necessity upon another. The like may be said of forms of confession. When a church is suspected and slandered, with corrupt and unsound doctrine, they have a call from God to set forth a public confession of their faith ; but to prescribe the same, as the confession of the faith of that church, to their posterity ; or to prescribe the confession of one church to be a form and pattern unto others ; sad experience hath showed what a snare it hath been to both."*

In 1648, John Allin, pastor of Dedham, and Thomas Shepard, pastor of Cambridge, also published a reply to Ball, in which they use the same discrimination touching confessions, which we have admired in Robinson. " We confess there is danger in casting by all forms of confessions and catechisms, lest, through the unstability of ungrounded and heady men, pretending new light, or searching after further light, the churches adhere to nothing, and their faith, as the Learned Leyden Professor terms it, become "fides horaria or menstrua," the faith of an hour or month, and then cast it off the next. And on the other side there is danger that by imposing such confessions too far, that which is indeed further light be suppressed. We therefore think it useful and needful to pave out such highways of catechisms and confessions so as the subjects of Christ Jesus our king and lawgiver may walk therein without shackles ; reserving liberty for further future light in points less clear, yet standing in a readiness always to confess and hold fast the pres-

* Hanbury, 2, 162.

ent truth which appears most clear."* That is true apostolic conservatism; "Prove all things—hold fast that which is good." Are not Cotton, and Allin, Shepard and Prince, worthy and credible representatives of the faith and spirit of the Puritan fathers of New England? But these fathers, while they would guard the churches against rash and heady innovations, were never afraid of "liberty for further light." New light, progress in theology, improved methods of stating, arranging, harmonizing, applying the old familiar truths, were looked for then as the result of studying the word of God with minds unshackled by confessions and catechisms. They would not have been startled by that essay of the younger Edwards, in which he claims that "on the great subject of Liberty and Necessity his father made *very important improvements*;" that "his followers have thrown new and important light upon *the doctrine of atonement*;" that Mr. Edwards "has thrown great light on the important doctrine of *Regeneration*." Such statements as these, borne out by citations from the writings of the elder Edwards, could not have scandalized John Robinson, who a century before was "very confident that the Lord had more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word," nor the devout and learned Shepard, who would have men "walk without shackles, reserving liberty for further future light on points less clear."

This freedom of religious inquiry is the native and historical spirit of New England Congregationalism; and New England Theology is born of that spirit. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, in his "Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline," states that "wherein the spiritual rule of Christ's kingdom consists, the maner how it is revealed and dispensed to the souls of his servants inwardly," is one of the great "reserves of inquiry for this last age of the world." He justifies himself for discussing the questions involved in his treatise, by saying that "modestly to inquire into, and for a time, to dissent from the judgment of a *general counsel*, hath been accounted *tolerable*. He that will estrange his affection, because of the difference of appre-

* Hanbury 8, 87.

hension in things difficult, he must be a stranger to himself, one time or other." And so far from being dogmatic in his own conclusions, he gives as a further reason for publishing his work, "That I might occasion men eminently gifted, to make further search and to dig deeper, that if there be any vein of reason which lies yet lower, it might be brought to light, and we profess and promise not only a ready ear to hear it, but a heart willing to welcome it." When the churches of Connecticut met in council at Saybrook in 1708, to agree upon a common confession of faith, they began their work with the declaration that "the Supreme Judge by whom all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Scripture delivered by the Spirit, into which Scripture so delivered, our faith is finally resolved." And they exhort the churches to apply the rule of Holy Scripture to all the articles of their own confession, saying, "You ought to account nothing ancient that will not stand by this rule, nor anything new that will."

Thus the Congregational polity sends its ministry untrammeled to the word of God as their authority in theology. Surely the theology the churches need, the theology that these times and all times demand, is a biblical theology ; and where shall this be learned but at the Bible? *Revelation* being wholly of God, is complete and infallible. But *theology* is man's speculative and practical interpretation of Revelation. To say that this was fixed for all time by Calvin or Edwards, so that we may accept their theology as God's revelation, is to ascribe infallibility to the human mind and to uninspired speech. These great theologians demanded no such homage to their opinions. Says Calvin, "We shall never be able to discriminate between the numerous councils, which dissent from and contradict each other, unless we examine them all by the word of God, which is the universal standard for men and angels. * * * * Whenever a decree of any council is brought forward, I would wish, first, that a diligent inquiry should be made, at what time, for what cause, and with what design it was held, and what kind of persons were present; secondly,

that the subject discussed in it should be examined by the standard of the Scripture ; and this in such a manner that the determination should have its weight, and be considered as a precedent, or case formerly decided, but that it should not preclude the examination which I have mentioned. I sincerely wish," he continues, "that every person would observe the method recommended by Augustine, in his third book against Maximinus. For, with a view to silence the contentions of that heretic respecting the decrees of councils, he says, 'I ought not to object to you the council of Nice, nor ought you to object to me the council of Ariminum, to preclude each other's judgment by a previous decision. I am not bound by the authority of the latter, nor you by that of the former. Let cause contend with cause, and argument with argument, on the ground of Scriptural authorities, which exclusively belong to neither party, but are common to both. The consequence of such a mode of proceeding would be, that councils would retain all the majesty which is due to them, while at the same time the Scripture would hold the preëminence, so that everything would be subject to it standards.'" What a rebuke to the servile copying of names and authorities is this vindication of theological independence by the sages of Geneva and Hippo.*

The first condition of Biblical study is that we call no man master. If thus freed from bondage to man, we come to the word of God with that reverent, earnest, patient, candid, persevering spirit with which Bacon entered upon the study of nature, we may surely claim the promise that the Author of inspiration will guide us into truth. "If there be any man who has it at heart," says Bacon, "not merely to take his stand on what has already been discovered, but to profit by that and to go on to something beyond ; not to anger an adversary by disputing, but to conquer nature by working ;—not to opine probably and prettily, but to know certainly and demonstrably ;—let such as being true sons of nature join themselves to us ; so that, leaving the *porch* of nature, which endless mul-

* Inst. 4: 9. 8.

titudes have so long trod, we may at last open a way to the inner courts."*

Will any say that this analogy of discovery fails, because truth in nature is hidden, but in the Bible is revealed? True, God is revealed in the Scriptures, in his personality, and his attributes. But what an ocean of speculative inquiry lies before us in that profoundest problem of Being—the Trinity in Unity. Every cable of logic that man has sought to stretch across that ocean of Being, that he might gain some signal from its distant shore, lies broken and silent in its depths. We accept the fact as God has revealed it, but resting in no human formula, study the mystery, watching for light. The system of Redemption is revealed in terms simple to a child; yet must he be "strengthened with might by the Spirit in the inner man," who would "comprehend the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge." Paul wrote according to the wisdom given him from above; yet in his epistles are "some things hard to be understood," which no theology has fully elucidated, and for which we must "reserve the liberty of further future light." Philology and metaphysics are growing sciences; and there may yet be an interpretation of the fifth chapter of Romans, which shall make men neither demons in durance here for a previous fall; nor physical monstrosities of creative power; nor guilty particles in some mystic entity called a sinful nature; nor an organic humanity developed downwards by the virus of the first Adam, and then upwards, by the grace of the second; nor having, by virtue of an arbitrary substitution, a logical title to a salvation as universal as the fall. If ever we shall master the whole Biblical theology of the fall and the redemption of mankind, it must be through "further future light" from the word of God. And that system of polity which leads the mind to the investigation of divine truth, untrammelled by human creeds and authorities, gives the largest hope of such a theology.

II. *The fact that the Congregational polity makes the ministry simply a body of Teachers, tends to throw them upon the*

* Inst. Mag. Pref. ad P. ii.

diligent study of the Bible as their main resource for influence and usefulness. This polity clothes the minister with no factitious dignity, with no venerable associations of a privileged class, with no official sanctity. It gives him few accessories of form, of dress, or tradition, to supplement his power or to conceal the want of it. He comes before the people unrobed, unconsecrated—as a minister of the Word; not to perform a ritual, nor to represent an order in the church, but to interest their minds in and by the truth. Therefore he must make that truth his study and his life, or he fails as a minister. He has nothing to draw upon in his official character but the word of God, and truth in physical nature and in the history and philosophy of man, as illustrating that word. Use what we will of outward accessories—of music, of architecture, of ritual, of social or esthetic appliances to build up a church,—so long as it remains an independent church, its minister can live only by Biblical truth. The best church architecture is that which makes the way into the pulpit lie through the study. The unction and validity of the ministration, so far as external agents are concerned, must come not from the chrism of holy oil and the manipulation of hereditary fingers, but from a well thumbed Bible. The minister must fight Satan, as did Luther—not with priestly incantations, but with his inkstand.

III. *By this polity, the pastor of each church is directly responsible to the intelligent Christian experience and the conscientious judgment of the members of that church;* and thus is preaching to those who are students of God's word, and his constituted judges by that word. He is not imposed upon them by the patron of the parish, who has the living in his gift, nor by a conference of bishops or other ecclesiastics, rotating the ministry at their pleasure; he is not set over them as their official superior by some authority superior both to him and to them; but he is *chosen* by them, as their teacher and guide in the truth. His responsibility to them, to their sanctified intelligence, to their enlightened consciences—the responsibility of rightly dividing the word of truth to those who know what truth is, and when they receive a share of it;—the responsibility not of performing a ritual with good taste and order, or of administering ordinances with rubrical validity, but of edi-

fying the body of Christ, of perfecting the saints, and of commanding himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God—*this* is the highest form of responsibility under which a minister can be brought to his fellow disciples. Schools, sects, creeds, systems, doctors, synods, councils, all are nothing in comparison with these living souls whom Christ has given to the pastor, with the injunction, "As thou lovest me, feed my sheep—feed my lambs." These are the jury before whom the doctrine of the minister must be tried, with the Bible as the judge. The attempt to put off upon such hearers declamation for doctrine, flash jewelry for the pure gold and diamonds of God's word, is like using counterfeit money to pay pew-rent and benevolent subscriptions. The stigma is even worse than the crime.

But will not this very fact that he is amenable to the people for the substance of his teachings, lead the minister to study to please men and to withhold unwelcome truth? Human weakness, indeed, suggests that temptation, and no system can provide effectually against a depraved heart. "Wo to the people whose pastors are become brutish, and have not sought the Lord." But the theory is, that the minister is a sanctified person, called of God's spirit to his work, and that the church is a communion of sanctified persons, who wish to know God's truth and to grow in grace. If the minister, himself, is a Christian, he will desire to know God's truth, and to speak that alone. If his church are Christians, they will desire that their minister should speak the whole truth of God, and will be dissatisfied if he does not speak it. Under the sense of this responsibility, the pastor must ever be a faithful student of God's Word.

IV. *By this system the minister, untrammeled by human authority, is made to realize his direct responsibility to God, for his teachings.* His is a regulated liberty of inquiry and opinion; and the Regulator in the system is this immediate consciousness of the great Taskmaster's eye. "As we were allowed of God to be put in trust with the Gospel, even so we speak, not as pleasing men, but God, which trieth our hearts." Human authority imposed upon the mind in its in-

vestigation of truth cramps and dwarfs its power: hinders intellectual inquiry; and either compels a sluggish acquiescence in opinions voted Orthodox, or a dissembling of the heart where the mind is unconvinced. Many errors and heresies in theology have sprung from the reaction of strong, earnest, honest, inquiring minds against the restraints of human systems and ecclesiastical bodies which have sought to lord it over conscience. Such minds, struggling to be honest and true, have been harrowed into a hatred of the very name of Orthodoxy, when a little open exercise of freedom, a gentle letting alone in the air and sunlight of God's word, would have brought them to a vital soundness in the faith. But when the soul, seeking after truth, sees before it not theological platforms bristling with pikes and bayonets, not porters' lodges with barking dogs, but the palace of the king with gates wide open, and all heavenly symphonies flowing down—when it comes thus into the very presence chamber of God, this sense of supervision and authority is quickening, elevating, purifying. Then is fulfilled that saying of Luther: "To have prayed well is to have studied well."

There is little danger of permanent and fatal error in a mind that, whatever its aberrations from human standards, still retains a reverential faith in the Bible as a supernatural and authoritative revelation from God. Augustine speculated none the less as a Christian than as a Platonist; but his theological speculations proceeded from his personal faith and returned to it. "Faith precedes knowledge," was his motto, but he aimed with Paul to attain to that high point of vision where faith and knowledge are merged into one. Faith grasps the great truths of the Bible "in the closed and involuted form."* But as the flower thus taken into the heart expands under the warmth of divine love, its structure, colors, lines of grace, its hidden beauties, its inexhaustible freshness and fragrance incite to continual inspection, and fill the soul with that truth which is life. He who has this treasure, may not be skilled in the terminology of the botanist; his analysis may be imperfect;

* Bernard, quoted by Prof. Shedd; *Introduction to Confessions of Augustine.*

his classification inaccurate—but while the Word of God is hidden in his heart, and his meditations are of that by day and by night, it is hardly possible that he will err radically in his conceptions of the truth. Communion of soul with God in his Word is the High School of Theology.

This view of the adaptation of the Congregational polity to develop a Biblical theology is illustrated by the theology of New England—the product, mainly, of pastors in the ordinary course of their pulpit ministrations, or under the healthful stimulus of a parish ministry. No theology has ever been produced so free from scholasticism, from conventionalism, from ecclesiastical dogmatism, so completely Biblical in origin, tone, and spirit, as that New England theology which the Congregational Board represents in its publications—a theology, in its essence, Scriptural and, therefore, free: combining a healthy conservatism with intelligent progress in the development and application of truth. Jonathan Edwards conversing with God in the groves of Northampton and among the hills of Stockbridge—the assiduous preacher, the patient missionary; Joseph Bellamy, working contentedly for fifty years in the little parish of Bethlem, often in straits for the means of support; Samuel Hopkins, preaching to “meagre auditories” at Great Barrington, and struggling with poverty and hostility at Newport; John Smalley, described by his pupil Emmons as “a man of strong and clear mind,” who made his quiet study at New Britain a very Geneva of Reformed theology; the second Edwards, pursuing his arduous studies amid the cares and distractions of a divided parish in New Haven; Nathaniel Emmons, in his quiet pastorate at Franklin, making it his practice “to seek after and examine the more difficult points in divinity;” Timothy Dwight, teaching and preaching in the parish of Greenfield, and afterwards working out his system of theology for the pulpit of Yale College: these, and men like these with their works, are the product of the Congregational polity in the sphere of theology. Men of few books, of little travel, they thought out their theology in the daily study of the Word of God; and, as they thought it, they preached it to

the plain] Christian intelligence of New England. Untrammeled by creeds and systems, unsupported by ceremonial pomp and official dignity, they aimed to speak the truth of God, responsible only to Him and to the minds of their hearers as enlightened and sanctified by his Word. Congregational preachers made New England *theologians*.

Since such is the genius, and such the fruit of the Congregational polity in the sphere of theology, it is obvious,

1. *That any attempt to curtail the investigation of divine truth by the authority of creeds and the jurisdiction of bodies exterior to the local church, is a departure from the good old Congregational way, and from the spirit of the New England theology.* When men professing themselves Christians cannot agree to walk together in their views of vital doctrine, the Congregational polity provides the simplest and most effective way for walking asunder. They drop apart—each to his own pole. The history of Unitarianism in Massachusetts, is an apt illustration. But restrictions upon the study of God's word, whether in the form of compulsory rules of faith or through the *odium theologicum* of popular clamor, are foreign alike to the spirit of this system and to its historical administration in New England. Hence they who would stamp a variation from their creed with the odium of heresy, cry out for some more stringent system of polity. Theological bigotry recedes from the free air of Congregationalism to some fortress of centralized church power. The affinity of such bigotry for a stringent ecclesiasticism confirms our plea for Congregationalism as the law of liberty.

It is not pure zeal for Orthodoxy that makes this modern cry for a more strait-laced ecclesiasticism in New England. The Calvinism of the early New England fathers was of a higher tone than those who would create or import ecclesiastical bulwarks of Orthodoxy are themselves willing to strike. Yet those high old Calvinists were content to leave their theology to Scripture and Reason under the free polity of Congregationalism, because they were not distrustful of their own theology nor unwilling to exchange it for a better. Believing in "further future light," they would not bar the windows. He who distrusts this good old way argues a fear not so much 'of his

neighbor's theology as of his own. What his theology lacks in rational and Scriptural evidence he would make up by ecclesiastical authority. "If men would be tender and careful to keep off offensive expressions," says Hooker, "they might keep some distance in opinion, in some things, without hazard to truth or love. But when men set up their sheaves, (though it be but in a dream, as Joseph's was,) and fall out with every one that will not fall down and adore them, they will bring much trouble into the world, but little advantage to truth or peace."*

Others there are, who having no knowledge of the good old Congregational way, "have come in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage." To such purblind and prejudiced observers, the churches should "give place by subjection, no, not for an hour—that the *truth of the gospel may continue with you.*"

It is no new thing that Congregational freedom should be denounced as fruitful in heresy and mischief. The "Anatomy of Separatists," published in 1642, dissects "this seditious sect," as follows: "Ye may know them by their frequent and far-fetched sighs; the continual elevation of their eyes; their meagre physiognomies, solitary countenances, sharp noses; by the cut of their hair, made even with the top of their prick-ears; for their hair is as short as their eye-brows, though their consciences be as vast as the ocean." The following is the quint essence of denunciation: "Their lives are hypocritical; their positions schismatical; their thoughts perilous; their words malicious; their acts mischievous, and their opinions impious." Such were the revilings that priest and presbyter put forth against the Independents of the seventeenth century; adding that "London was Amsterdammified with their senseless opinions!"† *Amsterdammified* seems even a harder word than Semi-Pelagian.

2. On the other hand, that Congregationalism may be maintained in its unity and power, *its ministry must study to bring forth in their preaching a Biblical Theology.* For their work

* Sum of Church Discipline, Preface.

† Hanbury, 2, 164.

of Christian teaching, as good old Shepard said, "There must be that knowledge which may make the man of sin wise unto salvation from the Scriptures. We cannot be without knowledge of tongues and arts in some competency, and study about both." Our ministry must maintain a sound and Biblical Theology as a means of edifying believers and of convincing or silencing opposers. There are certain tendencies of the times, both in the various communions of Christians and in the outside world, toward the depreciation of a doctrinal theology. Great waves of emotion have rolled over communities and nations, submerging for the time not only ecclesiastical or denominational distinctions, but even old landmarks in theology which former generations had set up with much pains-taking and nicety of measurement. The dykes of Calvinism have yielded before the impetuous fervor of Methodism; the ancient and rigid proprieties of Episcopacy have bent before the impetus of union meetings for prayer and labor. So far as this exciting and absorbing demonstration of religious feeling is spontaneous and natural, it is good as a result and an expression of Christian unity. But it is not itself the *fact* of Christian unity, nor, perhaps, the best mode of attaining it. The unity of all true believers is strictly normal; it exists by virtue of the union of each with Christ. The expression of that unity is seen in their unanimity of feeling towards Christ as their head, in their mutual affection and esteem because of this personal interest in Christ, and in their harmonious activity for his cause. United prayer and the emotional sympathy of numbers are but modes of expressing and cultivating this unity of spirit; but this does not require that we should suppress or lay aside any truth or doctrine we have derived from the Scriptures. A feeling that can be cherished only by stifling our convictions as to what is true, or by contradicting our own judgment in the premises, will neither be lasting nor sincere. Christian union imposes no such condition as that we shall give up thinking for the sake of feeling; nor that we shall agree to think alike in all things before we feel and act together in anything. The law of Christian union is that "being rooted and grounded in *love*," through our personal union with Christ,

we shall endeavor to keep the unity of the *Spirit* in the bond of peace ;" and that in matters of Christian knowledge and belief, " whereto we have already attained, we shall walk by the same rule and mind the same thing ;"—in other words, that as far as our convictions of truth are in harmony, we shall make agreement more prominent than diversity ; and where yet we differ, while honestly seeking after the unity of faith and knowledge, we shall maintain the unity of the Spirit through the love of Christ. The Calvinist must not insist that the Methodist shall prove his predestined election before receiving him as a brother beloved ; nor need the Methodist wait until the Calvinist falls from grace before he labors with him by sympathy and prayer. Let one shout hallelujah, and the other respond Amen.

We are not, therefore, required to sacrifice doctrinal theology to fraternal emotion, nor to ignore diversities of belief in a general era of good feeling.

While the tendency to an emotional union among Christians has somewhat obliterated doctrinal distinctions, a corresponding tendency in the outside world to exalt a sensational oratory above soundness of instruction, and an indiscriminate looseness of opinion above a healthy charity of feeling, has caused doctrinal theology to be contemned as narrow, antiquated, and bigoted. But neither the truths of religion nor the relation of these truths to the mind of man, can be affected by these tide-waves of Christian emotion or of popular sensation. God's truth stands like granite while tides ebb and flow.

The truth is now God's agent in sanctifying the heart, no less than when Christ prayed that his disciples might be sanctified through the word of truth ; no less than when Peter wrote to believers " ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth." Therefore must the minister of Christ hold fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that " by *sound doctrine* he may be able to exhort," comfort, edify believers. The truth is now God's agent for conviction and regeneration, no less than when Christ commissioned his disciples to preach the Gospel as the means of salvation, and Paul " by the manifestation of the truth," commended himself to the consciences of

men, and exhorted Timothy "to preach the *word*," and to be instant and constant in preaching it, notwithstanding the time would come when men "will not endure sound doctrine, but having itching ears, will turn away their ears from the truth and follow after fables." The charge of the apostle to Titus is therefore a standing injunction to the Christian ministry, that they shall rely upon sound doctrine under God, as the means both of establishing believers and of convincing gainsayers. The apostolic injunctions to Christians are still in force—that they shall be vigilant for the truth, and shall test man's teaching by the word of God. Neither ministers nor private Christians can rid themselves of this obligation to care for and maintain the integrity of Christian doctrine.

No good feeling among Christians, no favorable consideration from the world, should be sought at the expense of that sound doctrine wherein we are instructed by the Scriptures. We say of the studied excitation of feeling, and the whole sensation style of preaching, as Hooker said of a pretentious rhetoric, "They who covet more sauce than meat, must provide cooks to their mind." We are told that people do not care to hear the pulpit discuss "theories of doctrine and duty," but wish it to deal with things that interest them personally. The "Westminster Review" would even persuade us that for Christian revivals "a condition of the first importance is ignorance." But the profounder questions of doctrine and duty are just those about which the common mind is most deeply exercised. To reason is not the prerogative of philosophers, but the province of the masses. Thought, argument, doctrine, clearly, freshly, forcibly presented, with apt illustration and vivid application to existing realities of human experience—these are the highest and most enduring excitements that the pulpit can offer, even in this over stimulated age. The pulpit can live as a power, in Congregational churches, only as it holds forth the doctrines of the Bible with strong and earnest thinking, in strong and earnest words. These doctrines must be treated in the light of new objections, and in reference to existing wants. The grand doctrines of God, as a personal, spiritual Being, above all law or fate; of

His constant providential and moral government over this world; of His holiness and love, His justice and mercy, His paternal goodness to the penitent and believing, His judicial severity upon the perverse and ungodly; of man, as a voluntary, responsible agent, sinning and condemned; of sin, as voluntary, and therefore guilty; as no accident, or creature of circumstances—but willful alienation from God, which love must reject and punish, when it cannot reclaim; of the atoning sacrifice of Christ for pardon and justification; the mission of the Spirit for regeneration and sanctification through the truth; the efficacy of prayer; the duty of holy living; the obligation, privilege, and blessedness of purity of heart; the necessity of repentance and faith in order to salvation; the resurrection of the dead; the final judgment; the eternal glory of the righteous; the eternal punishment of the wicked; truths such as these, presented not as dry formulas of doctrine, nor as a museum of fossils labeled at Geneva, Westminster, Dort, or Savoy; not to make or prove a system, or to define the position of the preacher; but as living truths, brought forth from the living Word by a mind that believes, and trembles, and rejoices—these must be the power of the pulpit in our churches and our times. Without these, there may be energy, rhetoric, zeal, and popular excitement, but no power of God unto salvation. We who have such a polity and such a history, are bound before God and man to vindicate the power of a Biblical theology. The charge comes anew to such a ministry, “Hold fast the faithful word of God’s own teaching, that ye may be able, by sound doctrine, both to exhort and convince the gainsayers.”

ARTICLE VII.—CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY.

History of Greece. By GEORGE GROTE, Esq. Vols. III, IV, V.

FEW political subjects are so much misapprehended, even by well informed men, as Grecian Democracy. Notwithstanding Greece was divided into numerous states, and these, for the most part, were independent of each other, we are accustomed to speak as if there were but a single state, and whatever might be said of Greece would apply to any portion of it. So, too, though there were two distinct forms of government, oligarchy and democracy, and these were in constant hostility, the mutual fears and ambition of the respective parties having been the underlying cause of the Peloponnesian war, and having controlled all the subsequent political movements of the different states, we yet utterly confound the two under the common name of Grecian freedom, as if the iron oligarchy of Sparta were nearly the same thing as the free democracy of Athens. Besides both democracy and oligarchy had a natural development from a previously existing government, and a marked progress within themselves, and yet we speak of Grecian freedom as if it were always the same, unchanged from beginning to end ; as if the constitutional history of Greece underwent no changes during the several centuries in which the events of her political history were taking place, and her literature and philosophy were advancing to maturity. Moreover, and worst of all, men prize of ancient democracy as if it were the same as ours, whereas in several most important respects, it was antagonistic and inferior. Athenian democracy, for example, was founded on the basis of force, the law of the strongest, American democracy on the basis of the *natural and inalienable rights of man*. Athenian democracy was a government carried on directly by the people ; American democracy a government carried on by the *representatives* of the people, and finally,

unlike ours, the Athenian democracy admitted of no chief magistrate.

We propose to give a sketch of what we will venture to call the constitutional history of Athenian democracy, at the same time comparing and contrasting with it our own democracy. But before entering upon the discussion, we acknowledge our indebtedness to Mr. Grote for most of the materials out of which this essay has been constructed. The great difficulty in tracing the history of the constitution and government of Athens lies in the fact that the ancient writers themselves have made no discrimination of epochs, but have referred all the institutions of their own time, in a body, to Solon. Even Demosthenes ascribes the Heliastic oath to him, though its first clause is, ‘I will vote according to the laws, and according to the decrees of the Athenian people and of the Senate of Five Hundred.’ But the Senate of Five Hundred was not established till the time of Kleisthenes, eighty-five years after Solon. Mr. Grote, with rare sagacity, has traced out the progress through which the constitution was established as it stood in the days of Demosthenes. He has separated from the Solonian constitution the additions which later ages had made to it, and shown with precision the real and important changes which were introduced by Pericles. Mr. Grote may not be entirely satisfactory on individual points, but the views which he has taken in this department of his history will, as a whole, we think, continue to receive the assent of scholars. Other authors to whom we have been indebted, it is unnecessary to mention.

The original government of Athens was a monarchy; next, the monarchy passed into oligarchy; and finally, the oligarchy became a democracy.

The steps by which the monarchy passed into oligarchy were, first, the adoption of the title of Ruler, or Archon, for that of King. Kodrus was the last king. This change, however, is important only as indicating the growing power of the noble families, who would prefer the general name of ruler to the specific and more invidious one of king. The next step was the limitation of the archonship to ten years’ duration; it had been heretofore for life, and there were thirteen such archons. This step

was taken in 752, B. C., and manifestly enlarged the field of ambition to the aspiring nobles. This was followed in 714, B. C., by a still greater change in their favor. Hitherto the archonship had been confined to the Medontidæ, or descendants of Kodrus; henceforth, it was made accessible to the whole nobility.

One generation later, and the change takes place which converts the monarchy into an oligarchy. The archonship was now made annual instead of decennial, and nine archons were substituted in place of the one. This was a revolution. The headship of the state was no longer in the hands of a monarch but of oligarchs, not of one ruler but of several. And it is a remarkable fact that from this time onward to the end of the free democracy, Athens never had a Chief Magistrate—nothing corresponding to the Governor of a state, or the President of the United States, with us. This increase in the number of archons, and the establishment of annual election were made in the archonship of Kreon in 683, B. C., and never afterwards underwent any change. We add that this distribution of powers among the nine archons, and their annual election were equally consistent with a democracy or an oligarchy; we call the present form of government an oligarchy, because the archonship was entirely in the hands of a few noble families and not of the commonalty.

With the revolution of 683, B. C., the *authentic* history of Athens commences, and we pause to examine the state of things at this period.

This examination will embrace two points: the divisions and aggregations of the *people*, for facilitating the administration of government, and the distribution of *rulers*, by whom this administration is to be carried on. Ultimately, government must come into personal contact with individuals, and this can only be done through individual rulers. But the number of individuals with whom any given ruler can come into contact is limited. Indeed, it is remarkable how very few one man can govern by himself,—hardly more, in general, than a single family, and some men not even that. Hence arises the necessity of divisions and subdivisions among the people, with a

corresponding distribution of rulers. These divisions among the people may be made according to several distinct principles. The earliest, the primary, division is according to *families*; the next in the order of things is according to *place*; then according to *wealth*, and so on.

The unit of the natural aggregate among the Athenians was the *family*; in their own language, the *genos*, in the Latin, the *gens*. For the sake of convenience we will use the word *gens*. But the *gens* contains notions, and that, too, essential ones, which are not contained in the *family*, in the modern sense of the word. The great distinction is, that the genealogy of the *gens* starts from a superhuman, that of the *family* from a human origin; and this distinction it is important to understand.

The *family*, in its most restricted sense, includes husband and wife, or, with reference to perpetuity, husband, wife and child, or restricting our view to its perpetuity under the name of its founder, husband, wife and son. Now, commencing with this view of the *family*, we may extend it so as to embrace all the descendants of a common ancestor, or all the descendants who bear the common name, all the male descendants. Thus, to illustrate from some family that came to this country in the *Mayflower*, say the family of Elder Brewster, we might include now under the Brewster family all the descendants of Elder Brewster, or such only as bear the name of Brewster, all the male descendants. But in going back to ancestors, where shall we stop? Elder Brewster had a father, his father a father, and so on, according to the law of natural descent, *ad infinitum*. Birth, through natural descent, must either be traced back for ever without coming to a beginning, or it must have a beginning which is outside of nature. Revelation carries all back to a single pair, and that pair supernaturally created by the Author of all being. Hence, as in passing from ancestor to ancestor, the clue is soon lost in the uncertainty of the past, we are at liberty to stop where we will, and to choose as our common ancestor any one in the remote past who suits us best. The descendants of Elder Brewster may stop with him, or go farther and fare worse. There is a clue, doubtless, if one could find it, which would carry each one back to Shem, Ham, or Japhet,

and thence to the first man. But as things are, and from our point of view, families cannot be traced back distinctly many generations, and the members that compose them are lost in an undistinguishable crowd. Even natural traits fail at length. The "divine vigor" of the Julian eye may still exist, but we have no proof that it came from the great Augustus. The flat nose and thick lips of Socrates are still found, but are not probably descended from him. The only one who has permanently transmitted traits of his character is the great father of the race.

The Athenians took a different view. But before explaining this view, and in order to such explanation, we must touch upon the world of living existences as it lay in the mind of the Greeks. It had three types: gods, heroes, man—gods, swayed by all the passions, affections and impulses which pervade the mind of man, but of vastly greater powers, and exempt from mortality,—heroes, the progeny of the gods, many of whom sprung from human mothers, less than the gods, but more than man; and both gods and heroes acting side by side with man, striving with him, both harming and blessing him, and becoming the parents of human offspring through the natural physical laws of human generation. We are to conceive of the Greeks as believing in these things, however incredible and absurd they may appear to us, holding them to be existing realities; and, with such belief, we can see how wonderful the illimitable and unknown past must have appeared to them. Having failed to attain to the notion of absolute creation, and having once admitted the reality of the birth of gods and heroes according to the laws of human generation, and of men according to the same laws, from an extra human or superhuman parentage, there was no end to the creations of an unrestrained and credulous imagination; nor was there any difficulty in assigning a divine or heroic origin to the primitive families which constituted the *origines* of any particular people.

Now the Athenians held themselves to be the primitive possessors of Attica; that the original families did not emigrate from other countries, but were born on the soil. A

large number of families in Attica, at the commencement of the historic era, traced themselves back to these first ancestors, whom they believed to be either gods or heroes, and whom they worshiped as divine beings. From this statement, we are enabled to see more clearly what a gens is. A gens is composed of a number of families, more or less, who trace themselves back to a common divine or heroic progenitor, and who are united in the common worship of this progenitor. Its two peculiarities were a common superhuman origin, and common rites of worship. How many gentes there were in Attica at the time we speak of we know not, but the persons belonging to them constituted the *Citizens of Attica*. They formed a determinate body of people, pointed out and defined by the joint characteristics of birth on the soil and birth from a superhuman ancestry. There were other inhabitants, both slave and free, outside this body, but it was these descendants of the primitive families of Attica that made up the proper *Athenian people*. We shall show, in the course of our remarks, how this small and compact body expanded, until it became the great Athenian Demos of the age of Pericles. But we now turn to illustrate more particularly the nature of the Attic gens by a brief account of some of the best known.

Every hero had a myth, especially those who gave their names to particular places. One of the most interesting of these legends relates to Eleusis and the Eleusinian mysteries, and is preserved to us in the Homeric hymn to Demeter. Demeter in her search for her lost Persephone came to Eleusis, and having ordered a temple and an altar to be erected, prescribed the services and rites which were to be performed in her honor. These she communicated to Keleos and his daughter, together with Triptolemus, Diokles and Eumolpus. From Eumolpus, whom the latter ages called the son of Poseidon, came the family of the Eumolpidae, and this gens, to which pertained the honor of presiding over the Eleusinian mysteries, maintained this position of honor throughout the whole historical period. The Kodridæ traced their descent from Kodrus, who was descended from Æolus, who was the son of Hellen, who was the son of Deucalion, and so forth. The Asklepiadæ, who

were scattered throughout Greece came from Asklepius, who was either a god, or became a god. The Philaidæ traced themselves to Philæus, who was the son of Ajax, who was the son of Aeakus, who was the son of Zeus by Aegina, daughter of Asopus. The Erechtheids were from Erechtheus, who was born of the Earth, and brought up by Athene. Erechtheus was identified with the god Poseidon, and called Poseidon Erechtheus. The celebrated family of the Butadæ was descended from Butes, son of Pandion, son of Erchthonius, son of Hephaestion and the Earth. A member of this gens chosen by lot always performed the functions of Poseidon Erechtheus, during the whole period of the existence of free Attica. Kreüsa, daughter of Erechtheus, seduced by Apollo, gave birth to Ion, who was the father of the heroes who gave their names to the four Attic tribes, namely, Geleontes, Hopletes, Argadeis and Aegikoreis. From Phytalus, who had received Demeter as a guest, when she first presented mankind with the fruit of the fig tree, came the ancient gens of the Phytalids. And thus it was with innumerable families. Indeed, the ancients had the advantage of us in the matter of genealogy. For there was no difficulty in finding a god for the superhuman part of the ancestral line, and not much more we should judge, as regards the human origin. But however this may be, we must remember that with the Greeks, all this was undoubted reality. Of the two parts of the genealogy, the superhuman part was as much believed in, as the human; no living Eumolpid or Erechtheid could be more a reality to them than were their half-human, half-divine progenitors, Eumolpus and Erechtheus. It was always a matter of great pride to trace one's self to some of these divine progenitors—as much so as to go back to the Mayflower, or the Norman Conquest. Thus, Hippocrates and Aristotle belonged to the wide-spread and renowned Asklepiads. Miltiades was of the Philaidæ. Solon belonged to the Kodridæ. Herodotus speaks of Hekatæus, the historian, as “genealogizing, and tracing his family to a god in the sixteenth degree.” (Herod. II, 143.)

The several gentes were close corporations, and possessed many privileges. Each gens had a common burial-place, and it was an indictable offense to bury a stranger in it. The

property of any gentes who died without heirs went to the gens, though after the time of Solon he might dispose of it by will. In case of murder, next after the near relatives of the slain, the gens was authorized and required to bring the murderer to trial. In some cases there were mutual claims and duties of marriage. Some gentes had common property, with an archon and treasurer of their own.

Such, then, was the gens;—a group of families tracing their descent from common superhuman ancestors, bound together by common interests, privileges and rights, and identifying their descent from a common ancestor, as we shall presently see, by a united worship of that ancestor. When or how this myth of superhuman parentage took its place as an historical fact, on what principle the several families came together into the same gens, whether these families may not have had a common human ancestor in the remote past—these and other like questions we have not the means of answering. It is enough to know that, at the commencement of authentic history, there were such groups of families, more or less in number, distributed throughout Attica, claiming descent from the superhuman progenitors and autochthonous settlers of the land, and, as such, constituting the people of Attica. But it was not the simple union of the gentes that constituted the People; there was a combination of those gentes into larger bodies, and of these larger bodies into others still larger, through which the Body Politic was at last formed. For, besides the grouping of families into gentes, there was a grouping of gentes into Brotherhoods or Phratries; then, a further grouping of phratries into tribes; and finally, a grouping of the four tribes into one body—the people of Attica. According to the views of the ancient writers, thirty families constituted a gens, thirty gentes a phratry, and three phratries a tribe—making the whole people to consist of just ten thousand eight hundred families. But though supported by the authority of Aristotle, this proportion cannot rest on any solid basis, since the number of families must have been continually fluctuating.

But a mere mechanical division and combination of this

kind would soon have fallen to pieces, unless there had been connected with it that which gave a living coherence to the parts. This living principle was found in the social and religious nature of man, and it is interesting to notice how carefully these sentiments were cultivated. First, each family had its own sacred rites and ceremonies; these were celebrated by the head of the family alone, and none but members of the family were admitted to them. Next, each gens had peculiar religious festivals and ceremonies, wherein the common divine ancestor was worshiped and honored. Again, the twelve phratries, each by itself, celebrated an annual festival, called the Apaturia, (*ἀπατούρια*, from *ἀ*—*τοῦ*, *together*, and *τείρια*, *lineage*, or perhaps, *φρατρία*, *brotherhood*.) The Apaturia lasted three days. The first day was called the day of the feast, (*δόμεια*,) on which the phrators feasted together; the second day was called the day of the sacrifice, (*ἀνάγκης*,) on which sacrifice was offered to Zeus Phratorius and to Athene. The third day was the day of registration, called *κουρεῖταις*, (from *κοῦρος* or *κόρος*, a boy.) The feeling of ancestry was peculiarly strong among the Athenians. To preserve the purity of descent and the legitimacy of birth, was one of the most important cares of the gennets and phrators. Each newly married woman was to be introduced into the phratry of her husband, and each new-born child registered in the phratry of its father. The person who introduced the child had to swear to its legitimacy, and objection might be made to the proceeding, if any one thought there were sufficient grounds for doing so. An offering to Zeus Phratrius, and gifts to the phrators, ratified the solemn act. The introduction into the gens was more strictly of a private, domestic nature, and less is known of it. Moreover, all the four tribes were united together by the common worship of Apollo Patrous, since Apollo was the father of Ion, and from the four sons of Ion the four tribes traced their descent. Thus, through these social festivities and religious ceremonies were the several groups within the body politic—the gens, the phratry, and the tribe—united and bound together into one harmonious living whole. How strong these sentiments of fellowship and

family union became, is manifest from the fact that amidst all subsequent changes of the government the gens and the phratry remained, with all their social and religious rites, a living thing, as long as the Athenian people had a free, political existence.

But this social and religious constitution of the people, though of the utmost importance in ascertaining the citizenship and preserving its purity, and though diffusing its influence through every part of the civil administration, was not in itself sufficient for all the purposes of government. We come, then, to speak of another division, which had in view to facilitate the administration of state affairs.

Co-existent with the division of the *people* into gentes and phratries, we find a division of the *territory* of Attica into small districts or townships. There were forty-eight such districts called naukraries, (from the verb, *vaiw*, to dwell or inhabit,) and embracing such of the inhabitants as inhabited a given territory. This was the ultimate territorial division, and was like the division into townships among us. Each naukrary had its proper limits and its appropriate officers. In order to connect this territorial division with the social and religious divisions of the people into gentes and phratries, the naukraries were so arranged that twelve of them belonged to each tribe, and then within the tribe, four of these were arranged together, forming a larger territorial division, called the trittys, (or third part,) like a county composed of townships. In reality, therefore, the aggregate of the naukrars in the naukraries was the same as that of the gennets in the gentes. It was the same citizenship, but differently subdivided.

Before dismissing the subject of the subdivisions and aggregations of the people, we add two remarks. First, outside this citizenship of Attica, as we have explained it, there was a large population, partly of freemen and partly of slaves, and this outside body of people had its influence on subsequent history.

Secondly, within the citizenship itself, there was the greatest diversity of condition in life. This citizenship, dependent as it was on descent from the exalted and superhuman progeni-

tars of the country, was indeed a kind of aristocracy in itself, yet there were some gentes far more honored and venerated than the rest, and in the gentes some families of very superior wealth and power. Thus, as Grote says, "The Eumolpidæ and Kerykes, who supplied the hierophant and superintended the mysteries of the Eleusinian Demeter, and the Butadae, who furnished the priestess of Athene Polias, as well as the priest of Poseidon Erechtheus in the acropolis, seemed to have been reverenced above all the other gentes." Besides, there were families in the gentes, who were distinguished by great wealth and power. These families formed a class within the citizenship, and were distinguished by the name of Eupatrids. They were the nobles of the land, and constituted an oligarchy, which had the control of all matters, sacred and profane.

We are now prepared to consider the rulers by whom the administration of government was carried on. But, here, either the number of rulers was very small, or our knowledge is very limited. For, we know only the archons, the Areopagus, and the prytanes of the naucrarias.

The duties of the archons, which were both administrative and judicial, were classified and distributed. The first archon, called Eponymus, from giving his name to the year, or, simply, the archon, attended to disputes arising from the gentile and phratric relations. We have already seen that the estates of those who died without children went to the gens or phratry, and this would give rise to many controversies. Indeed, the question of citizenship and inheritances through these relations was an abundant source of litigation to the latest days of the democracy. In connection with this office, the first archon was the guardian of widows and orphans. The second archon, called basileus, or king archon, attended to disputes arising from religious matters, and had the charge of cases of homicide. The third archon, called the polemarch, led the forces in war, and had as his civil jurisdiction the disputes between citizens and non-citizens. The remaining six archons, called the thesmothetæ archons, presided over controversies between citizen and citizen in the ordinary affairs of life,—over everything except those just mentioned. Although called thesmothetæ, it is not to be un-

derstood that these archons were either lawgivers or administrators of laws, in the modern sense of the words. For there were at this time no written laws. They must have decided individual cases, either according to prevalent usages or the ordinary judgments of common sense.

The Senate of the Areopagus was one of the primitive institutions of Attica, the first establishment of which lies beyond the bounds of authentic history. It was at first, perhaps, a body of consultation, attending upon the kings, and afterwards upon the archons. Upon the establishment of the Solonian senate, its functions were limited, and it became a judicial body, a court rather than a senate. Both the archons and the senate were selected from the Eupatrids, and chosen by them. These magistracies extended their domain over the whole territory.

Each naucracy had its own local officer. He was called the prytanis of the naucracy, (*πρύτανης*, from *πρό*, *πρῶτος*) the first man of the naucracy, like the *select* man with us. It was through the naucraries that the public contributions were levied, and the military forces furnished.

We thus have before us, on the one hand, the body of citizens in Attica, as they existed at the commencement of authentic history, in 683 B. C.; and, on the other, the body of magistrates—archons, prytanes and senate—by whom the country was governed. At this time, be it observed, there was no civil code, nor any legislative body to enact laws. There was no commerce; even the Piræus was not yet settled. Athens was not extended much beyond the acropolis rock; the people, principally tillers of the soil and handicraftsmen, together with the nobler families, living in the country, on the Athenian plain, in Mesogea, on the seaboard, and the more mountainous tracts.

This state of things continued about two generations, (from 683 B. C. to 624 B. C.) when the first great step in advancement was taken. We refer to the introduction of written laws. When we consider that the entire religious and civil power in the land was in the hands of the wealthy nobles, and that the Areopagus and the archons, who were chosen from

and by the Eupatrids, exercised an entirely arbitrary authority over the prosperity and lives of the people, it will not seem strange that there should have been a vast amount of oppression, and that this should go on to increase until at length relief must come; if not given, it will be taken by force. Relief was conceded. Draco, one of the thesmothetæ archons for the year 624 B. C., was authorized to form a code of written laws, or rather, perhaps, we should say, to reduce existing laws to writing. It is probable, however, that he modified some of them; we know, at least, that he made modifications in the usages relating to homicide. Draco was the first lawgiver to discriminate the different kinds of homicide, to ordain different modes of trial, and to assign penalties according to different degrees of guilt. Hitherto all cases of homicide were tried before the Areopagus, and for some reasons unknown to us that court was compelled to condemn all who were proved to have committed the act. But Draco distinguished involuntary and excusable homicide from murder with malice prepense, and ordered accusations to be tried before different tribunals. Cases of involuntary homicide were tried in the Palladium, and those of excusable homicide in the Delphinium. The punishment for involuntary homicide was exile, and if one in exile should be charged with murder he was tried in a place near the seashore, called the Phreattys, he being considered impure, and, therefore, prohibited from entering the country. Sittings were held at the Prytaneum (Town House) to try inanimate objects, which had caused death without the intervention of human hands, and the object proved to have been thus instrumental of death was formally carried beyond the border. All other cases were tried before the Areopagus. It was obviously necessary to determine to what court any given case was to be assigned, and this was done by the king archon. Those cases, which were tried in the Palladium, the Delphinium, the Phreattys, and the Prytaneum were determined by a court composed of fifty-two judges, called the Ephetæ, and perhaps this same body sat also with the Areopagites. These regulations of Draco concerning homicide existed in the time of Demosthenes, though

most of his laws were repealed by Solon, and the rest had perished. By Aristotle, the laws of Draco were pronounced cruel and bloody, and ever since his time they have been made the symbol of whatever is harsh and severe in law. This character is doubtless correct. But it is little likely that Draco, chosen to give relief to the oppressed people, would, in reducing usages and ordinances to written laws, have made them more cruel; the cruelty must be attributed either to the barbarism of the age or the tyranny of the nobles. In the only case with which we are acquainted, the case of homicide, he made them more just and humane. Draco made no change in the government, introduced no new officers, nor in any way altered the institutions of the country. His great merit was that he took from the magistracy the power of arbitrary decision, and compelled them to administer justice according to well-defined, established, and written laws.

But written laws would only shield from the caprice of the individual ruler; the laws themselves were as cruel as ever, and the people were more and more oppressed, till, at length, they rose in resistance. At this juncture, the Eupatrids had the wisdom to yield, and made Solon arbiter to settle all differences. We come now to one of the most important eras in Athenian history. At this time, a radical change was made in the government, for, though it was still oligarchical, it was an oligarchy which had within itself the seeds of revolution. The foundations of the subsequent democracy were laid, though unconsciously, by Solon.

What Solon did, may be distributed under three heads: relief of the people from present oppression, and protection against a recurrence of such an evil; a remodeling of the Athenian Constitution of State; and a Civil Code.

I. **RELIEF OF THE PEOPLE.**—Solon entered upon his archonship in 594, B. C. thirty years after the time of Draco, and nearly a century from the commencement of authentic history in 683 B. C. At this time the Eupatrids owned most of the land in Attica, the remainder being distributed among small landholders. But their small farms were nearly all mortgaged to the wealthy nobles, and both small landholders and ten-

ants, who constituted the bulk of the population, were heavily in debt to them. According to the law of debtor and creditor, the owners of the mortgaged estates might at any moment be driven from them, and the debtors were liable to be sold into slavery. Many of the debtors had already been reduced to slavery, others had sold their children, and others still had gone into foreign lands. By a single measure, called the Seisachtheia, or shaking off of burdens, Solon canceled all contracts in which the debtor had pledged his own person as security, and annulled all existing mortgages. He also restored to freedom all who had been reduced to slavery, and repurchased in foreign lands many insolvents who had been sold as slaves; at the same time, he prohibited, for the future, contracts in which the person of the debtor should be pledged as security, and took from the father the power of selling his children into bondage. But as this measure would naturally impair the ability even of the middle class to pay *their* debts, Solon sought relief for them by a debasement of the coin, through which one hundred drachms of the new coinage contained no more silver than seventy-three of the old. He also restored the rights of citizenship to those who have suffered civil disfranchisement through the arbitrary decrees of the archons. These measures restored harmony between the Eupatrids and the people.

II. REMODELING OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE.—The remodeling which Solon affected was rather in the way of addition than of change. All the existing arrangements and institutions remained unaltered; the gentes and phratries, the naucrarias and trittyes, the four tribes, the archons and naukrars, and the Areopagus. Instead of tearing down the structure or making alterations in it, he added new parts, but in such way as not to mar the symmetry of the whole. What Solon added to the constitution of the state centered mainly in two things; in the enlargement of the field from which rulers might be selected, and in the introduction of popular suffrage. Hitherto, the archons and the naukrars, and the Areopagus, had been both taken from and elected by the nobility, the Eupatrids. Solon now made these offices accessible

to a larger class of citizens, and enlarged the electoral franchise so that their election was made by the vote of *all* the citizens. But he attained these ends only through a complicated system of checks and compensations. In order to compensate for limiting the *eligibility to office* to a small class of the wealthy, he made the *election to office* dependent on universal suffrage. In order to check the evils attendant upon an assembly of the people with universal suffrage, he instituted a senate of the wealthy to direct and control its deliberations. In order to restrain the rulers who were chosen, he subjects them to a trial, at the expiration of their office, by the assembly which elects them. And, finally, he balances the honors enjoyed by the wealthy in the way of office, by an extra amount of the burdens of society, in the way of taxation and public service ; and for this purpose, as well as to mark out definitely the classes from which the officers were to be taken, he makes a new division of the people. We have then to examine these three things introduced by Solon :

1. The division of the people into new classes ;
2. The popular assembly ; and,
3. The aristocratic senate.

1. *The Division of the People according to Property.*—It is obvious that the division of the people into naukraries, being a mere local division, could not furnish any satisfactory mode of defining the class from which the magistrates were to be taken. There would be no propriety in taking them from a particular locality. Nor would the division of the people into gentes, according to birth, do any better, since, so far as mere birth was concerned, every Athenian citizen was regarded as descended from a noble, heroic, superhuman progenitor. Nothing, then, remained but to make a new division founded on property. The thought of this might have been suggested by the somewhat indefinite distinction existing between the Eupatrids and the other citizens. For the Eupatrids were not more distinguished by descent from the more noble of the progenitors of the people than they were by the possession of great landed estates. Nothing in the growth of constitutions is arbitrary. We have said that Solon added to the Athenian constitution

rather than made changes in it, yet these additions were both suggested by and were in keeping with that which already existed.

In dividing the people into classes, according to property, Solon founded the division, not on capital, but on *income*, and he determined the income by measures of grain. 1. All whose income amounted to five hundred measures (medimni) of grain, or over, formed the first class, and were called Pentakosiomedimni. 2. All whose income was between three hundred and five hundred measures, formed the second class, and were called knights, as possessing enough property to keep a war-horse. 3. All whose income was between two and three hundred measures, formed the third class, and were called zengitæ, as possessing enough property to keep a yoke of cattle. 4. All whose income was under two hundred measures, formed the fourth class, and these constituted the large majority of the citizens. The members of this class were called *thetes*, not as being serfs, but as the actual tillers of the soil, either on their own small estates or as tenants.

This arrangement implies a valuation, and a registration of income, but how this was done we are not informed. Most of the property in Attica was in real estate, but still the income of personal property might have been included. It is to be remembered, also, that these new classes were formed entirely from the members of the four tribes. Solon did not enlarge the body of the citizens; he only made changes within it.

We have said that one object of this classification was to designate the bodies from which rulers and magistrates were to be elected. Thus, the archons and perhaps the naukrars were taken solely from the first class—the pentakosiomedimni, the five hundred measure men, the *millionaires*. From the same class, together with the knights and the zeugites, were elected the senate of four hundred. It is obvious that the government was still in the hands of the aristocratic classes. This classification was also the basis of taxation. The tax was laid on the income,—as they had no registration of capital,—but, since Solon sought to make the higher classes pay more in proportion to their income than the classes below them, the in-

come of the first class was multiplied by twelve, that of the second by ten, and that of the third by five, and the products of these multiplications formed the *taxable capital* on which the assessment was levied. Thus, the poorest pentakosiomedimnus, having an income of five hundred measures of grain, equivalent to five hundred drachms, and a taxable capital of six thousand drachms, would pay, on a tax of one *per centum*, sixty drachms; the poorest knight, with an income of three hundred drachms, and a taxable capital of three thousand drachms, would pay thirty drachms, and the poorest zengite, with an income of two hundred drachms and a taxable capital of one thousand drachms, would pay ten drachms, whereas, in an equal apportionment, the knights would have paid thirty-six drachms instead of thirty, and the zengite twenty-four instead of ten; or, on that taxable capital in which the third class pays ten drachms, the second pays twenty, and the first twenty-four drachms. The fourth class was exempt from taxation, and this class comprised the large majority of the citizens. But direct taxation was not frequent, most of the revenue being derived from customs. The direct tax was mostly a war tax. Besides the taxes, the higher classes had the additional burden of furnishing the principal troops, for, in a military expedition, the second class furnished the cavalry, the third the heavy armed troops, while the fourth supplied only the light armed, though this difference might be regarded as an honor rather than a burden. But, on the whole, while the rich receive the honors, they bear the burdens. They pay full price, yet the price is equitably graduated according to the honors received. Property qualification for office is not unknown among us, but it points to no well defined class of citizens; the Solonian classification, on the contrary, marks out an honorary class, and gives a distinct rank—a recognized position in society. This great and recognized distinction between the rich and the poor, by which the rich enjoyed the honors of government and bore the chief burdens of society, while the poor had only the power of electing to office, is worthy of special notice as having a great influence in the development of the Athenian state.

2. *The Popular Assembly.*—This assembly was called, according to Grote, the Heliæa, (*ἡλιαία* from ἡλίς *thronged, crowded.*) It was composed of all the citizens of the four tribes at the least; Grote is of opinion that “all persons not included in the four tribes, whatever their grade or fortune might be, were on the same level in respect to political privileges as the fourth and poorest class of the Solonian census.” There does not appear, however, to be any positive proof of this. Indeed, Mr. Grote seems to be somewhat forgetful upon this point. For he afterwards says, in speaking of the changes made by Kleisthenes, that “both before and since Solon,” “none of the residents in Attica, except those included in some gens or phratry, had any part in the political franchise.”—(Vol. iv, chap. 31.) This assembly was not a *representative* assembly; all the citizens of Attica were obliged to be present in person at the meetings, if they would exercise the privileges of assembly men. This always continued to be the case. The idea of a *representative* democracy never developed itself in Greece. The privileges of this assembly were, first, to elect by vote of hand all the magistrates, the archons, the naukrars, and the senate of four hundred, but as already said, to elect them from the higher classes. The second privilege was of a judicial character. The archons and magistrates, after their year of office had expired, were accountable to the heliæa for the manner in which they had performed their magisterial duties. There may have been a sort of scrutiny before this in the hands of the Eupatrids which paved the way for this power conferred upon the people, but it was a novel thing in the Grecian world to make the oligarchical Eupatrids responsible for their conduct “to the *rabble* of freemen,” as they would view it. The election and trial of the magistrates was the first step towards the Grecian democracy; it was a revolution in the oligarchies and despotisms which then prevailed in Greece. The scrutiny and trial of all magistrates after the expiration of their office became one of the most characteristic features of the Athenian democracy, though in its full development it brought with it many evils. The American democracies have only the slow and tedious method of impeach-

ment, borrowed from the English practice; it is worthy of consideration whether we ought not to have a more expeditious mode of dealing with magistrates—especially with those connected with elections, who often use the power entrusted to them in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner.

3. *The Senate of Four Hundred.*—The senate was composed of four hundred members, one hundred from each tribe, elected by the *Heliaea*, and from the higher classes. Solon established this body as a check upon the assembly. It prepared the business which was to be brought before it, and nothing could come before this body which had not been passed upon by the senate. The senate subsequently suffered changes, but it is sufficient to draw attention to it here as the oligarchical counterbalance of the popular assembly.

Such are the additions which Solon made to the absolute oligarchy of Attica. Demosthenes and the orators of his day called him the friend of the people,—*δημοκράτης*,—but Solon was no democrat. He says of himself, “that he stood between the people and the wealthy, and cast a strong shield over both, and permitted neither to prevail over the other unjustly.” Aristotle says that Solon gave to the people the power which was necessary for them—“to elect and try the magistrates, since without this, the people would be slaves and enemies to the state.” But, though no democrat, Solon laid the foundation of the democracy; in giving the people authority “to elect and try magistrates,” he put a power in their hands, which in the end gave them everything.

III. A CIVIL CODE.—This code which was adopted in mass, became the common law of Attica for all the subsequent ages. We cannot go into detail. It is sufficient to say that in his laws, Solon displayed the same superiority to his age, and the same comprehensive foresight as in his institutions of state. We notice especially the favor which he extended to the useful arts, handicrafts and trades. Hitherto in Attica, and generally in Greece, arms, athletic exercises, and agriculture had been regarded as the only *manly* employments. The occupations of the workshop and trade had been held in little esteem, as befitting only slaves. But Solon, by special

laws, gave encouragement to the town population, who were chiefly engaged in these pursuits, and thus became the founder of the Athenian commerce, while the town population, though without any intention on his part, became the principal agents of converting the constitution, as Solon left it—a limited oligarchy—into a pure democracy.

Whether we regard Solon as pacifier, reconciling by bold and decisive measures the two hostile and angry parties into which the country had come to be divided, or as the founder of a state bringing about with far-sighted sagacity, far beyond his age, a peaceful revolution, and establishing institutions which laid the foundation of Athenian prosperity, or as law-giver, building up a body of laws, which outlasted all the vicissitudes of the state, until the state ceased to exist, we must regard him not only as one of the seven wise men of Greece, but as one of the greatest statesmen of any country.

The institutions of Solon remained unchanged for one generation, (594–560 B. C.) and were succeeded by the despotism of Peisistratus. The despotism of Peisistratus and his family lasted fifty years, (560–510 B. C.) It does not appear, however, that Peisistratus made any important change in these institutions. The despotism of Peisistratus was followed by the democracy introduced by Kleisthenes. We proceed to that important era in the constitutional history of Attica.

The nature of the revolution, for it was a revolution, brought about by Kleisthenes, is indicated by a single expression of Herodotus: “Kleisthenes made friends of the people,”—*τροστραψίζειν*. What Kleisthenes did may be arranged under three heads. He enlarged the citizenship, so as to make it comprehend a great portion of the inhabitants of Attica; he gave a greatly increased political power to the senate and the assembly; and he enlarged the eligibility to office.

1. *With respect to Citizenship.*—We have already seen that the political history of Attica commenced—limiting ourselves to the beginning of authentic history, in 683, B. C.—with a clearly determined body of citizens, arranged in gentes and phratries, and collected into tribes, and all descended, as they held, from heroic, superhuman progenitors, or perhaps we

should say, we found them then in existence. That body still exists. Neither Draco nor Solon changed the boundaries which confined it to the descendants of the primitive legendary *origines* of the country. The only change had been in its enlargement, from the natural increase of the families. But even at the first, the tribes did not embrace all the inhabitants of Attica, and the number outside these limits had been continually increasing, especially since the time of Solon, whose laws, as we have seen, tended to encourage emigration into the country, and to increase the town population. Not unlikely this outside population was in a majority. Now, the great thing which Kleisthenes did was to *enlarge the body of citizens*—to extend the bounds of citizenship. This he did—not by intruding new families, unconnected by birth, into the gentes, which the feeling of family relationship would repudiate,—not by forming new gentes, which would have introduced foreign bodies into the phratries,—not by adding new tribes formed on different principles, to the ancient and venerable Ionic tribes,—but by redistricting the country into townships, (*δήμοι*, boroughs, wards,) and then arranging them into tribes. And here we may notice an instance of practical sagacity; continuous townships were not placed, as a general thing, in the same tribe. Thus, the wards Melite, Kollytus, Kydatheneon, Kerameis, and Skambonidæ, which were situated in Athens, belonged to different tribes, thus preventing local rivalries, between city and country, and tribe and tribe. These townships and tribes may be compared with our towns and counties, though the townships were much smaller than with us. This new arrangement involved some changes in the existing one. Thus, there would be no longer need of the naukraries, which was also a local division of the territory, so that, if not formally abolished, they went out of use, and the demes took their place. The four Ionic tribes were abolished, though the gentes and phratries remained, with all their rights and usages. This division of the country was simply an application of the principle on which the country had been divided into naukraries, to the changed circumstances of the state. The members of these townships consisted of all the native born citizens residing

within their bounds, together with some resident foreigners and some even slaves. At least, Herodotus asserts that among those enrolled as demots were metics and slaves, that is, perhaps, slaves who had been freed. It is supposed there were about one hundred and seventy-four townships. These townships were arranged into ten tribes, and these tribes contained the whole body of Athenian citizens—the great Athenian Demos. If we compare this body of citizens with that which existed at the commencement, and which had continued to exist through the subsequent times, we shall find the most marked distinctions, both in the principles on which they were formed and in the spirit which animated them. The old Athenian traced his family through numerous human generations, to heroes and demigods, and through this connection alone became an Athenian citizen. The Athenian of to-day avouched no such claim. He was merely born on the soil, and free-born. It is true, there were some foreign residents and some slaves, if we take the language of Herodotus in its strict sense, who were counted as citizens. But this was merely a piece of good fortune—that they chanced to be on the soil at the time the classification was made. For, when once completed, the classification admitted by virtue of its own powers, only the descendants of those first enrolled and arranged in the ten tribes. The old citizenship was founded on descent from heroic, superhuman ancestors; the new, on birth on the scil, with the exceptions above mentioned. But both, when they were once formed, grew normally only by natural increase. No person outside these lines of descent could become a citizen, except by adoption or special vote. At this point the constitutional history of Attica takes a new start—with its citizenship formed anew, on more expansive principles, and embracing, with the exception of the slaves, nearly the whole existing population of the country.

The ultimate divisions of the people for the purposes of government was the township or deme. Each deme had a chief ruler, (Demarch,) a register of members, (of Demots,) a keeper of the register, to whom application for enrollment was made, (a Lexiarch,) property, and common religious rites and ceremonies. It could levy and collect taxes; in short, it could do

much of that which is now done in our towns and cities. The enrollment of the Demots, or members of the deme—making electors—was guarded with great care. It was done at a meeting of the deme, not of a small body of selectmen, and the sons must have attained the age of eighteen. Adopted sons were enrolled in the same way, though it was necessary for the adopting parent to authenticate the fact of adoption by oath. It was said, however, there was some cheating in making “naturalized citizens.” Wealthy non-freemen would get enrolled in the poorer demes on fictitious papers of adoption. But then these fraudulent members might be rejected by a vote of the deme, although in all cases of rejection there was an appeal to the courts. It was on an appeal of this kind that Demosthenes delivered his oration against Eubulides in behalf of Euxitheus, who charged him with wrongfully causing his ejection from the citizenship. This ejection was caused in a way which those acquainted with modern politics can easily understand. A law had been passed to purge the registers of the demes of all names that had been wrongfully enrolled. The deme Halimusium had a meeting for this purpose, over which Eubulides presided. There were seventy-three demots to be put on oath as to their citizenship. But Eubulides, instead of hastening matters, took up most of the time himself in long speeches, so that it was dark when Euxitheus, who was the sixtieth on the list, was called. Most of the older demots had gone home into the country, for this deme was thirty-five stadia from the city.* Not more than thirty remained, and these partisans of Eubulides. As soon as Euxitheus was called, Eubulides began at once a severe attack upon him. Euxitheus demanded an adjournment, but this was refused. The vote was taken, and he was ejected from the citizenship. Sixty votes were found against him, though there were present only thirty voters. The Eubulidæ seem to have been a political family of the modern stamp. For the orator informs us that the father of Eubulides had destroyed the register of the deme, and in the construction of a new one managed to ex-

* The meetings of the demes were held in the city of Athens.

clude a number of the demots. We have dwelt a little upon this oration of Demosthenes, as it furnishes much information on the general subject.

In imitation of the old system, in which each gens, phratry, and tribe had religious rites and festivals peculiar to itself, these new tribes had each its chapel, its rites and festivals, its common fund for these purposes ; and the festivals were held in honor of their eponymous heroes, whose statues were placed in the most conspicuous places in the agora.

2. *The Political Power of the Assembly and Senate.*—The assembly, now called the *ekklesia*, was composed of the whole body of citizens ; the senate, of five hundred citizens, fifty from each tribe. The relation of these bodies to one another was peculiar, though similar bodies with us have somewhat that resembles it. The assembly was a purely popular body. The people themselves, not their representatives, met in assembly. The demots, however remote they might be from Athens, must be present in person, if present at all. It is a little singular that in the early times of the colony of Connecticut, a similar custom prevailed. The electors of the whole colony were obliged to go to Hartford to cast their votes. Subsequently to this, the votes were sent by a messenger, the names of those voting being authenticated by a registry kept at the capital. At length the townships were made into voting districts, and the votes were cast in them. It is worthy of notice how little of pure democracy exists with us. Town-meetings are almost, if not the only popular assemblies for the transaction of public business. All other meetings of the people are to choose persons to *represent* them, and every legislative assembly is a representative one. Indeed, the election of representatives and of magistrates has come to be the test of democracy. It was quite otherwise at Athens. The Athenians knew nothing of representative bodies. Every Athenian citizen was a member of the legislature ; he not only helped to elect rulers, but also to transact public business. The people met together in assembly to make statutes, to receive ambassadors, to negotiate treaties of peace, to declare war, and the like. This power they delegated to no representative. Be-

sides, the suffrage which the assembly exercised was almost universal suffrage. This is the one great distinction between Athenian and American democracy; the one is the direct rule of the people themselves, the other is the rule of representatives of the people.

The senate, though drafted from the tribes, neither represented the tribes nor the body of the people. It was a counsellor to the people themselves convened in assembly, rather than a representative of them. Neither was it an oligarchical body, acting as a check upon the people in favor of the wealthy. Such was the office of the Solonian senate, where the members were taken from the higher classes, to protect their interests against the encroachments of the lower class. The new senate is selected from the tribes by lot—at least, this is the opinion of Grote—and, with reference to classes among the citizens, differs not from the assembly. The senate, as now constituted, is like a committee, preparing business for the assembly. Both these bodies, the senate and the assembly, are more numerous than the corresponding bodies established by Solon, and have more of the popular element; but it is not on these grounds merely that their increased power depends. We explain. Hitherto, the assembly—the *Heliaea*—had met but a few times in the year; under the Peisistratidæ, scarce ever. But a popular assembly, meeting so rarely, is stripped of all its force in contending against a closely compacted oligarchy. Hence, Kleisthenes ordained that the *Ekklesia* should meet ten times in the year; at a later period these meetings were increased to forty. When we consider that this was the only legislative assembly in Attica, and that it continued in session but a single day, ten days, or even forty, will not seem a large number. The Connecticut Legislature has but one session a year, but then the session continues forty, fifty, or sixty days. The senate met daily, with the exception of holy days, but as the holy days were not more in number than the Christian Sabbaths, we may make use of the modern expression, and say that the senate met daily. But not the whole five hundred. The year was divided into ten parts—say for the sake of convenience—of thirty-five days each.

The senate, also, was divided into ten parts of fifty each, or, rather, was already divided, by being made up of fifty senators from each of the ten tribes. Now, the senators of each tribe took their turn, which was determined by lot, in performing these daily senatorial duties, during each of the ten portions into which the year was divided. Each of these portions was called a prytany, (presidency;) the tribe which furnished the senators for the prytany was called the prytanizing (presiding) tribe, and the senators prytanees, (presidents.) During their term of office, the prytanees dined in the prytaneum, (town house.) (*πρύτανεια, πρύτανος, πρύτανειον*, are all derived ultimately from *πρῶτος*, *πρώτος*, denoting the being first.) To the fifty senators from the presiding tribes was added one senator from each of the remaining nine tribes, so that the daily sessions of the senate consisted of fifty-nine members, though the other senators might be present, if they choose. But there was a further division still. Each prytany was divided into five parts—say of seven days each—and the fifty prytanees into five corresponding parts of ten each, and this ultimate division of ten was the working body of the senate. One of these committees, as they might be called, presided over the senate during each of these seven-day divisions, but chose each day, by lot, from themselves, a chairman, called the Epistates, “who kept the keys of the acropolis and the treasury, together with the city seal.” The senate performed two functions: it had under its control a wide extent of administrative duties, and it prepared the business which was to come before the assembly. For these administrative duties, this council of ten, living together in the prytaneum, and always at hand, would be a committee of safety for the state, while they would facilitate business in the assembly. Indeed, the relation of this body to the assembly is very peculiar. The assembly had no presiding officer from its own body, nor could it of itself proceed to business. All these procedures were under the control of the committee of the senate, whose chairman or Epistates presided. Nor after the assembly was properly organized, could it proceed to any matter of business which had not been passed upon by the

senate. It could originate no measures. It had no means of calling itself together on extraordinary occasions; this could be done only by the senate or the generals. But as all the business of the assembly must have first passed before the senate, it is important to inquire how business was brought before that body. Any senator could, of course, propose any measure on his own responsibility. But, besides, any citizen might petition for liberty to propose any matter he pleased to the consideration of that body, and, in this way, almost every subject might be brought before the assembly.

Such, then, was the popular assembly, with its constant attendant, the deliberative and guiding senate; or, perhaps, we should rather call it, its permanent committee of counsel. This would be the proper place to speak of the popular judiciary. The Greek idea of democracy was that every political right and privilege should be *common* to the citizens, without the intervention of any representative body. Hence, as every citizen was a legislator, so, in the full development of the democracy, every citizen might become a judge. But the peculiar judicial system of the Athenians can be treated of more conveniently when viewed in its state of maturity. It is sufficient to say here, that the foundations of the system were laid by Kleisthenes.

3. *Eligibility to Office.*—It remains now to see how far the eligibility to office was made common to the citizens. With great sagacity Kleisthenes left the old offices pretty much as he found them. The senate of the Areopagus was unchanged, the number being annually recruited from the archons who had finished their term of office. The venerable office of archon itself was still limited to the higher classes of the Solonian classification, although the archons might now be selected from the three first classes, instead of the first only.

But while the oligarchical element was left in this respect not much weakened, in the abolition of the Solonian senate, it suffered a heavy blow. Besides, Kleisthenes took the occasion of his new arrangement of the tribes to introduce several new offices, the incumbents of which were all taken indiscriminately from the tribes, a certain number from each. Thus he

established ten new officers over financial affairs, called receivers, (*ἀποδέκται*,) and ten generals, (*στρατήγοι*,) or army leaders to conduct in connection with the polemarch archon the affairs of war, together with two hipparchs to command the knights. Moreover, the army was taken equally from the ten tribes, while each tribe had its own officers, the taxiarch for the hoplites, and the phylarch for the horsemen. All these officers, as well as the members of the new senate, were taken from the people at large in the ten tribes. This enlargement of the eligibility to office was a great step in the advancement of democracy.

Such, then, was the Kleisthenian constitution, which at once gave a new impulse to the Athenian people, and developed a political sagacity and energy which had never before been exhibited by them. Herodotus recognizes this fact. "Hitherto," he says, "the Athenians had not been superior to others, but now they became by far the first of the Greeks." He also explains the real grounds of the change. "While held down under restraint, they were slack, as if working for a master, but becoming free, each one was eager to achieve something, *himself for himself!*" (*αὐτὸς ἔκαστος ἐπεργάζεται*.) "Equality," he adds, "is an earnest thing." Each Athenian felt the country to be his—the sacrifices and labors he endured for her he underwent for himself. He not only rejoiced in the possession of rights and franchises, and in the ability of self-protection, but he recognized the duty of laboring and suffering for the country of which he was now an essential part. This is the spirit of a genuine democracy. So long as this lasts, democracy is safe, for it has its foundation laid in the best feelings of the heart; but when the whole duty comes to consist in voting for officers and rulers, and civil life is viewed as a mere matter of enjoyment, the very principles of its existence are corrupted. It is a little remarkable that the Spartans foresaw this very result of the Athenian democracy, as Herodotus informs us, that "being free the Attic race would become as strong as themselves, but kept down by tyranny would be weak and obedient"—and, on the strength of this fear, summoned an assembly of their confederates to concert measures against them.

The Kleisthenian revolution inaugurated a new era in the history of Athens. Within the next one hundred years, (from 500 to 404 B. C.,) were fought the battles of Marathon, Artemisium, Salamis, Platea, Mycale; within this period grew up first the Athenian headship of the Ionic Greeks, and then the Athenian empire; within this period was the brilliant age of Pericles; within this, too, the Peloponnesian war, the downfall of the Athenian empire, the destruction of her navy, and the overthrow of her fortifications and walls, making this century altogether the most brilliant and, at the same time, the most painful, we may perhaps say, in all history. The whole of it—the brilliant opening—the glorious maturity—the disastrous termination was due to the Athenian democracy—the glory to its energy and self-denial, the downfall to the envy and fear its success had aroused in other Grecian states.

The Kleisthenian constitution of the state was the beginning of the Athenian democracy, not its perfection. Indeed, it came to be considered in later times as not much better than an oligarchy. The idea to which henceforth the Athenian mind was tending, was that of a perfect and actual community on the part of every citizen in legislation, in the judiciary, and in the administration of the government. Not only was every citizen to be a legislator, actually himself performing the duties of legislation in the assembly, but every citizen was to be a judge, every citizen a magistrate, and this not potentially, as electing judges and magistrates, but actually, as far as the nature of the case permitted, by exercising the office of judge and magistrate. We now proceed to point out the measures by which this perfect community—this making everything of a civil nature *common* to each citizen—was accomplished. These measures were the extension of the eligibility to office, to all the citizens, and the equalization of the chance of actually obtaining office by the use of the lot. They were introduced about midway between the time of Kleisthenes and the period of the administration of Pericles, and were the only changes made within that interval. The first of these measures at least may boast of Aristeides as its author. We now proceed to explain them.

1. *The Extension of the Eligibility to Office.*—It has been remarked already that the Athenian policy tended not to abolish old institutions, but to build the new into them, thus preserving the continuity of life in the state, and securing growth without impairing the parent stock—in this way both conserving and at the same time improving. Thus, the honor of the archonship and the Areopagus was limited by Solon to the small number of citizens contained in his first class—to the few richest men in the State; it was extended by Kleisthenes to the members of the three first classes of the Solonian classification, which, however, still limited it to a comparatively small number. This continued through the Persian wars. The archonship, and the Areopagus, the members of which were taken from the past archons, were the oligarchical powers in the state. But the time had come to eliminate this oligarchical element, by making the honor of the archonship and the Areopagus common to all the citizens. It will be well to look at the circumstances under which this change took place. The Persian war had ended. In that war every Athenian had taken a part. The citizens were now returning from exile. They found the city almost ruined; houses burnt, the land laid waste, and the fortifications destroyed. All went to work, men, women and even children, in one common spirit, to build walls, to fortify the harbor, and to restore the city. It seemed proper under these circumstances that all the honors of the state should be open in common to all the citizens, and it was Aristeides, no democrat, who proposed this measure, and he proposed it as a thing simply just and fair. This was a great change. It made the existing constitution of state essentially democratic. Thus, as all the citizens were already *legislators*, so now they became all *magistrates*.

2. *The Selection of Magistrates by Lot.*—We speak of this subject here, because the lot was introduced either in immediate connexion with the above-mentioned change in the archonship, or not long after; probably somewhat later.

The selection of magistrates by lot is not a thing that is of necessity demanded by the principles of a pure democracy. It is enough that magistrates be elected by the vote of all the

citizens. The lot arises out of a feeling which, though connected with, is distinct from the principle of democracy, we mean the sentiment of equality which is gratified in proportion as the equality of rights is made to become an equality of position. Thus, though the archonship was opened to all the citizens, and any one might be elected to the office, yet it was found that the old and wealthy families, either from traditional respect or from their wealth, had an advantage over the other citizens, and practically, the honor was as much limited as before. Now, it was the object of the lot to give the poor an equal chance for the office with the rich, and thus place both rich and poor on an actual equality, in this respect. The sentiment of "liberty, equality, and fraternity," was peculiarly strong at Athens, at this juncture. All the citizens together, the poor as well as the rich, had left their country and embarked on board her "wooden walls," rather than submit to the Persian. All had suffered in the contest—all, on their return from exile, had labored together. Besides, the democratic feeling had now become very powerful. The revolution effected by Themistocles, through which Attica became a maritime power, the success of her navy in the Persian war, the extension of commerce, and the founding of the new harbor town of the Piraeus, all these tended to produce a new and more enterprising spirit in a portion of the people, and to make them somewhat antagonistic to the old order of things. It is, indeed, not strange that "the sailor folk" of the Piraeus, (as Aristotle calls them,*) who had conquered at Salamis, and made the state so powerful, should be not unwilling to see the new men of the harbor put upon a level with the old families of the city.

This matter of the lot has been found much fault with. Socrates compared it to the case of mariners choosing their steersman by lot. We will not defend this use of the lot, but it may be well to look at the case just as it was. In the first place, the most important offices, as that of the generals,

* "δι ναυτικὸς δῆμος." δῆμος=Aeolic δῆλος. Cret. πόλης. Compare Lat. *vulgo*—*us*, (Vulgaris,) Germ. *volk*, Ang. *folk*.

were not exposed to the lot; the people did not choose their steersmen in this way. In the next place, the lot was limited to those who had offered themselves as candidates, and finally each of these candidates must undergo a previous examination (*aváxpis*) as to their qualifications, and any not qualified might be excluded. With these precautions, are there not places in our own country where we should stand an equal chance for good magistrates by the lot, as by the present mode of stuffed ballot-boxes and counterfeit voters—provided there should be no cheating in drawing the lot?

We have thus far traced the history of the legislative and administrative departments of government, from their rude beginnings to their perfect development according to the Athenian ideal of a pure democracy. Now, every citizen is literally a legislator, every citizen virtually a magistrate. It remains to examine the judicial department of government. This brings us to the age of Pericles, and a consideration of the changes wrought by him will finish our view of the constitutional history of Athens.

We find now, for the first time, distinct political parties within the democracy itself, and the questions at issue between them are the questions of conservatism and progress. The Kleisthenian constitution has grown to be a venerable institution. The old families, the rural population, the wealthy and noble, gather around it to resist any further changes. On the other hand, the democrats of the Piraeus and the new men, the *novi homines*, of the old city, declare it to be no better than an oligarchy. The conservative party was headed by Kimon; the party of progress, by Pericles. The judicial power vested in the archons, the Areopagus, and the senate of five hundred was the great point in dispute. Hitherto these bodies had exercised all the judicial powers of the state, and they had combined with them executive and administrative powers. The archon, for example, condemned the accused as judge, and as sheriff inflicted the punishment. He passed a decree in civil cases of debt, and as constable collected the judgment. He inflicted a fine as city magistrate, and as policeman exacted the payment. As judge, there was no

appeal from his decision; as sheriff, constable, policeman, there was no judge to control him. The separation of the judicial and administrative functions would now be regarded as a great improvement, and it probably was so then. But why take from the archonships and the Areopagus the judicial function, instead of the administrative? For two reasons. In these bodies lay the main strength of the conservatives. Around these clustered all the old feelings of family, and in them were centered whatever was left of the elements of oligarchy. Again, the archons did most of the judicial business, and they were only nine in number. But the growing democratic sentiment demanded a more numerous and popular body. This small, compact body of men were in the possession of too much power; that power, they claimed, ought to be distributed among a much larger body of the citizens. It was, then, primarily about the archonship, and secondarily about the Areopagus, as made up of past archons, that the contest was mainly carried on. With great sagacity, Pericles, instead of attempting to overthrow these ancient bodies, proposed an entirely new system of judicial proceedings, which, in its necessary operation, should strip them of their judicial power. In this he was successful, but how bitter the contest was is manifest from the fact that Ephialtes, who was joint-leader with him in this measure, suffered assassination at the hands of a Boeotian, in the service of his enemies. The senate in being deprived of its judicial functions probably suffered no harm, but the new system inflicted a heavy blow upon the power and dignity of the venerable Areopagus, though it still retained its ancient office of trying cases of homicide. But the fate of the archon was peculiarly hard; at first a king in everything but the name, next the chief ruler in the oligarchy, then the supreme judge and magistrate in the democracy, then stripped of this exclusive privilege and put on a level with other citizens, till at last this ancient and venerable officer sinks down into a petty-attorney to prepare cases for the new courts, and a city policeman.

We turn now to describe, though briefly, this new democratic judiciary. The system was this. Six thousand citizens

were chosen from the whole body, six hundred from each tribe, as jurors or judges, for the year. One thousand of these were set aside to supply vacancies, the remainder were divided into ten parts of five hundred each, and each part constituted a court. There were, then, ten courts—equal to one from a tribe—of five hundred members each, who held the office for a year. These courts were all on an equality; there was no appeal from one to another. They had not separate jurisdiction over particular departments of law; any case could be brought before any one of them. The members of this court were not taken from the legal profession, for there were none such at Athens; they were not jurors, for they decided upon both law and fact, without a presiding judge to expound the law; they were not arbitrators, for they were to decide according to the law, and besides, there was a public body of arbitrators in addition to the dicasts; they were simply a body of citizens who were to employ a sound common sense in the interpretation of the laws, and in their application to the facts in the cases that came before them. The system is a peculiar one, and can only be partially illustrated by modern practices.

It will serve to explain the character of these courts to point out the manner in which cases were introduced and conducted before them. Any person who would bring a charge against another, or any plaintiff in a civil case, must first of all bring the matter before an archon. The archon, on receiving the complaint, inquired into the facts, as a grand juror, fixed the day for trial, and then chose, or caused to be chosen, by lot, some one of the ten courts before whom the case should be tried. The body of *dikasts* constituting a court, and the place in which the court was held, were called by the same name—*dikasterion*. There were ten such *dikasteries* where the courts were held. These were painted with distinctive colors, and had one of the ten letters of the alphabet inscribed over the doorway. The *dikasts* who were chosen by the lot to try the case, received each a staff of a color and with a letter on it corresponding to the color and letter of the *dikastery* where they were to hold the court. The archon presided at

the trial, laid before the court the result of his own investigations, and directed the whole proceedings, but without any judicial authority to declare the law or decide the case. It would seem, on the whole, that the courts of Athens as established by Pericles were simply popular jury courts, peculiar and unlike anything existing in our times. The large number of the dicasts, and the fact that it was not known till the lot was drawn what particular court should try any given case, guarded it sufficiently well against fraud, but not against the undue influence of appeals to passion and prejudice. Mr. Grote is of opinion that whatever praise can be given to the jury trial, may be given to the trial before the *dikastery*; but he neglects to consider these very important differences—that the modern jury receives the law of the case from a professional judge, and is more or less controlled by him, as to the view which is to be taken of the facts. Such is a general account of the popular judicatories instituted by Pericles. To this it is to be added that the six thousand judges were chosen by lot, so that every citizen had an equal chance of obtaining the *jndgeship*.

We have now before us the Athenian democracy in its completely developed state, with each department, the legislative, judicial, and administrative, popularized to the greatest possible extent. This grand characteristic stands forth prominent. Each citizen has an equal chance, as far as it is possible in the nature of things, in the offices and honors of the state. Each citizen is legislator, judge, magistrate. There is an actual community in all the great departments of state affairs.

But a pure and absolute democracy must have checks, in order to its safe working. These checks were furnished, not by excluding the dangerous classes from political privileges, as we have seen, but by setting one portion of the people to watch, as it were, the rest. Thus, with respect to magistrates, senators, and generally all officers chosen, whether by vote or lot, they were liable to an examination (*δοκασία*) as to their fitness for the office they were chosen to fill, and at the end of the office to a scrutiny (*εὐθύνη*) as to the manner in which they had conducted themselves in it. The *dikasts* seem not to have been

subjected to this scrutiny, and to have been more independent of checks than any other public body. But the heart of the Athenian system was the assembly, the *ekklesia*, where the mighty *Demos* ruled supreme. No other such legislative body ever existed. Its members might amount to twenty thousand, though probably not more than six thousand usually assembled. That a legislature, to use a modern phrase, composed of such an enormous number of members, before which every possible question of foreign and domestic policy was to be discussed and settled, needed checks against hasty action, is too obvious to require discussion. Accordingly, we find Pericles, notwithstanding the extension he had given to the democracy in the establishment of the popular *dikaasteries*, erecting barriers against the evils incident to so large an assembly. In explaining these checks against hasty legislation, it is necessary to distinguish between general and permanent ordinances,—laws, (*νόμοι*), and decrees in individual cases of private interests or public policy—*psephisms*, (*πέσφισματα*) which continued in force only one year. The propositions which were proposed to the assembly, and which were adopted, fell under the one or the other of these two classes. With respect to the enactment of laws, the process was as follows: it was the duty of the *Thesmothetæ* archons to make an annual examination of the laws, in order to discover if there were any contradictory laws on the same subjects. It was a revision of the laws, such as takes place with us, only it was done every year, instead of at irregular intervals. The archons reported the results of their revision to the assembly, which devoted a particular session to the subject; namely, the first meeting of the year. The laws were then passed upon individually, and were either approved or rejected. Besides this, any citizen might propose a new law to the assembly, having first carried it through the Senate of Five Hundred. If the people thought these proposed laws or the laws which the archons reported for rejection worthy of farther attention, they deferred the matter to the third assembly of the year; that is, the third of the first prytany. Meanwhile, a copy of the proposed laws was put up before the statues of the Eponymous heroes, which stood in front of the

council-chamber. At the third meeting, a large number of citizens were selected by lot from the *dikasts*, as a court before which the laws reported for rejection and the laws proposed to be adopted were to be tried. The members of this court were called *nomothetæ*, law-makers. At the same time, six advocates (*syndics*) were appointed to defend the laws which it was proposed to abrogate, while any one who had proposed their repeal might attack them. In the same way, too, the proposer of a new law might appear before the court to advocate it, while it might be opposed by any citizen. The action of the *nomothetæ* was final; nothing could become a law which did not have their sanction, nor could any law be repealed without it. Although the *nomothetæ* in the manner of their proceedings appear as a court, they were in fact a large popular assembly, consisting of five hundred or a thousand members, so that for the repeal or enactment of laws there were three distinct steps to be taken; first, the business was to be prepared and put into shape by what may be regarded as equivalent to a legislative committee with us, namely, either the six archons or the forty-nine senators of any given *prytany*, or, more probably, the still smaller body of ten; secondly, the matter thus prepared must come before the assembly, where it is either rejected or is declared to be worthy of more careful consideration; and then, finally, in this latter case, it is brought before another smaller but still popular assembly for thorough discussion and decision. And it deserves to be remarked, that Athenian *laws*, as distinct from decrees or *psephisms*, were distinguished for their stability. The civil code of Solon, if we may so call it, lasted without much change to the end of the democracy.—In attributing the institution of the *nomothetæ* to Pericles, we have followed Grote, although we acknowledge that in its character it seems to us to be more like Solon than Pericles.

With respect to those resolutions of the assembly, which were to continue in force but a year, and which related to what might be called matters of state policy, the only check was a writ which might be brought against the proposer of any *psephism*, for proposing things contrary to the laws, or against the

psephism itself. It was called the *graphe paranomon*. It was the policy of the Athenians to guard against the abrogation of the ancient laws, by the hasty and inconsiderate enactment of new laws. We have just mentioned the process by which this was accomplished. But a law might also be abrogated by a psephism, at least for a year, and by yearly repeating the psephism, it might be substantially repealed. The original design of the *graphe paranomon* was to prevent the *indirect* abrogation of the laws. The reference of any questioned psephism to a *dikastery* placed the passage of a psephism nearly on the same ground as the enactment of a law. For the matter of the psephism must first pass the senate, and then go through the assembly, and then it might be brought before a *dikastery*, which was in fact a popular assembly. It should be added that this writ might be brought against any one that prepared a new law, so that with respect to laws there was a double check, that of the *nomothetae*, and that of the *dikastery*. But the *graphe paranomon* was soon perverted from its original design. Party leaders made use of it as a weapon of party warfare. Thus Aeschines brought this kind of a writ against Ctesiphon, because he had proposed a psephism to crown Demosthenes for his patriotic conduct as a leader in public affairs. But how was a psephism asserting that Demosthenes was a patriotic citizen contrary to the laws? Because, says Aeschines, the assertion is false, and there is a law which prohibits to insert any thing in a public document which is false. Now the law upon which he relied did not refer to psephisms at all, but to fictitious documents deposited in the public archives, so that it was only by a perversion of law that the merits of Demosthenes as a public man could be tried under this writ. But there was at least one thing in the psephism of Ctesiphon which was contrary to law, and Aeschines hoped that condemnation on one point would condemn the whole. This writ was a great annoyance in the hands of the demagogue against the honest statesman. In speaking of the advantages which Philip had over himself, Demosthenes says:—"Philip ruled his followers with absolute sway, not proclaiming before hand in popular votes, not taking counsel in public, not prosecuted

by demagogues, *not put on trial for proposing measures contrary to the laws*, not responsible to any, but simply himself master, leader, lord of all"—a sentence which condenses everything which has ever been said concerning the inefficiency of republics in time of war. But on the other hand this proceeding was a tremendous weapon against corrupt and fraudulent public men—more tremendous even than a Covoide committee.

Such were the barriers against hasty and inconsiderate legislation in the assembly, and so long as the spirit of patriotism animated the people, they were sufficient. And never, as we have already said, has the world seen another such assembly for legislation as the Athenian ekklesia in the days of its glory. What sacrifices were here deliberately determined upon for freedom against slavery! What generous principles were here proclaimed and carried out, of fighting for enemies even, as Demosthenes expresses it, rather than see a Grecian state enslaved! What magnanimous sentiments of honor animated its deliberations, urging to everything that was great and elevated. Here the noble resolution was passed, proposed by Themistocles, to leave the country and all it held that was sacred and dear, rather than submit to the Persian. Here were carried on the mighty party conquests of Aristeides and Themistocles, of Pericles and Kimon. It was the ekklesia which reared the Parthenon and adorned the Acropolis; it was in this body that the walls of the city were built, and the harbor of the Piraeus fortified. It was here, too, that Pericles and Demosthenes delivered those orations, which have won the admiration of the world.

In the preceding sketch of the Athenian constitution of the state, we have intentionally omitted many points of interest, but the limits proper to an Article in our review seemed to require it, and besides our object was merely to give a birds-eye view of the whole, and this required only the prominent points. We have also aimed to show the progressive steps by which the final result was reached, and in so doing may have followed Mr. Grote in some things too implicitly, but it seemed to us better to look at the growth of the Athenian constitution in its causes, and to arrange its successive stages in accordance with

them, than to refer the whole to Solon, even if we should run the risk of misplacing some things. We conclude by drawing attention to a few points of contrast between Athenian and American democracy.

The great distinction between the two has been already mentioned. The Athenian democracy was a direct, absolute government of the people. The American democracy is a government carried on through representatives of the people. The responsibility of what was done rested directly on the Athenian citizen,—the responsibility of the American is more remote, as lying not in his immediate participation in the measures of government, but in his election of those who represent him. With the Athenian, the assembly of the people was the great object of interest, with us it is the ballot-box. This makes a great difference in the character of the people. The Athenians had more of personal equality. Each one had not only the privilege of being elected to administrative and judicial offices, but had an equal chance with any other of obtaining them ;—of the assembly—the legislature—he was a member of course. But in our representative democracy, the only place where there is personal equality is at the polls. Hence, there is as much distinction of classes in society with us as anywhere in the world ; there is, in fact, more jealousy, from the inability to draw the lines with precision. Nor is it at all unnatural that those who vaunt themselves preëminently as democrats should have the most of vulgar display of rank and wealth. Yet there is a strong desire for personal equality ; and expressions, such as “the masses,” are popular because they represent those who are included under them as undistinguishable from each other.

We may notice another distinction, arising from the one just mentioned. The Athenian magistrate was held more strictly accountable to the people than with us. Every one who exercised any office whatever, was obliged to render a formal account of his office, and the bodies before whom it was rendered were sufficiently numerous to make the responsibility direct to the people. With us there is scarce any direct responsibility at all, except to party. It is commonly believed

that under the present administration, enormous corruption has been practiced by the President and leading members of his cabinet, but who believes any one will be brought to trial and punished? There is not an election in which there are not acknowledged frauds, but who is ever accused and tried for them? And yet, one would think that in a *representative* democracy, if anything ought to be pure and free from fraud, it is the election of the *representatives*, of those who are to stand in the place of the people—in fact, to be the people. Whether we look at it historically or philosophically, we shall find that the weak point of our representative democracy, is the practical difficulties in the way of preventing public corruption, and of shielding the ballot-box from fraud. We cannot have many more Presidents chosen by fraudulent votes.

We may also notice a difference in the basis on which the two forms of democracy have been made to rest. The Athenian democracy was the creature of the people, because the people so willed it. The American democracy has its foundations in the natural and inalienable rights of man; the one rested on force, the other rests on right,—and it is one of the dark signs of the times that the doctrine of the inalienable rights of man, as man, so peculiarly American, is held in contempt by such growing numbers.

Perhaps, from the above mentioned distinction in the bases on which the two forms of democracy rest, we may explain the fact that none but Athenians could be citizens, while with us persons of foreign birth are readily admitted to this privilege, though doubtless there were other causes. At any rate, after the citizenship was established by Kleisthenes, no foreigner, however long he may have resided in the country, could become a citizen except by a vote of six thousand citizens in his favor. This would satisfy, we presume, the most bigoted “know-nothing.”

It is worthy of notice, that the Athenian democracy was of but short duration. The democracy proper may be regarded as extending from the time of Kleisthenes to the battle of Chæronea, from 509 to 338 B. C., one hundred and seventy-

one years. But the democracies of Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other early settled states, have already existed from two hundred to two hundred and forty years, or even more, nor is there any appearance of degeneracy. The federal union is not a necessary part of the democracies of these states ; the democracies might continue, though the Union should be destroyed, though we hold that the union of the individual democracies of the country into that peculiar, individual thing which we call the General Government is as much superior to anything that ever existed in Greece, as is our representative democracy to the pure democracy of Athens. It is a little remarkable that the ingenious Greek mind never attained to the notion of a representative democracy or of a confederation of democracies under a general government, unless in respect to the latter point we except the Achean league.

ARTICLE VIII.—ORIGINAL SIN : THE STATE OF THE QUESTION.

The Southern Presbyterian Review for April, 1850. Dr. Baird's Elohim Revealed. A Review by the Rev. J. THOREN-WELL, D. D.

The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review. April, 1860. Article V. The First and Second Adam; a Review of Dr. Baird's Elohim Revealed.

It has been a received and largely prevailing view in the Christian Church, that the descendants of Adam, at the beginning of their existence in this world, and before the exercise of personal agency, are ill-deserving. It has always been felt that, considering the nature of sin and responsibility, this fact presents a difficult problem for solution. In respect to everything congenital, are not men passive and involuntary? How, then, can they be culpable? If they have sin in them at birth, how shall the inference be avoided that God is the author of it?

We design, in the briefest manner possible, to describe the various opinions entertained on this subject, in order to exhibit to our readers the present state of the discussion. They who assume the fact of innate guilt, in the strict sense of the term, involving ill-desert, are divided as follows:

1. Those who adopt the theory of individual preëxistence. The ancient representative of this doctrine was Origen, who held that every soul fell from rectitude by an act of free-will, in an earlier state of existence; that Adam and all his posterity are incarnate souls who thus come into this world, tainted with guilt. This view is advocated by Dr. Edward Beecher, in "The Conflict of Ages." In a modified form it is held by Dr. Julius Müller, who in his work on the Doctrine of Sin—perhaps the most learned and thorough treatise upon the general subject that has ever been written—defends the notion of a "timeless" preëxistence of the individual, prior (if we may use a word that expresses time, where the relation of time is dropped

out) to his present consciousness. The theory of preëxistence, if it could be established and shown to be consistent with the Scriptures, would of course remove the difficulty, as all sin would be connected with the sinner's personal agency. We remark in passing, that the aim and point of Dr. Beecher's work have been generally overlooked by the critics, who have charged him with simply removing the difficulty a step further back and leaving the introduction of sin as great a mystery as it was before. It was not his purpose to account for the permission of sin or its non-prevention on the part of God, but to show the consistency of inborn ill-desert with the principles of justice and the proper conception of sin. The hypothesis which he advances, provided it be allowed as a fact, fully accomplishes this end.

The view presented by Coleridge, in the noted chapter of his *Aids to Reflection*, does not differ materially, as far as we see, from that of Müller. At the beginning of his conscious life here, the will of every individual is found determined to the inferior good. This evil direction of the will is the same in all men. It is the common principle underneath tendencies to particular sins, and varying forms of sinful action. It is that fact which we assert of every individual, not because he has been guilty of this or that definite crime, or has this or that bad trait, but because he is a man. Hence it is called *original sin*. It is an evil, the commencement of which no individual can refer to any particular time. Nay, in reference to this subject, the relations of time are alien or heterogeneous, as the attributes and relations of space are to the affections. This evil disposition being moral, must originate in an act of self-determination, an act, however, known only through its consequences and implied in the condition of the soul onward from the time when the soul comes under the eye of consciousness. This sin is a consequence of Adam's fall, in the sense that it is "a link in the chain of historic instances, whereof Adam is the first;" a consequence, as our birth is owing to his existence. He being the first in time, "*is taken as the diagram.*" No other connection of this transcendental act with the sin of Adam, does Coleridge admit, and the point is one on which he is not very explicit.

2. Those who adopt the doctrine of an inherited corruption of character which is culpable, while denying that the descendants of Adam are responsible, or accounted guilty, for *his* transgression. This opinion does not solve the problem which we have indicated above, but presupposes the possibility of ill-desert where there is no kind of participation, whether real or constructive, in the actions that occasion it. It rests on the assumption that moral evil, like physical evil, is hereditary. This view has not been held very extensively, nor has it been defended in a very systematic or satisfactory manner. It was brought forward in the 17th century by the French theologian, Joshua Placeæus, was vigorously disputed, and is condemned in the Xth and XIth paragraphs of the Formula Consensus Helvética, where the ordinary Calvinistic doctrine of immediate imputation is asserted in opposition to it. A view substantially similar to that of Placeæus is espoused by that part of the New England theologians who are denominated Old School, including the late Professors Tyler and Woods. Discarding the doctrine of a native ill-desert based on a covenant with Adam, as well as the doctrine of a real participation in his transgression, they nevertheless hold that men derive from him a wicked nature. There are passages in the writings of Dr. Dwight which seem to inculcate this doctrine of propagated sin, though other passages appear to be irreconcilable with such a view.

3. Those who believe that the posterity of Adam committed transgression in him and with him, so that their inborn ill-desert is properly and truly for their own act. This view is an offshoot from philosophical Realism, which regards human nature as a unit, and as identical in all the individuals of the race. The act of Adam, according to the Realistic view, being the common act of the race, belongs alike to all its members, as soon as they become possessed of personal being. This is the *original* doctrine of original sin, by which it was sought to reconcile hereditary guilt with the conception of sin as the free act of the sinner's will, and at the same time to put aside the blasphemous notion that God creates moral evil. Augustin first explicitly stated and maintained the Realistic

hypothesis, in which he was followed by the theology of the Middle Ages and of the Reformation.

The Roman Catholic Church, whenever it has departed from this view, has inclined to a modified Pelagianism. The Realistic hypothesis, in its clear and simple form, independent of the theory of the covenant with Adam, by which that view was first supplemented, and then supplanted, has been defended by Professor Shedd of Andover, and also in the recent work of Dr. Baird, entitled "Elohim Revealed."

4. Those who hold to the imputation of the first sin, on the ground of a covenant by which Adam was constituted the federal head of the race, it being stipulated that in case he transgressed the law, his posterity should be regarded and treated as culpable from the start, although in his disobedience they had actually no part. According to this form of the doctrine of Imputation, as it is expounded by Dr. Thornwell and other authorities, men are born ill-deserving—we use this epithet on account of the possible ambiguity of the word guilty—in consequence of the covenant which provided that, in case a given event occurred in which they could have no real agency whatever, they should be thus born. They not only suffer by reason of Adam's sin, but they *deserve* to suffer, being objects of the Divine displeasure. The withdrawal of the fellowship of God, which leaves men under the dominion of sin, is a part of the penalty of the transgression which is, in the sense explained, imputed to them. The Realistic hypothesis is expressly rejected; the notion of inherited sin, founded in the mere connection of parent and child, is likewise denied, and native ill-desert is derived in the first instance solely from the covenant. The propriety and reasonableness of the Covenant are made to rest, indeed, upon the fact of our being descended from Adam, but this fact by itself is admitted to furnish no valid reason for charging his moral actions upon his posterity. This view may not inaptly be named Lockian or nominalistic Calvinism. It is the doctrine of the Princeton divines, and has often been defended on the pages of their Review.

The precise time when it was first broached, our reading does not enable us to fix; but the doctrine forms no part of the ancient Augustinian theology, and even after the conception of a federal headship in Adam obtained currency among the theologians of the seventeenth century, who followed the scheme of Cocceius, the stress was laid, in vindicating the divine justice, upon the *natural* headship of the progenitor of the race, and our numerical identity with him. When pressed by objections, theologians fell back upon their Realism. This is true of Owen, whose authority, we believe, is unquestioned at Princeton. In his "Display of Arminianism," he makes us chargeable with Adam's transgression, because it was our crime committed in him, and formally distinguishes between the imputation of Adam's sin and the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Righteousness, which is a blessing, can be imputed to us, he affirms, without our own act, but sin cannot. Of this Augustinian type of Calvinism, President Edwards was also an adherent. We have never thought it quite ingenuous for the Princeton writers to claim an identity of theological sentiment with divines like Owen, and with the great reformers and ancient teachers of the church, when there is, in truth, so wide and radical a discrepancy.

To exhibit this diversity, we have only need to place a sentence from the Princeton Article upon Dr. Baird side by side with a sentence from Edwards: "It [Adam's sin] is imputed to them, [his posterity,] not because it was antecedently to that imputation, and irrespective of the covenant on which the imputation is founded, already theirs; but because they were appointed to stand their probation in him." So says the Princeton reviewer. But President Edwards takes just the opposite view. In connection with the statement that "the species acted in Adam" he remarks: "The sin of the apostasy is not theirs [i. e. ours] merely because God imputes it to them. But it is truly and properly theirs, and on that ground God imputes it to them."

Realism may be false, but the theologians who built their scheme upon it, adopted a doctrine in respect to the necessary conditions of responsibility, which the modern divines, to

whom we allude, repudiate. And this difference, to one who looks below the surface of a theological system for the principles at its foundation, is all-important.

Dr. Samuel J. Baird, a pastor of the Old School Presbyterian Church, in the recent work to which we have referred, appears as the champion of Realism, and as the earnest opposer of that form of the doctrine of imputation which is generally received among his brethren. We have been greatly interested in the comments upon his work in the leading Reviews of the denomination to which he belongs. The Article in the Princeton Review, and that in the Southern Presbyterian Review from the pen of Dr. Thornwell, marshal the objections to the notion of a numerical identity of men with their first parent, and combat that theory with much force. The idea that we possess a nature identically the same as that of Adam, and are one with him, in such a sense that we do what he does, and are the real and responsible authors of his act, is indeed encumbered with difficulties. Why are we responsible for a single act of Adam, and no farther? Why do we not repent, as well as transgress, in him? If we commit *his* sin, in virtue of the common nature, why does not he, for the same reason, commit *ours*? If, on this ground, we are guilty for the disobedience of Adam, why not also for the sins of our nearer ancestors, and for all the sins of all the members of the race? Nay, why is not each man the author of the transgressions of every other? What, according to Dr. Baird's theory, is a person more than a phenomenal product of the one common nature, in which all causation, and hence all accountability and guilt, reside? Inquiries like these are pressed upon him by his reviewers. But when they abandon the offensive, and proceed to vindicate their own doctrine of federal headship and imputation, they are not so successful. Upon this part of their reasoning, we observe, in the first place, that they rest the justice of the alleged covenant, and the consequent imputation, on no sufficient ground. The question is, how the arrangement itself, by the operation of which we are to become guilty without our own act, is compatible with justice? No one will contend that a covenant with any

human being that, in case he sins, an angel in heaven shall become ill deserving, would accord with our necessary conception of justice,—with the principle of *seum cuique*. Nor is it possible to see how a like covenant with any man now living, by which his conduct shall determine the moral desert of Adam, would be any more accordant with our intuitive sense of right. Why is a covenant with Adam, which involves us in guilt without our agency, more just and reasonable? Is it because he is our progenitor? But this circumstance, according to the Princeton divines, does not go a step towards justifying the imputation of his character and actions to us. They argue, in the review of Dr. Baird, with all their might against the Placaeian doctrine of propagated sin. It denies, they say, any probation to the race; it refers the origination of sin to a mere physical law, placing moral beings in the same category with lions and asps; it is unscriptural, and subverts the whole evangelical scheme. "This doctrine, which denies the immediate or antecedent imputation of Adam's sin, and makes inherent corruption, as derived from him, the primary ground of the condemnation of the race, was consequently declared, almost with one voice, to be contrary to Scripture, to the faith of the reformed churches, and even of the church Catholic." It is contrary, as they truly affirm, to the creeds of the Lutheran and Latin, as well as the Calvinistic churches. Dr. Thornwell is not less decided in his condemnation, on grounds of reason and justice, of that doctrine which founds guilt in our mere physical relationship to Adam. Yet they aver that this relationship is sufficient to render *the covenant* just and proper which condemns us before our existence and without our act,—a covenant which, apart from this natural connection, would be irrational and contrary to right. We must confess that we do not understand how the natural connection of Adam with us, which no more renders us criminal for his act than it does the angels in heaven, can yet furnish the basis for a covenant, which covenant shall fasten the ill-desert of that act upon us. What is there in the circumstance of consanguinity between him and us, to make such a covenant just and reasonable? Why would

not a covenant of this nature, where a brother or a cousin is the contracting party, or federal representative, be equally consonant with justice? Be it remembered that the doctrine of imputation through federal headship is brought forward to explain the *justice* of our being judged guilty of Adam's sin, which it would be unrighteous and absurd to charge upon us as being descended from him. It is impossible to dodge this objection to the righteousness of the Covenant itself, or to take refuge in a cloud of declamation, or to silence controversy by an appeal to creeds. Why was it *right* to constitute Adam our representative, and to judge us to be ill-deserving—to blame us—in case he should sin? It is no answer to say that such was the will of God. This answer, if it had any validity, must be equally good in defense of Realism or inherited sin, or any other of the theories which the Princeton Reviewer and Dr. Thornwell reject. Only two considerations in reply to this question, as we remember, are urged in the Articles before us. The one is the exploded principle of *scientia Dei media*, by which our condemnation for the sin of Adam is pronounced to be just for the reason that we should have stood a similar trial no better. On this principle, Dr. Thornwell might as well contend for the justice of hating, condemning, and punishing Adam before he was tempted, because his sin was a foreseen event, and for the justice of sending the whole human race to hell without a probation which it was certain they would not successfully undergo. If the *scientia media* is a sound principle, we may consider a spotless being ill-deserving if we know that he will sin hereafter—that he would fall from holiness if he were subject to certain temptations. The second and more usual course is to appeal to the imputation of Christ's righteousness. We recollect that Dr. Chalmers, in his *Institutes of Theology*, counsels ministers to turn off persons who find difficulty with the doctrine of imputed sin, to the doctrine of imputed righteousness. This may be a shrewd course, but the answer is not philosophical or satisfactory. It affords no insight into the *justice* of imputation without personal agency, to say that we draw an advantage from it. It simply affirms that the same difficulty is found in another place and

raises no opposition there. It amounts, at best, merely to this—that if the covenant be not just, a certain scheme of theology crumbles to the ground. Grant that the truth of Christianity itself, as these reviews contend, is staked on the existence and propriety of the covenant referred to, yet this fact contains no solution of the difficulty; it does not show how such a covenant is consistent with the proper definition of justice. The problem is not to prove the great importance of believing that the descendants of Adam are made ill-deserving by the imputation to them of his sin, in consequence of an agreement into which he entered with the Creator; but the problem is to reconcile such a transaction with the universal conception of justice, and the known conditions of responsibility. Hence the reference to the case of Christ is not pertinent.

We have no design to controvert this theory of imputation. Our purpose has been to make it evident that, regarded as an elucidation of the fact of native ill-desert, it is totally insufficient. In this belief we are happy to have the concurrence of the divines who embrace and defend it. We have to complain, however, of the Princeton Reviewer, that he is not consistent with himself, and that he makes assertions in one part of his essay which he virtually contradicts in another. Thus, referring to Dr. Baird and others, he writes: “the ἀρχὴ τῶν ἄνθετος of such speculations is, that moral principles or dispositions owe their character to their origin, and not to their nature. It is assumed that innate, hereditary depravity cannot have the nature of sin in us, unless it be self-originated.” “Things are, however, what they are, no matter how they originate. If a man is black, he is black, whether he was born so or made himself so. If he is good, he is good; if bad, he is bad, whether he is the one or the other by birth or self-determination.” According to this doctrine, there is no difficulty to remove, and no problem to solve. There is no need of self-determination, either personal or vicarious, real or constructive, as the condition *sine qua non* of ill-desert. The scheme of federal headship is entirely gratuitous, for no probation is requisite as the antecedent of guilt. The remarks we have just quoted are directly in the teeth of all that the same Re-

viewer says in opposition to the Placæan doctrine of hereditary sin. But his anxiety to establish the proposition that we had a probation in Adam, our appointed representative, proves his conviction that self-origination—at least *constructive* self-origination—is indispensable to ill-desert. And the real point is whether a case of *constructive* self-origination can be made out in accordance with truth and justice. The Reviewer speaks of the federal headship of Adam as “the Bible solution of the difficulty” which lies in the fact of in-born sin. There is, then, a difficulty to be removed, and this difficulty, as everybody knows, is none other than the apparent absence of any dependence of our native character upon our will.

Now the advocates of this doctrine of imputation confess that it does not answer the purpose. They acknowledge that the solution is no adequate solution. They admit that the difficulty which this scheme is brought forward to remove, still remains. Hear Dr. Thornwell: “The Covenant, therefore, does explain the fact of their being sinners, before they were born—does give them a history before their actual being. The only question is, was the covenant just? That depends upon the fact whether natural headship creates an union with Adam sufficiently intimate to ground these judicial transactions. If it does, the mystery is solved. We maintain that it does, but acknowledge very frankly that *we do not fully see how*. We understand a part of the case, but only a part. *The thing which has always perplexed us most is to account for the sense of personal demerit, of guilt and shame,* which unquestionably accompanies our sense of native corruption. It is not felt to be a misfortune or calamity, but a crime.” That is to say, the very thing to be accounted for, the ill-desert prior to personal agency, is still involved in darkness! The covenant does not clear it up! On the contrary, the covenant itself needs explanation not less than the problem which it comes forward to solve! How we can sin vicariously, and be criminal before we have existed, Dr. Thornwell professes himself incompetent to answer. It is what has always perplexed him most. Why, then, pretend, as many of these theologians do, that they possess a solution of the diffi-

culty? Why not say distinctly, as Dr. Thornwell says in substance, that the scheme of federal headship does not render the fact of inborn guilt more intelligible than it was before? Why offer their doctrine to the reason of men as a sufficient explanation, and one in which the mind can rest? Is there any mystery in our being justly punished and sinful, without having ourselves sinned, or is there not? The Princeton divines occasionally concede that there *is* a mystery which they are unable to fathom. The drift of much of their writing makes it manifest that the mystery springs from the conviction which they have in common with the rest of mankind, that ill-desert presupposes personal agency and self-determination; for if there is no ground for this conviction, there is no mystery in the case. The federal theology grows out of the desire to find something that shall ground ill-desert in the absence of self-determination; but its advocates confess that they do not succeed. We protest, not against their doctrine of federal headship, which they conscientiously believe to be taught in the scriptures, but against the mode in which that doctrine is often presented, as if it contained a plain and complete solution—one conformed to the proper conceptions of justice and of the conditions of responsibility—of the fact of innate guilt. When it is allowed that the requirements of the problem are not met by the supposition of a covenant and of probation in another, that the possibility of guilt incurred by such means is still a subject of perplexity, there is a virtual recognition of the great principle that accountability is inseparable from personal agency. An exception is indeed alleged, but because it *is* an exception, we are informed that we cannot understand it, and must wait for light. There is no direct attempt to subvert the common idea that the responsibility of a moral being is bounded by the limits of his personal agency.

With Dr. Thornwell,—as far as he recognizes this truth of individual responsibility, and he does recognize it in admitting that the covenant is an inadequate solution, and that his perplexity still continues,—we have no serious dispute. We only wish that a similar frankness might characterize all the defenders of the doctrine of imputation. But we must proceed to

state the last hypothesis which is open to believers in connate guilt.

5. The fact may be affirmed, and declared to be inexplicable. It may be held that the phenomena of conscience and the testimony of the Scriptures prove that men are sinful when they come into the world, while the manner of their becoming so is beyond our present knowledge. The fact is asserted; the possibility of the fact is inscrutable. Self-origination is conceded to be requisite to guilt; here self-origination seems to be wanting, and hence the fact is mysterious. Into this view, the Princeton theology would resolve itself, if its adherents were firm and consistent in the concession that, in consequence of our imperfect knowledge, the justice and reasonableness of the covenant with Adam cannot be discerned, and this on account of our intuitive belief that where there is no self-determination there is no guilt. This hypothesis may be adopted, however, whether the doctrine of the federal headship of Adam is accepted or denied.

The fact that men are guilty before they personally commit transgression in this life, which is assumed in the above mentioned theories, is not universally believed. We proceed to state the principal doctrines on the subject which have been embraced by those who *deny* that we are ill-deserving at birth.

1. The Pelagian view. The Pelagians held that the souls of men at the beginning of life, are pure and free from evil, like the soul of Adam before his disobedience, and that men sin merely in imitation of the example set them by their progenitor. It was likewise a part of their creed that not all who are thus subjected to moral trial, disobey the law. In other words, they did not hold to the universality of sin, according to the church view. With the Pelagians, we should perhaps place the Socinians, though these allowed that a proclivity to sin, not itself culpable, is inherited as the result of transgressions committed by those who have gone before us.

2. The Arminian view. The Arminians, in their symbols and standard writers, deny that the inborn propensities to evil, which are inherited from Adam, are in themselves sinful.

They are “malum, non culpa.” But inasmuch as Adam lost in his fall that grace of God which he required to qualify him for holy action, his posterity are by nature destitute of this supernatural gift, and therefore come inevitably under the dominion of sin. At the same time, sufficient grace is given to all to enable them to accept the Redeemer and be saved by Him.

Watson, the distinguished expounder of Methodist theology, teaches that all the consequences of Adam’s sin, including eternal death, fell upon his posterity, and defends the justice of this arrangement on the ground that grace has put the means of salvation within the reach of all. That is to say, the *injustice* of their condemnation is made up to them by *grace*. He loses sight of the obvious fact that a judicial sentence is not saved from being unrighteous by being coupled with an offer of pardon. In short, his system makes grace a debt. This confusion of ideas runs through and vitiates his reasoning on the subject; and all for the want of a sharp definition and separation of sin and grace. It is very plain that the Arminian doctrine of a gracious ability given to the sinner in compensation for the inability, and consequent sin and condemnation, which come upon him without his act, involves a fatal contradiction.

3. The Zuinglian doctrine. Zningle denied that the disorder or corruption of nature, which is derived ultimately from Adam, is properly sin, though it be the uniform occasion of sin. *Morbus est proprie et conditio*, are his words. Sin, in the proper sense, begins when the will complies with the solicitation of the irregular desires; and this compliance occurs uniformly at the moment when responsible agency begins. This was the theology of Jeremy Taylor. The inherited disorder in our moral constitution, together with the unfavorable change in external circumstances, both which result from Adam’s fall, constitute a force of temptation which, though it does render sin inevitable, yet, in the case of every individual, renders it certain that he will transgress the law at the instant when his moral powers awake, and the alternative of good or evil is presented to his choice. This is substantially the view of the sub-

ject which is taken by the so called New School theology in this country. The doctrine is that in consequence of Adam's sin, we begin life and probation under law, at a disadvantage, inasmuch as a disorder subjective, as well as external,—either the one or the other, or both,—has ensued; a disadvantage which, while it does not necessitate sin, but leaves a power to the contrary, does, nevertheless, establish the *certainty* that the first moral act, as well as character afterwards, until it is renewed by grace, will be sinful. The universality of sin, not necessitated, but made certain, notwithstanding a power to the contrary, is the formula of the creed. Among the distinguished advocates of this opinion are the late Dr. Taylor of New Haven, Mr. Barnes, and Professor Park of Andover. It may be added, that Dr. Taylor declined to fix the ground of this certainty of sin either in a changed moral constitution or in the changed circumstances, but contented himself with placing this ground in nature, a term under which he included both these factors, from which, taken together, and in their connection with each other, the certainty of sin is derived.

This view is not exempt from difficulty, and it may serve as food for reflection if we state concisely, and without comment, the objections, apart from the Scriptures, which have been brought against it by Müller and other recent writers of marked ability.

1. It is contended that the Zuinglian theory exposes to hazard the earnest Christian view of man's culpable character in the sight of God, if his theory be not, indeed, fatal to that view. To account for the universality of sin, in all nations and ages, for the commission of sin in the case of every human being as soon as the opportunity is afforded him, it is necessary to suppose the highest degree of inherited liableness to sin short of a compulsory force. But as you pile up temptation, you seem to lessen guilt, and provide an excuse for the transgressor. It is urged that if not the universality of sin, then its criminality is imperiled.

2. It is contended that the doctrine of our probation, as held by the New School, presents no advantage over other theories, in respect to the honor rendered to the justice and

mercy of God. The decision of his immortal destiny is committed to a speechless infant who possesses a disordered moral constitution, as an inheritance, and begins his moral life under the most unfavorable circumstances—circumstances so unfavorable that not one in the countless myriads, in point of fact, stands the trial for an instant. It must not be said that they share in the benefit of a redemptive system. That system originates in grace, and implies ill-desert to the full extent, and just condemnation under law, in all to whom redemption is offered. It is maintained that the Zuinglian view of the manner of our probation throws a cloud over the divine character more dense and dark than do the theories which that view would supplant, and a cloud which men are likely to disperse by mitigating the guilt and the consequences of transgression, and thus destroying the foundations of the Gospel.

3. It is contended that the Zuinglian doctrine confuses the verdict of conscience in reference to the extent of our sinfulness. It is said that, according to this theory, our inordinate passions and appetites—all that the old theologians called concupiscence—are partly of the nature of a disease which does not involve personal guilt, and partly the fruit of our own transgression in yielding to them in times past, so that how much is a misfortune, and how much is a sin, we cannot determine. How shall an individual decide, when vindictive emotions fill his heart, what part to ascribe to his unfortunate, disordered innate, and what part to his own choices? The conscience, it is affirmed, is distracted and confused, and weakened, by the very necessity of entering into such an inquiry.

4. It is contended that conscience would not only be confused by the practical adoption of the Zuinglian hypothesis, but that the express utterances of conscience are incompatible with it. Müller, for example, asserts that an awakened conscience does condemn indiscriminately the feelings which under the New School system, must be referred, in part at least, to our hereditary disorder, and thus acquitted of guilt; and that this proposition is verified by the concurrent experience of the great body of the Christian church. That is to say, conscience attaches blame to what, according to the New School, is not

morally evil. Again, he argues that the earliest phenomena of conscience, the first exercise of that faculty, is in the form of self-accusation. The child does something for which he feels self-condemned, and this reproof of conscience antedates any precept emanating from that faculty, and is the sign and evidence of a sin antecedent to any command or prohibition thence derived. The inference, of course, is, if the fact is correctly given, that there was guilt before the transgression of a known law or the development in consciousness of the sense of obligation.

We leave these objections to make what impression they may, not caring at present to pursue the discussion. In giving this rapid sketch of the current opinions upon this great subject of Christian theology, we have not intended to set forth a particular view of our own, nor have we described the diverse interpretations of Scripture which have been adopted by the various parties. In conclusion, we indicate the method which must be pursued both in settling the fact and the philosophy, or solution of the fact. There are, in our judgment, three principal sources of knowledge on the subject. First, what is the testimony of the Scriptures? Do they propound a definite doctrine upon the points in question, and if so, what is it? Then, what says Christian consciousness, or the feeling and judgment of the body of unprejudiced Christian men, who have been taught by the Word and the Spirit of God? How does that consciousness decide, which has been molded by these agencies? And lastly, there is room for an inductive argument based on the phenomena of conscience in its early development and upon facts of human character and conduct as they present themselves, on every side, to our observation. What do these phenomena prove? What do these facts imply? Investigations conducted after this method, are the only road to sound and trustworthy conclusions.

The New England theology from the time when the elder Edwards wrote his treatise on Original Sin, has been engaged in the endeavor to vindicate individual responsibility, and to repel the objection to the Christian doctrine of depravity that it

makes men blame-worthy for what they could not avoid. The motive of our divines has not been a wish to lessen the guilt of man, but to maintain his guilt to the full extent, and to prove it upon him. Where have been the preachers who have brought sin home to the conscience in a more unsparing manner than the elder and younger Edwards, Emmons and Taylor? The modifications of the received doctrine of sin which have been broached, are due to this desire to place the fact of personal agency and personal responsibility above the reach of assault, by showing that the sinner, and the sinner alone, is the author of the actions and the character, for which he is condemned. Put the act of his self-determination where you will,—with the Realist, in Adam, with Origen and Beecher, in a former world, with Coleridge and Müller in a timeless preëxistence, with Barnes and Taylor, in the infancy of this life; provided you grant the necessity for this act, the main principle stands fast. Let the Princeton school hold to the doctrine of a covenant with a vicarious person, and ground the imputation of sin upon that, as long as they concede that the mystery is not cleared up, and by the manner of this concession, virtually do homage to the principle that ill-desert, in the strict and proper sense, as far as we are able to see, can pertain to the sinner alone. Whatever changes of sentiment may take place in New England, this principle is not likely to be surrendered.

ARTICLE IX.—A HALF CENTURY OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

FIFTY years ago, in the pleasant month of June, four young men, students in the Theological Seminary which had been only two years earlier established at Andover, presented themselves before the General Association of Congregational Pastors in Massachusetts, then convened at the neighboring town of Bradford. Those young men came before the meeting with a strange proposal. They came, under the advice and with the commendation of their theological instructors, to say that they had devoted themselves to the work of preaching the gospel among the heathen, and to ask the counsel and help of their fathers and elder brethren there assembled. The question was, how those young men and others—if others should offer themselves—could be sent on such a mission; whether the Christian people in the United States could be reasonably expected to sustain them, and what arrangement could be instituted as a medium of regular communication between those who might be willing to contribute for the propagation of the gospel in heathen lands, and those who might offer themselves personally to the work. After devout and careful deliberation, the body of Christian pastors to whom those four young men had come with their proposal and petition, proceeded to institute such an arrangement. Nine persons—clergymen and laymen of distinction, five in Massachusetts and four in Connecticut—were named to act as commissioners “for the purpose of devising ways and means, and adopting and prosecuting measures for promoting the spread of the gospel in heathen lands.” In this way it was that the institution began, which is now so widely known as “The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.” As these pages are passing through the press, the fiftieth year in the history of that institution is completed. The annual meeting of the Board and its friends, at Boston, in September next, is to be attended with some special commemoration of what God hath wrought.

by that agency since the first meeting of those nine commissioners—or rather of the five, four of the nine being absent—at Farmington, in September, 1810.

There are a few among our readers, whose personal memory takes in the whole period since that missionary work began, and who can recollect distinctly for themselves what the condition of the world was, in respect to civilization and Christianity, fifty years ago; what the condition of the churches was; what means and arrangements there were by which the churches, in this and other Christian countries, were acting, or could act, on the unevangelized portions of the world. But the great majority everywhere must learn from others, rather than from any recollection of their own, what changes God has wrought, and what progress Christ's work in this world has been making, since the distinct beginning of foreign missions from these American churches.

Some effort of attention is necessary to any just view of what the condition of the world was, and what, on any merely human calculation of probabilities, were the prospects of the Christian religion in this world fifty years ago. The great wars which had begun in the first French revolution, nearly twenty years before, were still agitating all European Christendom, and, only two years later, the United States were drawn into that vortex. Political liberty was almost annihilated on the continent of Europe, the despotism of the first Napoleon being then at its hight. In France, in Switzerland, in every country on that continent, evangelical religion was, to human view, almost extinct, no general or effective reaction having taken place against the tendencies to mere formalism and to unbelief which had so widely characterized the preceding century. Our own country had hardly begun to be recognized as a power among the nations; the present form of our federal government had been in existence only twenty-one years, and only twenty-seven years had passed since the close of our revolutionary war. Outside of Christendom there was no recognized preparation, and hardly a visible opening, for the spread of the gospel. The great Mohammedan empire of Turkey had only ceased to be terrible to Christian nations; it

had not begun to fall or to be dismembered; nor had any change taken place, either in the spirit and policy of its rulers, or in the character of its people. The East Indian empire which a corporation of British traders had established, with its center at Calcutta, was a recent thing, and was, in fact, as completely an anti-Christian power, and as jealous of all Christian propagandism, as that of the Mogul emperors had been, when they reigned in absolute dominion at Delhi. China, like Japan, was closed and guarded against Christianity in every form. Africa, except along its ravaged and pestilential coast, was a continent of mystery, hardly visited, save by the traders in slaves; for even in the United States, whose government was earlier than that of any other country in prohibiting the slave-trade, the importation of slaves from Africa had been unlawful only two years. On our own frontier, the pagan savage, who had learned nothing from civilization but its vices, and had been enriched by it only with new implements and means of destruction, was still encamped in Ohio, was hunting the buffalo on all the prairies, and his canoe had not begun to be displaced by the raft and the flat-boat on the waters of the Upper Mississippi. What is now our western coast was hardly known to commerce; California was one of the remotest and least valued possessions of Spain, and no eye of avarice had caught the sparkle of its golden sand. The first overland journey up to the sources of the Mississippi, and down along the leaping waters of the Columbia to the Pacific, had just been accomplished at the expense of our national government. At that time, the entire census of the United States included less than one-fourth of the population which will be counted in the census of the present year, and the capability of the wealth which has now been realized on this continent had never been estimated. To draw out a full comparison of the civilized world as it then was, with the civilized world as it now is, both in itself and in its relations to what lies beyond the realm of civilization, would require a volume; but it may help us to conceive the difference, if we remember that then the scientific law or principle on which the electric telegraph depends had not been discovered or

conjectured ; that the idea of railways was, at the most, no more than a vague and visionary thought ; and that all the steamboats that had ever been successfully constructed—two or three in number—were creeping on the Hudson and the Delaware at the rate of perhaps five miles an hour.

The spirit that prays for the coming of God's Kingdom in all the earth, and that longs to preach the Gospel to every creature, has never wholly slumbered in any Christian land; for it is inseparable from a living Christianity everywhere. From the days of the apostolic Eliot, who was at once the pastor of the church at Roxbury and the laborious missionary to Indians within ten miles of his own door, the saintly succession of evangelists among the heathen has never failed from the churches of New England. But prior to 1810, the spirit of evangelism in the American churches had "lacked opportunity" for full manifestation and development. In Connecticut there was a missionary society, which was the organ of all the Congregational churches in the state, and which, though first and chiefly occupied with missions to the new settlements, had once, for a short time, attempted a mission among the Indians of the far Northwest. A Connecticut Bible Society was instituted in 1809 to promote the distribution of the Scriptures. In Massachusetts, and in two or three other states, similar institutions existed for missions, especially to the new settlements, and for aiding in the supply of Bibles; but, as lately as fifty years ago, the idea of a widely extended coöperation for spreading the knowledge of Christ, either abroad or at home, had never been shaped into a plan. In some other countries, and especially in free and Protestant Great Britain, the missionary spirit was waking up, and was organizing institutions of various names and forms for sending the gospel through the world. For more than a century there had been in the Church of England a "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," which employed its resources chiefly in sending missionaries into the British colonies ;—among which the New England colonies, and especially Connecticut, though better provided with the means of religious instruction than England itself had ever been, were liberally cared for till

they were separated from the mother country. The Moravians, few and feeble, but full of Christian zeal, had been at work for almost eighty years, a silent but constant rebuke to the Christian world. The English Wesleyans, at an early day in their history, had begun to do something for the conversion of the slaves in the West Indies. In 1792, Carey and others had brought about the formation of a missionary society for the Baptists in England. Three years later the London Missionary Society came into being on a liberal basis of coöperation, though chiefly sustained by Congregationalists, or, as they were then called in England, Independents. The Church Missionary Society, sustained and controlled by the evangelical party in the Church of England, was instituted, under the name of "The Society for Missions to Africa and the East," in 1801—nine years before our Board of Missions offered itself to the American churches as their almoner and servant in the foreign missionary work. In 1810, there were a few English and Scotch missionaries in India; a few were laboring in the British African colony of Sierra Leone, and a larger number in Southern Africa. The London Society had its missions in Tahiti and the Society Islands; and Morison, in their service, had set himself down before the gates of China, patiently striving to master the language of that great empire that it might learn to tell the story of redemption. There were missionaries among the slaves in various West Indian colonies. The Moravians had their stations in Greenland and Labrador, a few among the North American Indians, and a few elsewhere, few, when compared with the vastness of the field, but many, when compared with the weakness and the poverty of the body by which they were sustained. Nothing was done or attempted by the American churches; a little more than a beginning had been made by our British kindred in the work of spreading the gospel through the world.

We may say, then, that fifty years ago, when the foreign missionary work of the American churches had not been begun, the entire movement of these modern times for the evangelization and conversion of the world was only in its earliest stage of progress. Everywhere that was the day of small things in

comparison with what we see to-day. For example, the receipts of the Church Missionary Society, whose income is now greater than that of any other foreign missionary institution in Protestant Christendom, were in that year (1810) less than \$20,000. At the present time the various Protestant organizations operating by missions in the Mohammedan and heathen world, are at least forty in number, and their aggregate annual expenditure is not less than \$3,000,000. If we turn to another aspect of the enterprise, the difference is even greater between what then was and what now is. In 1810, the converts that had been gathered into churches by foreign missionaries were comparatively few. Now there are more than two hundred thousand living communicants in the churches which Protestant evangelical missionaries have established in heathen Mohammedan lands. In 1810, the number of those converts who had been found competent to coöperate in the work of evangelization was insignificant. Now there are five thousand helpers of that class—some of them pastors of churches; some of them teachers in schools of elementary instruction, or in seminaries of a higher order; and some aiding in the translation and distribution of the Scriptures or of other books. The foreign missionary undertakings of Protestant Christendom, and especially of the British and American churches, have gone out into almost every land, and have become, both in their extent and in their results, one of the most significant phenomena of the nineteenth century.

Our own great missionary institution, the American Board of Commissioners, is not only especially interesting to us because it is our own, but such has been its progress, and such its success, that the year which completes its first half century may well be noted with thankful commemoration and with joyful foresight of what shall be in years to come. Not the least of its successes is that it has been the parent, or the example and guide of so many similar institutions in our common country. That the Baptist, the Episcopal, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, the Reformed Dutch, and other boards of missions and missionary societies have been successively instituted, and are now working in various parts of the

world—some of them with preëminent success—is, partly, at least, a result of the experiment which was begun in our churches fifty years ago. Sometimes the setting up of separate institutions by bodies of Christians that had previously coöperated to some extent with us, has seemed to involve some danger of interference with the resources and plans of the original institution. But while each new missionary organization, constituted by the force of special sympathies, ecclesiastical or otherwise, has gathered around it, in its progress, its own hosts of friends, our institution has maintained its place and carried on its work. What God has done for it in this country, raising up friends for it, strengthening it with the sympathies and prayers of the churches, and providing for it means and men to work with,—is no less a token of his favor than what he has wrought by it, and in connection with its labors, in other lands. And what a charm is there for a Christian mind, what encouragement to faith, what incitemont to every Christian sensibility, in the history of our missions from the beginning, in the survey of what they have accomplished, and in the prospect of their early future! Some there are who can remember freshly the difficulties which beset our first missionaries to India; the jealousy which repulsed them because they were missionaries, and still more because they were missionaries from America; the heroic and pertinacious resolution by which they gained at last a foothold at Bombay. Some can remember freshly the ordination of our first missionaries to the Sandwich Islands, and their sailing from Boston forty-one years ago; and how we waited till the vessel that bore them could perform her six months' voyage to the antipodes and send back by some returning whaler the news of her arrival; and how, after a twelve months' waiting, the first intelligence we had from them was, that ere they landed they found the idols of Hawaii abolished and the islands waiting for the law of Christ. Some can remember when two missionaries, forty years ago, were sent to Palestine as pioneers to prepare the way of the Lord; and how that first preparatory mission opened the way for other laborers. How memorable a story of labors and trials, of the faith and patience of the saints, of the joy of the harvest

when they that have gone forth weeping bearing precious seed gather their ripened sheaves,—do we rehearse as we read the incidents and progress of our missions in the Moslem realms of Turkey and Persia.

Few, even of those who take some pains to keep themselves acquainted with the religious intelligence of the day, are distinctly aware how great has been the success of our missions, and in what ratio it is increasing with the progress of the years. In 1820, at the end of the first ten years from the institution of the Board, not more than *fifty* converts “could be reckoned up in all our missions.” We say fifty, on the authority of a circular recently issued by the Prudential Committee, though our own examination of the history reduces the number to less than one-half, to wit: one Mussulman baptized at Bombay, two natives hopefully converted in Ceylon, and less than twenty Indians and negroes among the Cherokees and Choctaws. Now, at the end of the fifth decade of years, the number of members in full communion with the various churches that have been gathered by our missionaries is *twenty-five thousand*. The aggregate membership of all the Congregational churches in Vermont is less than four-fifths of that number. Add to the number of the living the multitude of those who have already died in faith; and say whether the success that has crowned this first half-century, is not all and more than all that any reasonable view of the relation between means and results could have anticipated. Those churches, gathered in various unenlightened lands, have not the wealth, nor the intelligence, nor yet the capability of independent subsistence and growth, and the power of self-extension, which belong to the churches of Vermont or of any New England state; but the great interest of the gospel in the world could better afford, in this year 1860, to lose all the Congregational churches of Vermont than to lose those twenty-five thousand church members of so many tribes, and tongues, and nations.

Another illustration of the progress which has been made, may be seen by adverting to the character of the working force now employed by the Board in its missions. In 1825,

after fifteen years of labor, the number of converts whom the missionaries had found competent to be employed as helpers in the work of making known the gospel, was only five—four of them in Ceylon, and the fifth among the Cherokees. The last report of the Board shows us an aggregate of four hundred and ninety-seven native helpers, of whom, two hundred and forty-three were pastors of churches or formally approbated preachers. Thirty-five years ago, the missionaries and assistant missionaries (men and women) sent from the United States, were twenty-eight times more numerous than the native helpers. Now the native helpers, in the various functions of preaching, teaching, translating, and distributing books, are, as compared with the entire number of men and women sent from this country, almost two to one. This shows what progress has been made in the work of establishing, throughout the fields which our missionaries have occupied, an organized and therefore permanent and self-sustaining Christianity. As the work advances in any country, it will be carried on more and more by native laborers, till it shall pass entirely into their hands.

And how much has been expended on this work in fifty years? The question has suggested a striking contrast between the pecuniary cost at which all these results have been attained, and the capital which is invested in great secular enterprises. There is no need of comparing the cost of missions with the cost of armies and navies. Who needs to be told that the annual expense of two ships of the line, in commission, equals the annual expense of all the missions of the American Board? Far more significant than this is the statement, which has been made on good authority, that what the Board has expended in fifty years, on all its missions, would only have paid for making half of the line of railroad between Boston and Albany. Is there any room for a thoughtful mind to doubt which of these two works has contributed most to the sum of human happiness—the iron track from Boston to Springfield, or that extension of evangelical Christianity, and of the civilization inseparable from it, which our foreign missions have already accomplished? The results of the missionary work, whether in heathen or in Mohamedan countries, are not to be

measured by merely counting the churches which have been formed, or the converts who have been received into Christian fellowship. Before any church is gathered, before the power of the gospel is manifested in the spiritual regeneration of individual converts, there has already been some diffusion of Christian ideas among the people, and some recognition of the Christian rule of duty. And when the church is formed, when Christianity begins to be seen and recognized as a transforming power in the experience of individual souls, the influence of Christian ideas is thenceforth more effectually spread abroad in that community. By the schools which the missionary institutes, and without which he can do nothing ; by the books which he puts into circulation and use ; by all his personal acts of Christian disinterestedness ; by the civilized and Christian comfort of his home ; by the Christian gentleness and simplicity of his manners ; by everything which he does or attempts, his influence to quicken thought and conscience reaches far beyond the circle of his converts and immediate disciples. Even those barbarous communities whose language was never before reduced to writing, and to whom a book or a written paper was at first nothing but magic, are affected by such influences. A few days ago, we heard, from a missionary who has labored twenty-five years among the Zulus of South-eastern Africa, some striking illustrations of how the diffusion and unconscious reception of Christian ideas among savages, and the recognition of the Christian rule of right and wrong, and some sense of the superiority of a Christian manhood to the barbarous ideas of well being and well-doing, precede the conversion of individuals ; and how the incidental influence of missionaries who are laboring, not to civilize first, that they may Christianize afterwards, but only to Christianize, is the most effectual of all civilizing agencies.

Nor should we overlook, in this connection, the returns which the expenditure for foreign missions has brought back in the form of contributions to the aggregate of human knowledge. What exploring expedition, sent forth with imperial completeness of preparation and equipment, has done more, in this nineteenth century, to increase our knowledge of the

earth, and especially of its inhabitants in the diversity of their races and languages and the unity of their nature, than has been done by missionaries? No mere explorer, however ample his equipment, can have such advantages for becoming thoroughly and exactly acquainted with a country, geographically or ethnologically, as the missionary has, living among the people, making their language his own, maintaining constant intercourse with them, obtaining their full confidence, aided by all the knowledge which his fellow laborers acquire at their stations and in their journeys, making his home for a while in one place and then transferring it to another, and often combining in his own person the trained sagacity of a scientific observer with the enthusiastic daring of a Ledyard or a Mungo Park. We need not say that the most successful and renowned of living travelers, whose adventurous journeys have done so much to unveil the geographical mystery of Africa, is a missionary.

Need we any argument to show that this half-century of foreign missions has not been in vain? A Christian nation, recognized by the governments of Christendom as a member of the great community of nations—a nation raised from the lowest depth of barbarism, and endowed not only with civilization but with the institutions of political freedom—a nation with its constitutional king, its legislative chambers, its popular representatives, its independent judiciary, its laws founded on the Bible and recognizing the Christian doctrine of equality, its schools for the education of the whole people—a nation of which a recent traveler, eminent in literature as well as in the profession which he adorns, testifies that a larger portion of its population can read and write than of the population of our own New England*—stands as one monument of the labors of our Foreign Missionary Board. Fifty years ago, human sacrifices were offered on the altars of the Sandwich Islands. The

* The letter of Richard H. Dana, Jr., Esq., on the Sandwich Islands, which was originally published in the New York Tribune, and of which, the most important portions are republished in the Missionary Herald for July, has been read so widely that a reference to it is sufficient.

inhabitants, ruled by a few chiefs who were themselves ruled by one man—his will the only law—were almost literally slaves. Occasional visits of ships from the outer world had infected them with new diseases; and the influence of runaway sailors, and of other foreigners who had lived among them, had imparted additional destructiveness to their immemorial vices. Long ere this time, those islands, the most important group in Polynesia, would have become, but for the presence of American missionaries, a possession of some European power; and the inevitable conflict between a stronger and a feebler race would have been begun, to end only in the extinction of the native population. The political and commercial result of the mission has been, that Hawaii is acknowledged as an independent sovereignty; that its relations to the American people could not become more favorable to our commercial and national interests if those islands were a recognized dependency of ours; and that the institutions of government, of popular education and of religion have been established, which, as the old race gradually and peacefully recedes, will mold the character and secure the national independence of the more vigorous race that is already coming in.

Still more important in respect to the progress of civilization, are the results which are beginning to be developed in Turkey. Thirty years ago all the Protestantism within the limits of the Turkish empire was in the souls of not more than ten earnest inquirers after truth and duty, who had rejected the superstitious doctrines and practices of the nominally Christian communities in which they were born, and from which they had not seceded. To-day the Protestantism of Turkey, profoundly interesting in a religious view, and regarded with wondering thankfulness by evangelical Christians everywhere, has already become a political fact of great significance. Not only is it recognized by alarmed and jealous ecclesiastics, Armenian, Greek, and Papal, combining to maintain their several hierarchies; it has long been known as a stubborn fact in the deliberations of the Sublime Porte; it is already an element in the international diplomacy of Europe. There are now in Turkey more than forty evangelical churches,

including nearly thirteen hundred communicants. The Protestant population connected with these churches, attending upon their worship, and professing to acknowledge theirs as the true Christianity, is counted by thousands, and is continually increasing. These Protestant churches, formed and guided by our missionaries, have obtained from the government, not merely a promise that their existence shall be winked at, but a legal standing and a recognized place among the distinct communities that constitute the empire. Turkish Protestantism has its charter of incorporation as a civil community, its own internal government, its civil chief and representative at the imperial metropolis. In an empire which consists of many distinct nations dispersed and interspersed through various provinces,—religious and ecclesiastical connection, rather than country or community of origin or of speech, being the essence of nationality—the native Protestantism, that had no existence till within the last few years, has become a nation. And among those nationalities, it is distinguished by two characteristics equally American and Christian.—*First*, in that internal self-government which is its chartered privilege, it is purely republican. Its local officers are chosen by popular election, each local community being (like the inhabitants of a New England town, though with far less of personal liberty) a municipal democracy. Its civil chief and his official council at Constantinople are chosen by the united suffrages of all the local communities throughout the empire. Thus Protestantism in Turkey is an organized and chartered republic, with limited powers, under the sovereignty of the Sultan; while in all that empire there is no other rudiment or germ of republicanism. The *second* characteristic is, that by the Protestants in Turkey, the distinction between church and state is clearly drawn and persistently maintained. Every other nationality is recognized and governed simply as a national church, through its ecclesiastical officers; its patriarch or metropolitan bishop being the organ of communication between the community and the imperial government. These two peculiarities of the Protestant organization are not without a marked effect on the character and position of the Protestants as a body; and the

influence of the unique institution is beginning to be felt in other communities. This Protestantism—or, as we might say, this Americanism—with its internal democracy, civil and religious, and with its careful and palpable separation of secular offices from ecclesiastical functions, is the most vital and growing thing in Turkey. To its converts from the old Monophysite communion of the Armenian nation, from the Jacobite Syrian church, from the Greek church, and from the various Papal sects, it is now adding converts from Islamism. The spirit of inquiry concerning this reformed Christianity that abhors idolatry, and that rests on no other authority than the Holy Scriptures, is manifesting itself in every direction. Nothing but the embarrassment of the Board with its limited resources, and with its burden of indebtedness caused by the successes in that field, seems to prevent an almost indefinite expansion of the work. The missions in Turkey have become in some respects without a parallel among the missionary enterprises of the age. No other mission opens such prospects. In none is the crisis so imminent. In none are such results dependent on the question of seizing or neglecting the present opportunity. More than one third of all the annual expenditure of the Board has been concentrated there, and twice as much might be expended there to advantage. If those who make the Board their almoner fail not in the exigency, there is good reason for the confidence that in a few years more, unless some great catastrophe shall intervene, the Protestantism of Turkey will be able to provide for itself.

What may we expect from the next half century of foreign missions? One of the four young men, whose consecration of themselves to the service of Christ among the heathen in 1810, led to the institution of the American Board of Commissioners, is still among the living. So of the young men who are this year offering themselves to the same service, some may return and live to join in the celebration of that second jubilee. And what changes will they have seen! This first half century is only the beginning of the story; the sequel is to come. What an age is that in which the children of this passing generation are to have their period of activity! What signs of

the future do we see! How grand the shadows which coming events, even now, are projecting into the field of mortal vision! Think of this great Union of States, just now beginning to unfold its capacity of wealth and power and growth—just beginning to escape from the danger of impending barbarism, and to achieve its own predestined place in history—its churches, of so many evangelical names and forms, just beginning to appreciate, yet hardly daring to accept the fact that not the forms of dogma and of discipline which divide them, but the faith which they hold in common, is the power of God unto salvation—its Christian zeal just beginning to be kindled with the consciousness of powers and opportunities to be employed in filling the world with light and liberty. Think of Europe, where great changes are now going forward, which all men recognize as harbingers of greater changes soon to follow. Think of the human masses everywhere, slowly lifted up from immemorial degradation, as by the cosmic forces that lifted up the plains and mountains from the chaotic deep, when God had said, "Let there be light!" and the beauty of the new creation was to be revealed. Think how recently the dissevered parts of this terraqueous world have been brought into intimate connection with each other—all regions opening to peaceful commerce—the nations becoming conscious of their mutual dependence—steamships everywhere scorning the currents, puffing at the winds, and bringing the remotest shores into proximity—the ever-lengthening lines of railway, already more than long enough to girdle the earth—the nerves of telegraphic communication stretching from city to city, penetrating every continent, underlying the seas, crossing the oceans, and beginning to make the whole world one great organism through which intelligence flashes with the instantaneousness of thought. Think of those mysterious religious influences—mysterious to all who do not recognize God in them—which have so lately moved whole nations as by a simultaneous impulse. What hath God wrought! And what a future is it which is heralded by the marvelous changes so marvelously crowded into these last few years! That is no distant future. We who are living to-day are related to it. We are not only to expect it,—we are to labor for it.

**ARTICLE X.—THE PRINCETON REVIEW ON DR. TAYLOR,
AND THE EDWARDEAN THEOLOGY.**

The Princeton Review for July, 1859, Article III; and October, 1858, Article I.

The Princeton Review for July, 1859, contains an elaborate Article upon "Dr. Taylor's Lectures on the Moral Government of God." Our first reading of this paper was cursory and imperfect, for we confess to have been moved to so great impatience by the injustice of a few passages, that we were glad to lay it aside, and leave the greater part unread. We should have preferred never to see or think of it again, but have been constrained by our sense of what is due to the memory of the departed to give it a careful perusal and criticism.

Before we begin this criticism, we have a word to say in respect to the conductors of the Princeton Review, and the mode in which they are wont to write of many New England theologians. We regard these gentlemen as scholars and fellow Christians. We do not, indeed, accept all their views of Christian doctrine; for in some points they have sadly deviated from the simplicity of the gospel through the influence of a scholastic philosophy, and do not seem to be aware that what they set forth as the pure evangelical doctrine is a metaphysical corruption of the same through the tradition of the elders. But though we deplore their error in these particulars, and are often amazed at the simplicity of their complete unconsciousness of it, we do not for this reason exclude them from our fellowship, nor call in question their essential orthodoxy. We acknowledge their Christian piety and zeal, and gladly extend to them the right hand of fellowship as to brethren in the family and church of Christ. But while we cheerfully share with them an equal claim to the orthodox and Christian name, we concede to them no monopoly of either, and no precedence above other men of different schools. Any exclusive pretensions in either direction which they may make, whether

directly or indirectly asserted, move us we scarcely know whether more to smiles or tears. Whatever arguments they may present for our conviction, we will patiently consider. Whatever imposing airs they may assume, or vituperative epithets they may employ, whatever real or affected pity they may express, we shall consider as intended to influence another portion of their readers. Certainly they excite in us no other feelings than sorrow that they should possibly think us so weak as to be moved by such appliances.

We find, indeed, an argument to our charity, in the peculiar position which they hold with their patrons and constituents. They are in some sense the organ for a considerable portion of the once undivided Presbyterian Church. Their constituency is well organized and carefully trained to believe in its own superiority, and to provide for its own efficiency. It is essential to its prosperity that an intense church feeling should be fostered among all its ministers and members. Nothing tends to this result so directly as the constant assertion of their own superior orthodoxy. The more confidently this is done, the more boldly these assertions are repeated, the more intense is the self-satisfaction of their adherents, and at times the more sublimely unconscious is their self-complacence. To complete the impression designed, it is required that all dissentients should be stigmatized as lax, latitudinarian, Pelagian, heretical; with the appropriate expressions of pity and grief. Their opinions and measures should never be noticed or alluded to except in connection with such invidious epithets, in order that repetition may accomplish the work of argument and the constant reiteration of names may gain over the confiding and credulous to a confirmed faith. This course of controversial tactics must also be prosecuted for years, during which their adversaries should never be named with a generous word, nor their opinions be fairly conceived or charitably interpreted.

Such a policy is favorable to vigorous writing, so favorable, that it only requires moderate intellectual ability with the requisite practice, to train a corps of forcible and spirited writers, capable, to use a phrase from Dr. Alexander's Letters,

of ‘*mauling* the New Haven divines most unmercifully,’ and of performing the same operation on all other so-called Pelagians. Candor and circumspection, accuracy in stating an opponent’s opinions, and charity in giving them the most favorable construction, do not tend to form the vigorous style which deals furious blows with indiscriminate zeal, and blindly runs a-muck at everything called heresy, without being careful to distinguish the friends from the foes of truth. The cry of “orthodoxy,” and “the Church,” is sure to waken responsive echoes from a well compacted body of devoted adherents, or adhering devotees. A journal which is sure of its audience, and knows so well what will carry conviction to their minds, is likely to be vigorous, consistent, and self-satisfied. For a rough lustiness of thinking, a straight-forward directness of writing, for a free resort to saintly vituperation, and a similar application of the *ultima ratio* in the cry of the church is in danger, we recognize two American Theological Journals as preëminent, viz, *The Biblical Repertory* and Brownson’s Review.

It was to be expected that our brethren of the Princeton Review should closely criticise the writings of Dr. Taylor. They had committed themselves in opposition to the man and his doctrines by a course of controversy that has lasted for a generation—a controversy that runs back through previous generations, in which the New England theologians and the New England theology have been objects of suspicion and dislike. It has not been a controversy of words alone, but a controversy of deeds—resulting in the excision of an influential portion of the once united Presbyterian church, because of the heresy involved in the then much talked of New Theology. As a defender of this New Theology Dr. Taylor was conspicuous, and the good name of the man, as well as the soundness of his opinions, were pursued with intense hostility, and stigmatized with unstinted denunciation. In the forward zeal which impelled to the division of the Presbyterian body, the Princeton Review did not wholly sympathize. The better judgment and the more refined Christianity of its conductors would gladly have restrained the impetuous spirits which urged on the

church to violent deeds; but when the acts were done which it could not avert, the Princeton Review justified and approved, and has continued to employ the same language as from the first, towards the men whom it originally denounced. We are not in the least surprised that it should subject the published works of Dr. Taylor to a severe and unfavorable criticism, and seek to find, as the result of that criticism, an argument to justify its previous attitude of determined hostility.

The writer of the Article before us recognizes the necessity under which he is placed, in the several reasons which he gives for reviewing the lectures on Moral Government. In his first paragraph he refers to the prominent position which Dr. Taylor held among the theologians of his time, and the intimate connection of the man and his opinions with recent controversies in and out of New England. He then congratulates himself and his readers that the published works of the author furnish us with an authorized exposition of his opinions, so that it can no longer be questioned what his teachings were. The thought then occurs to him that the principal importance of these works is to be found in their power to throw light on past controversies, more than in any efficacy "to revive controversies already fought through, or to re-vitalize a system whose first meteoric success was only eclipsed by the rapidity of its decline." The evidences of this decline are then referred to, in the confident and self-complacent spirit which is so characteristic of the Princeton Review. Into the matter of fact here mooted we do not care now to enter. We only suggest that if these principles are fast dying out, it were surely safe and wise to leave them to die in peace; or if the "new forms of latitudinarian theology, which overshadow the issues of Taylorism," have so entirely overgrown the original poisonous stock, it were better to attack directly these new forms of evil which had taken the place of the once formidable New Haven theology.

After this preliminary flourish of trumpets, jubilantly announcing the easy triumph of the critic, he proceeds more formally to his work. But before he begins, he has some preliminary matters to dispose of. He must first account for Dr.

Taylor's theories in "the circumstances and surroundings which largely molded his thinking," before he tries them upon their merits. We cannot understand these theories unless we see them in their genesis. Much less can we account for "a certain two-sided or ambiguous aspect of his writings," or "*reach the most favorable construction of his spirit and aims of which his case admits, and in which Christian charity will rejoice! !*" This is all very proper, and the pious and friendly wish is really promising, were not its charity a little too condescending in its mien.

The "circumstances affecting Dr. Taylor's early development," are then considered, and discussed at some length under several distinct and appropriate heads. The first which is noted is "the wide prevalence of infidelity and atheism which appalled good men during the period of his theological training and ministry." There is here a slight anachronism which introduces some discord and incongruity into the otherwise imposing portraiture of the state of the times. It would seem as though the critic had confounded the times of Dr. Dwight with those of Dr. Taylor. The two sermons of Dr. Dwight on the nature and danger of Infidel Philosophy were preached in the year 1797, and were soon followed by an entire change in the sentiment of the college in favor of Christianity. The general attention to religion in the years 1802 and 1803, completed the revolution. Dr. Taylor was settled in the ministry in 1812, and prosecuted his theological studies with Dr. Dwight for two or three years previous. At this time, though infidelity was more frequently avowed than now, by a few professional men in New Haven and Connecticut, there is no evidence that it attracted the special attention or largely employed the thoughts of Dr. Dwight or of his students in theology.

Nor is it true that Dr. Dwight's own system of theology, or his theological teachings, were arranged with especial reference to the objections of infidels, or constructed chiefly for the defense of Christianity. On the contrary, it is evident that his instructions were as largely occupied with the leading topics of revealed truth as is the system of Dr. Woods or Dr. Hodge.

It is true that Dr. Dwight, in his lectures to the college students on the evidences of Christianity, and in his sermons in the college chapel, treated these topics with great ability. But there is no evidence from the early history of Dr. Taylor's youth, or of his theological training, or from the records of his ministry, that his attention was especially directed to the defense of Christianity, or that such attention resulted in those peculiarities of his theological system which are especially fitted to defend the Christian system against the objections of infidels. Precisely the opposite of this is true. His views of natural theology, of the moral government of God, and the evidences of Christianity, were, in the order of time, developed and put into form after he had reached the meridian of his life; while the best energies of his mind for the first twenty years of his public activity were given to the themes which appropriately belong to Christian theology, as opposed to Apologetics. It was not till after he had shaped into a system of Christian theology his simpler and more rational views of the gospel itself that he became aware of the argument for its divine origination, which was to be found in and developed from the principles which he had wrought out by painful, cautious, and preëminently practical thinking. The facts alleged by the critic, and the inferences derived from them, are totally unfounded in truth, and should be remembered at Princeton as an example of the evil influence of philosophizing too freely upon the facts of history.

We are next referred to the prevalence of Unitarianism and Universalism, and their influence on the theology of Dr. Taylor. The facts here cited are more correctly given, though they are so loosely stated as to leave a wrong impression. Dr. Taylor was not early or actively engaged in the Unitarian controversy, nor were the views by which he was first known to the public developed with reference to the objections and arguments of Unitarians. His first so-called discoveries in theology were reached in the revivals of religion, in which he was so earnest and fervent a laborer; and it was under the impulse which wrought within him to preach the gospel with the utmost power and simplicity, that he might commend it to

the consciences of his hearers, that his active and persevering spirit developed the germs of what was peculiar in his system. It is true that when the Unitarian controversy arose he watched it with the keenest interest. He scanned the letters of Stuart and Channing, and those of Ware and Woods, with a mind that could not be satisfied with a single defective statement or invalid argument; and, in reply to Norton's Thoughts on True and False Religion, he vindicated the good name of Calvin and of Calvinists by a course of argument and a citation of authorities which does not comport with the statement of the doubtless better-read reviewer, that, "as his reading and theological culture scarcely extended beyond the astute metaphysical theologians of New England, he knew little of standard Augustinian and reformed theology," &c., &c.

The influence of the Unitarian controversy was doubtless useful to his mind, and it led him to inquire with earnestness what are the truths of the evangelical system which are sanctioned by the word of God. The reviewer's account of the matter is thus given: "Dr. Taylor's speculations have a special respect to the objections leveled at the evangelical system from this source. Endorsing many of these objections to old orthodoxy, he endeavors to reconstruct the evangelical system so as to evade them. To this point much of his strenuous argumentation tends. He concedes much to the cavils of these errorists against the doctrines of the church, for the sake of proving that the doctrine of eternal punishment, which they most of all abhor, is demanded by the benevolence of God, on which they rely to subvert it." This is all plausibly asserted, but not truly. To what cavils of errorists against the doctrines of the church he concedes we are not informed. The only example cited is that he attempted to prove that the eternal punishment of the wicked is demanded by the benevolence of God, on which they rely to subvert it. But what did he concede in this argument? Is there anything novel in the argument itself, anything peculiar to Dr. Taylor in this thesis? So far as we are informed it has been propounded in the schools of theology ever since the days of Aquinas. Certainly it has been familiar in New England ever since the elder Edwards.

Dr. Taylor's mode of putting the argument was peculiar, but its peculiarity consisted in showing that sin was an evil so utterly inexcusable, so entirely offensive to God, so terribly corrupting in its nature and tendency, and so intensely opposed to God in all its relations, that he could not be benevolent without punishing it eternally. The power of this argument lies in the vivid, the awful conceptions, the distinct "intuitions" of the evil of sin and of God's aversion to it, for which Dr. Taylor was distinguished. What he conceded to these errorists was simply this: that if any man taught or led them to believe that sin was so purposed by God that he did not entirely detest and oppose it, that doctrine was false, and unsanctioned by the Scriptures, whether it was a doctrine of the church or not. At the same time he insisted that this was not the doctrine of "Augustine and the early reformers," and not truly orthodox. What he conceded to the Unitarians we are not informed. If the reviewer will refresh his memory by perusing, in the original edition of Wood's Letters to Ware, the account given by Dr. Woods of the views current in New England of man's depravity by nature, and his relation to Adam's sin, and read over again what Emmons has written about the nature of sin, he will find it exceedingly difficult to specify any concessions that were left for Dr. Taylor to make, in order to hold an argument with the Unitarians. And yet the reviewer repeats the charge in another connection. He speaks of "the remarkable self-assurance with which he propounded principles confessedly at war with the doctrines of all branches of the church," and "it is quite certain that he adopted and echoed the arguments of Socinians against important parts of the orthodox system." What these doctrines and arguments were, we are not told, and the truth is, that it would not be so easy to show that he took any view of the nature of sin for which the most abundant authority could not be found in the orthodox theology of every age. On the other hand, it would be easy to demonstrate that the various figments which have been devised by the metaphysical subtlety of leading theologians, as of oneness in Adam, by Augustine, or of federal unity, by Cocceius, have been devised for

the very purpose of reconciling with the imagined teachings of the Scriptures, the precise views of sin which Dr. Taylor was so earnest to enforce. He was so far from "propounding principles that are confessedly at war with the doctrines of all branches of the church," that his sole object in propounding these principles was to furnish for these very doctrines the means of a triumphant vindication.

The third position made by the author in explanation of the circumstances that account for the development of Dr. Taylor's system is entirely pertinent to the matter. Dr. Taylor, as the reviewer asserts, was formed by and developed from the New England theology; but not so exclusively as he imagines, and as a somewhat wider reading in metaphysical philosophy would have enabled him to understand. But the reviewer's estimate of the New England theology is very different from our own in two particulars; first, in respect to the agency which the elder Edwards had in its formation; and secondly, in respect to its development and results in the later schools.

Here we must observe that the author rests a part of his argument upon the assumption that the views expressed in his previous article of October, 1858, entitled *Edwards and the New Divinity*, are accepted as just, because no one has taken the trouble to answer them. But inasmuch as he attaches to them great importance in this analysis and refutation of Dr. Taylor, we are forced to notice them. In that Article, the author undertakes to show that the elder Edwards taught the general theology of the church, which means, in his view, the precise theological system now set forth at Princeton,* and that the generally received opinion that the later New England theology was, in any proper sense, a development from Jonathan Edwards, who was the President of Nassau Hall, and who lies in the odor of sanctity in the burying ground at Princeton, is altogether erroneous. In order to sustain this opinion, he argues laboriously to show that he

* What other orthodox divines think of the Princeton system may be seen in Baird's "Elohim Revealed."

was an old Calvinist in all particulars except two, viz., the theological doctrine of mediate imputation, which he held in common with Stapfer, and "an eccentric philosophical theory of the nature of virtue as consisting wholly in love to being in general." He appends the remark, for the purpose of using it in its place against Dr. Taylor and the so-called utilitarians, that "this was invented as a corrective of the theory which finds moral excellence in self-love." The importance which he attaches to this remark is shown by the circumstance that he repeats it in another place thus: "This he designed as a barrier to theories which found religion in mere self-love, and it was applied by him for this purpose and no further." Unfortunately for the objects of the reviewer this is incorrect. The design of the elder Edwards was to show that there was no virtue which did not imply love to God; that the reality of benevolence, taught by Hutcheson and Hume, must be measured and tested by the value of the object loved; or, as Edwards phrased it, by "the quantity or amount of being" he possesses. He does indeed incidentally discuss the relations of this benevolence to self-love; but to elucidate these was not his chief design, which was to show that there can be no moral goodness without religious love. What his doctrine was in respect to self-love we will notice in its place. We refer to the matter here to show how incorrectly the reviewer appreciates Edwards, and how easily he is misled in his views when facts or inferences are convenient for a particular purpose.

But to return to his estimate of the elder Edwards. He would have us believe that the peculiar direction given to theology in New England could not have proceeded from him. In proof of this he cites long passages from his writings to show that he applied his peculiar principles to defend the old Calvinistic doctrines of oneness with Adam, the imputation of Adam's sin, the total inability of man to accept the gospel, particular redemption; as also the penal nature of Christ's sufferings and the imputation of his righteousness to the believer. After discussing these points, and others of minor importance, he submits to all candid minds whether it is not proved beyond fair dispute that Edwards differed in no respect from the

general theology of the church, except in asserting mediate imputation, "and whether the various speculative systems that have successively risen and decayed under the title of New England theology, can, with even a show of justice, be ranked as of the school of this great divine, or claim the shield of his authority."

He then discusses at great length the "ten improvements of theology," which the younger Edwards claims were made by his father and his followers, contending that in some of these particulars the improvements were made by his followers, and of those which are to be traced to Edwards himself, every one is to be found in the older and standard theologians, and had been "among the common places of theology." Thus the second and fourth, on liberty, necessity, and the origin of evil, he would have us believe were not at all peculiar to Edwards, because everything that is to be found in Edwards was anticipated by Turretin. The eighth improvement, relating to the nature of true religion as treated in the work on *Religious Affections*, he considers as not belonging to Edwards, because similar principles had been asserted by Shepard, Preston, Owen, Calvin, &c. In short, he would leave the impression on the reader that the so-called Edwardean Theology is not derived from the elder Edwards, but from his successors, and that these last are the *fons et origo* of all the heresies which have infested New England and been continually invading the Presbyterian domain. The argument, as conducted by the reviewer, is somewhat plausible in its showing, if we consider the quotations and considerations adduced, and leave out of view the important considerations which he chose to disregard. We take issue with the author on the two points made by him, and assert that he has entirely overlooked those peculiarities in Edwards which have caused him to be properly regarded as the founder of a new school in theology; and again, that the later Edwardeans were not only properly his successors, but developed improvements that have been rightly judged to be of important service to Christian theology.

The leading peculiarity which distinguished Edwards as a theologian, was, that he was a philosopher as well as a divine. He not only dared to think, but he felt bound to think as a philosopher, in order that he might think as a theologian. He did not content himself with re-stating the old metaphysics which the first reformers had taken from Augustine and the schoolmen, with the phraseology of whom they had constructed their creeds; nor with re-producing the somewhat sharpened statements which the Synod of Dort had wrought from the same material, nor with servilely copying the compromising philosophy which the Westminster assembly had been forced, by conflicting parties, to agree upon; but he concerned himself with the current philosophy of his day, and discussed its positions philosophically, pressing them into the service and defense of the Christian faith, when it was possible, or, if he deemed them inconsistent with, or destructive of, the Calvinistic system, he essayed to demonstrate their unsoundness on philosophical grounds. We say, on purely philosophical grounds, for though he would not fail to demolish them with Scripture texts, and show that they could not be true because they would lead to un-Christian and un-Scriptural conclusions, yet he did not rest here the strength of his cause. He would show them to be unphilosophical as well, and would not rest content till he had demonstrated their invalidity on purely philosophical and scientific principles, and by the processes and methods acknowledged in the schools. Thus finding that the Arminians held a certain theory of the will and its freedom, which they considered inconsistent with the Calvinistic doctrine of decrees and sovereignty, and which they also insisted were essential to moral responsibility and moral distinctions, he sets himself, in his treatise on the Freedom of the Will, to demonstrate, by purely philosophical reasoning, that these received notions were absurd and self-contradictory—that they were not essential to moral responsibility, and could not be reconciled with the Divine foreknowledge and government. In opposition to their theory he sets forth his own, which he endeavors to support by the

proper philosophical evidence. The doctrine thus recognized and deemed erroneous, was found in the received philosophies of the times which were, directly or indirectly, formed by Locke's Essay. So, too, he was led to discuss the nature of virtue by finding that the doctrines taught by Hutcheson and others, that benevolence constitutes the whole of virtue, needed to be philosophically qualified so as to enforce and provide for the duty of supreme love to God. Indeed, no one who has read, with any care, the writings of Edwards, or has perused his life and correspondence, needs to be told that he concerned himself with the philosophy of his own time. He carefully collected and diligently read all that was written in his day, for and against the Gospel, and sought to use all the truth which the philosophy of his time furnished for the service, and to refute its errors for the defense of Christian theology. He was every whit a philosopher, proceeding according to the methods, and accepting the results of philosophical thinking. He was so far a philosopher that he could not believe it possible that anything should be philosophically true which was theologically false; nor, conversely, that anything could be theologically true which was philosophically false. He was so far a philosopher that he sought to express every proposition, even those concerning the highest of all themes—God, his ends in creation, and the relation of his purposes to the free acts of man—in clear and intelligible diction, and to derive from these propositions their inevitable logical conclusions. He did not aspire to the absolute knowledge of the Infinite—none of the New England divines have done so, Dr. Taylor least of all; but he believed that whatever man knows can be clearly conceived and distinctly propounded in language. If imperfectly known, the imperfections and limitations could be recognized; but, when a truth or principle was stated, and, so far as conceived and expressed, it might be applied fearlessly and boldly to all its logical conclusions. He was a philosopher because he believed in the consistency of truth with itself, and in the obligation which is imposed on every thinker to make his positions consistent with one another. He believed in the progress of theological science. His profound sense of the

limitations of the human mind, impressed upon him the conviction that it was not given to Augustine, to Calvin, Turretin, or the Westminster divines, to attain that absolute knowledge and complete mastery of all the metaphysics of theology which the Princeton reviewer asserts for them; while the clearness of his "intuitions," and the sharpness of his ratiocinations, forced him to suggest whatever "improvements" the exercise of his own reason had enabled him to furnish. Here lay the secret of Edwards's influence. In this way is explained the power of his mind over the theological thinking not only of New England but of this and the mother country, not only over his own generation but over all those which have followed. He developed a new method in theology, unconsciously to himself. He asserted principles in respect to philosophical theology, which excited and directed the minds of his so-called successors, and which, by right, entitle them to the appellation of Edwardean—which made them what they were, bold, enterprising, logical, consistent thinkers. These principles, and this method, sharply distinguish this school from that which the reviewer represents. The Princetonians believe in the absolute perfection of the old metaphysics. The Edwardeans believe in their imperfection, and try to improve them. The former say that the metaphysics of Augustine, Calvin, and Turretin, are not metaphysics, but Pauline theology. The latter contend that the Pauline theology is better defended by a more enlightened and consistent philosophy. They are properly designated as two schools in theology, separated from one another as schools of philosophy, but united by the common faith, which they defend by different methods. The reviewer asserts we are no school in theology; but our creed is the pure doctrine, the very sincere milk of the word, the first principles of the gospel defecated from all scholastic impurities.

Now we marvel greatly, that the reviewer, in his own imposing discussion on Edwards and the New Divinity, should have overlooked this grand and distinguishing feature of Edwards and should have endeavored to persuade himself that Edwards the son, and all the world in New England and in old England too,

had till this time been mistaken in supposing that Edwards the father is the father of the New England theology, while the truth is that he was only the father of Edwards the son, while Edwards the son was the true father of the Edwardean theology. We are surprised that the writer who writes like a philosopher and has a mind capable of better things than the special pleading of a theological attorney, should have failed to see that in the *Essay on the Will, and on God's End in Creation, &c.*, there was the introduction of a new method and of peculiar principles in theological science. We are indeed surprised that, overlooking all these peculiarities, he should try to prove that Edwards was nothing more nor less than a good old-fashioned Calvinist like Stapfer, excepting only that he held an eccentric theory of virtue.

We pass to the consideration of the second point—the value of the development and results of the Edwardean theology in its later schools. We confine ourselves to the estimate of it given by the reviewer, in the Article before us. His objections to it are in fact, though not in form, summed under two heads. The Edwardean system substituted the preaching of metaphysics for the preaching of Christ, and it led to the abandonment of some important doctrines of the Calvinistic system. Concerning the first, the reviewer thus expresses himself: "Divine sovereignty, election, and decrees were intensified and pressed out of their scriptural relations and proportions into the foreground awarded to Christ and him crucified." "Thus the love of God in Christ, the true inspiration of evangelic preaching, the power of God unto salvation, was often shaded into relative unimportance." The charge that the preaching of the later Edwardeans was too metaphysical, is well made. But it is to be remembered that their congregations had been educated to require metaphysical preaching, and enjoyed it keenly. What is more to the purpose, the preachers had a metaphysical system which they were neither ashamed nor afraid to preach. They thought it to be their imperative duty so far to justify the ways of God to man that their hearers should acknowledge their guilt, abandon their excuses, and so open their hearts to his Son. Their metaphysics were constructed that they might

be preached, and whatever might be said against them on other grounds, this is to be asserted in their praise, that they developed certain principles which are much nearer to the human conscience and more potent with the human soul than those which they displaced. It was for this reason that they were valued. This was one reason why the Edwardian system was valued not only at home but abroad ; that it enabled the Calvinist to preach a consistent and earnest gospel. For this reason, Andrew Fuller, Robert Hall, Thomas Chalmers, and the English Congregationalists have earnestly studied and so highly valued the New England theologians. On the other hand, there is one advantage with the old metaphysics, that those who profess to believe them do not like to preach them if they are bent on saving the soul or edifying the Christian. They do not like to see them in the foreground. They talk about and praise them, but they had rather not preach them. They lay them on the shelf, or put them up in a closet, but do not like to give them the air too freely. If they thrust themselves into the foreground in the form of an objection, they are thrust aside by substantially the same reply which we find in a printed sermon by the lamented Addison Alexander, "This is theoretically true, but practically false." But if they do preach them now and then, the terrors of a single sermon are potent enough to depress and chill the congregation for a twelvemonth. We have heard from the sermons of eminent Old School divines of the present generation, metaphysical dogmas which were as bad and as dangerous as Pantheism itself, if indeed they were not purely pantheistic in all but the fair name of the doctrines of grace. As to the charge, that the love of God in Christ was shaded into relative unimportance, it was for manifold reasons true in fact, but it was not of design. That the New Englander preached metaphysics we concede ; that he did this laboriously and consistently we do not deny ; but it was always with the express design that he might convince his hearers that God loves him. The Princetonian does not like to preach the doctrine that Christ died only for the elect, because the hearer will not believe that the offer of the gospel is honestly made for him, and hence for the best of reasons "the love of God in

Christ, the true inspiration of evangelic preaching," is not so often shaded by the presence of such metaphysics.

As to the sad condition to which this Edwardean system had brought theology even before its final development in Dr. Taylor, he thus expresses himself: "We refer here to the doctrine of natural ability, then naturalized and nearly universal in New England; to the dogma that moral quality pertains exclusively to exercises which were prominent in Emmons's scheme; to the wide prevalence of the dogma, that all virtue consists in benevolence; to the nearly universal rejection of the doctrine of imputation, whether of Adam's sin or Christ's righteousness, inaugurated by the younger Edwards; to the governmental system of atonement, no less in vogue, and having the same author." We leave this declaration without comment, because it needs none here.

The last of "the objective molding influences" which the reviewer notices, is the circumstance "that Dr. Dwight held the utilitarian theory of the nature of virtue; that it consists exclusively in benevolence, or a desire to promote the happiness of the universe," and "this influence encouraged Dr. Taylor's speculations on this subject, till they culminated in startling dogmas, from which Dr. Dwight probably would have recoiled," &c. Upon this subject we do not here enter, as we shall have abundant occasion to discuss it farther on.

After considering these objective influences, the reviewer next considers "the subjective peculiarities of inward life and intellectual constitution that contributed to make Dr. Taylor the theologian that he was." He observes "that his extraordinary power was rather in the line of logical acuteness and ingenuity than in that breadth and depth of insight, without which the mere logical faculty is quite as likely to precipitate us into error as guide us to the truth." After this somewhat formidable announcement and a slightly superfluous disquisition on the three sources of knowledge, viz, "intuition, testimony and logical deduction from what is known by intuition and testimony," we expected an analysis of the mind of Dr. Taylor and an adduction of illustrative instances which would be suitable confirmation of this assertion, introduced with so much

confidence and form of preparation. We are disappointed. We find no analysis at all, and no instance to confirm the assertion, except that Dr. Taylor did not agree with the reviewer that right and wrong are "intuitions," Dr. Taylor holding that they are resolvable into other and more comprehensive intuitions, and the reviewer that they are simple and original.

The reviewer is mistaken first, in asserting that Dr. Taylor did not clearly see the necessity nor fervently respond to the importance of considering first truths, and secondly, that he failed in want of insight into the "self-evident excellence and obligations of first moral truths." Against the first, we assert that no teacher could possibly be more alive to the absolute necessity of intuitions, or more enforce the obligation to believe in and ascertain them as the necessary pre-condition of all logical deduction and all philosophy, than Dr. Taylor. On no subject was he more earnest and eloquent than upon this. No principle was more cogently enjoined upon his pupils. It was almost literally inculcated upon them whether they would receive it or no. To this condition he was led by the very clearness and subtlety of his logical faculty. His skill in analysis and the patience with which he applied it qualified him to enucleate the irreducible monad, on which dialectics could make no impression; to evolve the intuition which bade defiance to all attempts to reduce or decompose it. But his philosophic faith did not degenerate into philosophical superstition. While he worshiped the Divinity that was mysteriously enshrined in the recesses of its self-derived authority, he was not disposed to render to profane intruders a superstitious or indiscriminating homage. In other words, he believed in reducing all first principles to the fewest possible, in obedience to the impulse which leads to philosophy, the impulse to make our knowledge one and consistent with itself. That the logical faculty rendered him incapable of judging of intuitions, is asserted by the reviewer, but it will have little weight when we show that the reviewer has misconceived what his intuitions were—even in respect to the nature of right and wrong. As against the second charge that he did not respond with fervor "to the self-evident evidence and obligation of first moral

truths," we adduce the earnestness with which he asserted as first moral truths that are self-evident, propositions which the reviewer in his turn will not admit to be such. They are such as these, that no man ought to be punished or incur penal evil except for his own sin—that neither the sin nor the holiness of one can be imputed to another—that the cause or condition of sin cannot be sinful—that an act, in order to be morally good or evil involves "the power to the contrary." These, and certain other intuitions, were apprehended with a sharpness of insight and a fervor of conviction which were quite as conspicuous in Dr. Taylor's character, as the clearness with which he looked from premises to conclusions. He was quite as much shocked at the insensibility of his opponents to these primal intuitions, these sacred and self-evident moral convictions, as the reviewer can possibly be at the like disregard in him. He was accustomed to account for this insensibility, not in all cases by the clearness and subtlety of the logical faculty, but by the unreasoning tenacity with which his antagonists accepted the traditional speculations of the dogmatists of other days.

We have dwelt longer than we intended on these preliminary points, and now proceed to discuss the reviewer's analysis of the distinctive principles of Dr. Taylor's system. The first point which he notices is the excessive and misplaced estimate which he put on the importance of constructing systematic theology on the well considered and well-settled principles of moral government. After quoting several sentences, he subjoins as follows: "This is extraordinary language. The moral government of God is his government of moral beings. Every treatise on theology is a treatise in regard to God's government of such moral beings as we have knowledge of," &c., &c.

The language is not so extraordinary as the fact that the reviewer should so sadly misinterpret it. His respect for the intellect of Dr. Taylor, if nothing else, should have prevented the imputing to him so petty a weakness, as to mean no more in the assertion that theology ought to be constructed on just views of moral government, than the poor truism that theology

ought to be constructed on true principles—and his respect for himself should have saved him from making it a matter of reproach that Dr. Taylor believed his own principles to be true. Certainly he believed them to be true, or he would not have taken the pains to assert and defend them. We submit that Dr. Taylor's use of the terms moral and government is neither "arbitrary" nor "narrow," but one that is authorized and generally received. The authority for its use in a special meaning is Bishop Butler, in a work which it were well were it oftener considered at Princeton, for it would be found, that a much larger "portion of the seed-principles of Dr. Taylor's treatise" were derived from the much-praised Analogy, than from the provincial Edwardean theology. The meaning of Butler and of Dr. Taylor was the same when they spoke of the moral government of God, for they both intended by the term that administration of God which binds men to obedience and love by the character and the doings which are discerned by the conscience to be morally right. When Dr. Taylor asserts that theology was seriously defective because it failed to conform to just views of God's moral government, and needed to be reconstructed and re-shaped by this rule, he asserted a very intelligible and a very true proposition. It is true, as he contended, that every doctrine of Christian theology should be so defended as to be justified to man's moral judgment, and thus be enforced upon man's obedient belief, by the authority of his own moral approval. He believed that systematic theology, instead of being a series of dry, self-contradictory, and, perhaps, morally offensive propositions, bristling with scholastic terminology, ought to be alive with a manifested and personal God, revealing his moral authority in each of its varied aspects—threatening, pitying, pardoning, chastising, consoling, redeeming, and casting off,—and that all these aspects should be so harmonized as to blend in one total impression, that "God is Love." Tried by this ideal he found theology to be defective—at one time repelling and offending the conscience which it ought to command, and at another time shrouding itself in ambiguous and shuffling phraseology, when it ought to unveil to the soul the steady, yet win-

ning eye of infinite goodness. He found it again delighting itself in outworn scholastic metaphysics, when it ought to express itself in intelligent and rational speech. He would not have it abate the high prerogative of that sovereignty which does not give all its reasons to man, nor intrude on the sacred reserve of that mystery which is the imperial robe that becometh the majesty of God—but he would never allow it to assert the claim of a tyrant's prerogative in the sole appeal to infinite power under the much abused terms of the rights of the creator and the nothingness of the creature. Who that has studied the past history or the present aspects of much of the received theology of Christendom with the candor of a thoughtful student, can doubt that his views of what theology ought to be, and of what theology is, were just and important. Who that sees the mournful result in the scornful unbelief of such multitudes of enlightened men, who ought to have been saved by the power of the truth which commands by winning, and wins by commanding, instead of being repulsed by the uncouth and monstrous dogmas which belie the sincerity and debase the holiness of God, can restrain the sadness which such thoughts inspire. Were all memory of Dr. Taylor from this hour to perish from the earth, were every record of his teachings to be effaced and forgotten, and could the better and nobler ideal of Theology remain, which he impressed on his generation by the force of his earnest words, and presented with his soul a-flame as the last offering of his intellect to God, the world would be much the better that he had lived. Certainly not a few competent and unbiased men have seen both meaning and truth in the very views on this subject in which the reviewer finds neither.

After this depreciating estimate of the leading aim which Dr. Taylor had before his mind in applying the principles of moral government to the improvement of theology, the reviewer proceeds to consider the system itself. In doing this, instead of taking first the comprehensive definition which the author lays down, and following it out into its various applications, he dexterously slips it out of view and at once attacks his ethical theory. He does not care to ask whether his

views of moral government may not be retained while his ethical theory is rejected in whole or in part, but he quietly assumes that if he can successfully refute the one, the other must fall of course. The greater portion of his views is devoted to a single object. The theory of moral government is left unconsidered. Whatever may be its weakness or strength, it is not distinctly encountered. The distinctive peculiarity of a moral government, according to Dr. Taylor, is, that it is the government of moral beings, by *authority*. In describing this peculiarity he does, indeed, contend that authority cannot be asserted except by rewards and punishments, and that, therefore, a moral influence must be used which appeals to the capacity of man for enjoyment or suffering, or, in other words, God, in the administration of his government, must apply motives of good and evil. This at once raises the ethical question whether the two influences—that from the authority of conscience, and that from the authority of God expressing his favor or displeasure in rewards and punishments, are inconsistent, whether the one is *inferior* to the *other* in kind, or whether in the last analysis the two have a common element, on which both rest their power to constrain, viz, the capacity of man for happiness and suffering. The question is not a new one, not always so distinctly and clearly stated in its difficulty and its solution, but yet perpetually presenting itself in ethics and theology. Distinguished philosophers and theologians have taken opposite sides for centuries, and the side taken by Dr. Taylor is as respectable—so far as great names are concerned—as the side represented by the reviewer. Dr. Taylor contended that if you are to defend the influence of moral government proper—which is identical with what may be fitly termed the personal influence of a personal God—from being inferior to that of conscience, or the obligation to do right or wrong for its own sake, and will do this with philosophical consistency, you must show that the two have the common element spoken of. If a person does not experience the difficulty, there can be no occasion for the solution. But as his penetrating and analytic mind anticipated all the possible difficulties that might arise, he was

driven into the development of the ultimate grounds of the origin and authority of moral distinctions, and adopted the theory to which the reviewer has devoted his almost exclusive attention. Now it is obvious that if a person does not feel the difficulty expressed above, or considers its only solution to lie in the mutual relation of two irreducible elementary conceptions, those of holiness and happiness, that this does not at all forbid him from accepting Dr. Taylor's theory of moral government, and of valuing the reasonings and illustrations that constitute his system. The reviewer asserts that there is an "intuitive conviction of the whole human race that there is, under the government of a Holy God, an inviolable nexus between holiness and happiness, sin and misery." A generous critic, not to say an enlightened and well informed ethical philosopher, would have said, we differ from Dr. Taylor in his exposition of the relation between holiness and happiness—we find an intuition where he requires a resolution and analysis; but "the inviolable nexus" being assumed, we acknowledge the pertinency and power of the vindication of "the government of God by authority."

But has the reviewer done justice even to the ethical theory of Dr. Taylor, to which he has devoted his chief attention? We assert that he has not, but that he has entirely misconceived and mistaken it. This ethical theory is properly divided into two leading positions. First, that benevolence is the primary morally right affection—veracity and justice being forms of benevolence. Secondly, that benevolence itself, in the last analysis, is known to be obligatory or morally right, because it is attended with the highest happiness, and thus secures the highest well being of the agent. We propose simply to show that the reviewer has grossly misconceived, and unjustly aspersed this theory in both of these positions. This is all that we propose. We do not attempt to explain or vindicate in full either its peculiar principles or its peculiar phraseology, nor to explain or vindicate it at all, except as we are forced to do this in exposing the mistaken and reproachful charges of the reviewer.

The first position to be considered is the doctrine that "be-

nevolence is the primary morally right affection, veracity and justice being forms of the same. After quoting several passages on this point, he breaks out as follows: "We do not see how any language could more utterly confound and vacate all moral distinctions. Actions are right and wrong, not intrinsically, but solely as they are instrumental of happiness. The end sanctifies the means, whatever they may be. Desert of punishment and the righteousness of the infliction depend not upon the culpability of the victim, but upon its relation to the public good. This determines whether the woes of punishment may righteously be inflicted upon the innocent or the wicked! These are the inevitable logical results of the theory that virtue is founded in utility, that it has no intrinsic quality, but is merely the means of happiness." We observe that not one of these so-called "logical results" is stated in the language of Dr. Taylor and not one of them is justified by that language. Not one of them would be accepted by him as a just expression of his views. The reviewer, instead of saying that they are the logical results of Dr. Taylor's theory, had better show it, than fulminate such uncalled for denunciations. That they are the logical results of a certain doctrine of utility is true, but it is not true that they can be logically deduced from the theory that benevolence is the generic and comprehensive virtue which is taught by Cumberland, Hutcheson, Leibnitz, Edwards, Dwight, and Taylor. Edwards (that eminent Princetonian divine) says most explicitly, "It is abundantly plain by the holy scriptures, and generally allowed, not only by Christian divines, but by the more considerable deists, that virtue most essentially consists in love." A greater than Edwards also affirms: "For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, *thou shalt not bear false witness*, thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, *thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*," and "*owe no man anything, but to love one another, for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law.*" We submit moreover that this language is quite pertinent to the proposition that "benevo-

lence is the primary morally right affection, veracity and justice being forms of the same," and we remind the reviewer who finds by his intuition that certain supposed inferences from this theory cannot be true and therefore the theory is false, that it is dangerous to set up one's private metaphysics against the Bible, for he himself has said: "One word which the Holy Ghost speaketh, one ray of divine light shot by him into our sin-darkened souls, is worth more than all that wisdom by which the world never knew God."

We cannot divine how the reviewer should have been led so to mistake the opinions of Dr. Taylor. We quote however the sentence which seems most to offend him. "And now if we suppose the essential nature of things to be so changed, that the authority of law and the public good as depending upon it, would be destroyed, and absolute and universal misery follow, unless the innocent were to be punished, would it be right to make innocence now become the true and necessary cause of such fearful results, the ground of punishment? If it is now right and just to punish the disobedient, it would then be so to punish the obedient—to punish for a thing having the same relative nature, though it should have another name."

It will be seen that Dr. Taylor in this sentence makes the proviso: "if we suppose the essential nature of things to be so changed," and speaks of innocence and guilt as exchanging their "relative nature." We suppose that the reviewer himself would say that if the intrinsic quality of actions should be changed, then what is called virtue should be avoided, and what is called vice should be performed. To this he would reply the supposition is impossible. Dr. Taylor would say the same of his own supposition concerning "the essential nature of things." So the difference between the two, in respect to the grounds of punishment, is that the one finds them in the *intrinsic qualities* of actions, and the other in the *essential nature of the things* to which actions are related, which relation determines the intrinsic qualities of action.

It is quite remarkable that in these passages and in all the others which the reviewer quotes on this subject, he entirely over-

looks what a writer on Christian ethics is supposed never to leave out of view, the distinction between the intention, and the external action in which that intention is properly made manifest. When Dr. Taylor says that an external act of veracity or justice, though right in certain relations and therefore the right thing to be done, is not morally right, he recognizes the principle announced by the apostle: "though I give all my goods to feed the poor, and have not charity, I am nothing;" that is, the act must proceed from the controlling principle of moral goodness, called in the scriptures Charity, and by Dr. Taylor and other moralists, Benevolence. This is tortured by the reviewer so as to make Dr. Taylor teach "the end sanctifies the means, whatever they may be. Truth, justice, lying, fraud, cruelty, aside from the benevolent or selfish spirit which may prompt them are void of moral character. They belong to adiaphorous things as truly as running or walking. The consequence is, they become morally good or evil, according to circumstances." The circumstances in this case are, it will be noticed, the presence or absence of a right intention.

By overlooking in the same way the distinction between the intention and external act, he imposes on himself and on unreflective thinkers by the following argument: "We cannot forbear adding that if the quality of moral action lies not in its nature, but in its perceived tendency or consequences to the highest happiness or misery of sentient being, then it must be forever impossible for men to know the moral quality of their actions, further than as they are taught it by the authority of revelation." This assertion is enforced by the commonplace thought that "it is impossible for any one to calculate the consequences of a single action, and of course impossible to know that it is right or wrong," &c. But what does the reviewer mean by actions? Does he mean the comprehensive intention to contribute to the well-being of my neighbor, which is "the most essential element of virtue," even "in the view of the most considerable deists," and is "the fulfilling of the law" in the judgment of Paul? In respect to the obligation to this, Dr. Taylor teaches an eternal and immutable morality, for the mind assents with unerring certainty to the obligation to this

intention. Does he mean by actions certain subordinate intentions, as the intention to be just, and to be veracious? But if the mind sees with entire and uniform certainty that the "essential nature of things is such" that justice and veracity do promote the common good, and if this is its *a priori* "*intuition*," then it must eternally and inevitably believe that benevolence requires justice and veracity, "with eternal and immutable authority." If the mind goes further, and asks how shall I know that this or that particular action is just and true, we apprehend that even the reviewer's "*intuitions*" of "the intrinsic qualities" of actions will not in all cases preserve him from error. For example, the reviewer knows that he ought to discharge the eternal and immutable obligations of "justice and veracity" in criticising the system of Dr. Taylor. We grant that in his intentions he is "just and veracious," but if he fails in understanding Dr. Taylor's real opinions he is "unjust" to him in the outward act, and if he represents them incorrectly, he is "untrue" in the same sense. Whether he fails through the want of a clear intellectual intuition concerning the principle that he ought to be intellectually just and true even towards a theological opponent; or in the application of the principle does not clearly discern what in the premises would be a just and true act, he fails, notwithstanding his intention to do the thing that is to be done.

The fact is, in reasoning on what he is pleased to call the greatest happiness scheme, the reviewer has not rightly conceived the ethical theory of Dr. Taylor. He has contented himself with discharging the well known and trivial common-places against a theory of happiness which is coupled with a theory of the human reason or a speculative system of the universe without *a priori* principles. A theory thus lame in its speculative side must limit all knowledge to the experience of the past or the present, and can provide for no principles for the time to come. It can allow of no generalizations, that are made as quickly as thought, no "natural inductions" which flash light upon the soul with the precision and clearness of the so-called "moral intuitions." Dr. Taylor believed as truly in intuitions as did the reviewer, but he did not deem it philosoph-

ical to multiply their number without occasion. In so doing he avoided the perpetual contradictions in theory and practice to which those are exposed who claim a special capacity for *moral intuitions* or *moral instincts*, and the endless variety of phraseology with which a high-sounding but inconsistent and untenable theory of morals plumes itself, often in borrowed robes of pompous metaphors, sometimes with pharisaic and ignorant intolerance, and always with fatal speculative and practical defects. The theory of Dr. Taylor provides for a morality as inflexible and as eternal as that of the reviewer, and it is quite out of place for him, by reason of his own failure to discern the distinctions made by his author, and among others the one so plain as that between the purpose and the act—"the heart and the life"—to say of the system which he fails to appreciate, that "it subverts the first principles of morals, the intrinsic difference between virtue and vice, and authorizes a shifting expediency in place of an eternal and immutable morality."

The second of Dr. Taylor's leading positions noticed by the reviewer, is that Benevolence is known to be right in the last analysis by its being attested with the highest happiness of the agent. The reviewer makes less of this point than we expected that he would, and somewhat confusedly blends the consideration of this with the one already noticed. We have chosen to reduce his arguments to a more logical order for our own convenience and that of our readers. In considering this argument we do not propose to expound fully Dr. Taylor's views, or to defend them against every possible objection, but only to consider the particular criticisms urged by the reviewer. The first of these is directed to the original and generic signification of the terms right and wrong. This question in its narrowest form, seems not to us of the first importance, because however it may be decided, it does not decide the main point at issue to the satisfaction of the majority of reflecting men. Such do not approach the subject from the most generic view, and reason downwards, but they inquire and reason in the opposite direction. We think that Dr. Taylor is right in his opinion of the etymology of the words in question.

Whether he is justified in his inferences we do not care to argue. If the reviewer wishes to inquire in respect to the original and etymological import of the terms right and wrong, he will find earlier and what to him might be more weighty authority than Dr. Goodrich in Webster's Dictionary.

But the reviewer contends that right "means not only conformity to a standard, but, as often, the very standard idea or law to which we ought to conform, or the characteristic element of that to which we ought to conform, i. e., moral goodness. Thus used, it denotes a simple idea." We beg leave to call his attention to the following considerations.

If right as a "simple idea" belongs to the *standard*, and is to be distinguished from conformity to the standard, then we have the matter thus: right is used in two senses; first it is the standard, and here it is a "simple idea;" second, it is conformity to a standard, and of course it is an idea of relation to a simple idea, the relation in the case being a relation of conformity. But the relation of conformity to a simple idea is not a simple idea any more than the conception ($x +$ or $-$) is a simple conception, but it is a conception of relation. We conclude therefore that the simple idea called "moral goodness" is a simple idea only when it belongs to a standard of conduct, and never when it is applied to the agreement of conduct or character with that standard. For it is obvious that it cannot be a simple idea, when applied to both. The reviewer gives up then the cherished dogma reiterated and implied in such varied forms through his criticism, that the intrinsic quality of *virtuous actions*, is a simple idea discerned by intuition, because what we have by intuition is the "moral goodness" that belongs to the standard. He might suggest that we can have an intuition of a *relation* as well as of a conception. If he asserts this, then he agrees with Dr. Taylor, who would say, right and wrong, when applied to conduct, designate its agreement and disagreement with a standard; and for this reason they designate *relative* ideas. The two would differ only in this respect: Dr. Taylor would say right and wrong designate conformity of actions to natural good, as determined by "the essential nature of

things," and this is *moral goodness*, which properly defined is conformity to natural goodness. The reviewer would say right and wrong designate the conformity of actions to moral good, i. e., *moral goodness* is defined to be conformity to *moral goodness*. Jouffroy* finds a similar oversight in Price and Stewart, though their inconsistency is by no means so glaring and inexcusable as that of the reviewer. In this criticism he distinguishes between the good in the standard, calling it "absolute good," and conformity to this goodness, calling it "moral good." It would puzzle ordinary ethical philosophers to see how moral goodness could belong to a standard of action at all, unless the reviewer might suggest, to escape from his difficulty, that what he meant by a standard was, after all, but the quality of action, i. e., the ideal of a virtuous action conceived as the mental standard by which to measure actual attainment. But the original difficulty still returns, i. e., what is virtuous action, as distinguished from action that is not virtuous, or what is virtuous action in the ideal man? Must it not be measured by some standard? and what is that standard? This standard itself is not moral goodness, otherwise virtue would be conformity to virtue. But it must be the best result within the possible attainment of man's nature—the highest and best activity of which this nature is capable. This viewed ideally is the standard; this, when voluntarily produced or conformed to by a rational being, is moral goodness. But how shall man know what is the best activity which he can originate? Let there be no revelation, no instruction from parents or teachers, or, which is to the same effect, let it be necessary as it is, that he should understand and test the truth which revelation and the wisdom of others enjoin. Dr. Taylor would reply, he knows by the superior satisfaction which it gives, that it is the best activity of which he is capable, and knowing this, he is at once under the strongest possible motive to make it his own. Or, putting the case in another form, Dr. Taylor would say that ideal good, conformity to which constitutes

* Introduction to Ethics, Chapter xxi.

moral goodness, can only be known by the highest subjective satisfaction that comes when the soul fastens on the best objects by which the universe can occupy its energies. It judges objects to be more or less desirable, or more or less good, according to the satisfaction which they give, as it is higher or lower, not merely in the intensity of its quantity, but in the purity of its quality. But whether it is higher or lower in quantity and quality, whether it is the pure blessedness of the friend who dies for his friend, or the low gratification of a brute appetite—the generic name for all these various subjective states of the soul is *good*, and the common name of that in each of the objects which calls forth these states, is also good. But it is obvious that as moral activity is soul activity, all moral quality pertains to the soul's subjective energies as subjective—that when the soul asks which is the best activity for me to exalt as my ideal and enforce as my law, it asks which is the most satisfying in quantity and quality, of those subjective desires and energies of which it is capable. As soon as it knows, and as fast as it knows them, it is constrained to produce them. Producing them, it rejoices in a new satisfaction, that of creating by its own energy, its own highest well being. Reflecting on what it has done, it is blessed with its own self-approval. Seeing in this and other indications that this action is the end for which nature intended it, it discerns another relation of this activity, its relation to the end of its existence. Seeing that it fulfills this relation, it blesses itself with a new joy. Man sees again another relation—its relation to his own perfection—and another to the dictates of reason, and, highest of all, its relation to the manifested will of a personal God, in securing whose smile he finds his heaven, and in meeting whose frown he finds his hell. To all these kinds of satisfaction there is no generic name but satisfaction, happiness, and well being. As the thing to be judged of is the quality of the soul's own acts—pray how can they be judged of except by the satisfaction which they yield? But of all the good agencies in the universe, none is to be compared, whether in respect to its objective results to

others, or in its subjective to the being himself, with a morally right character—that self-originated activity which is only a fount of blessing welling forth its streams of good to all that can derive good therefrom. But this also is covered by the broad proposition that there is no good but happiness and the means of happiness, at which the reviewer takes offense. But why should he? Because the blessing which it is, and the blessings which it gives, are infinitely higher and purer than that of the dew-drop on the leaf that slakes the insect's thirst, is it any the less a good? Or does the virtuous will suffer indignity by being classed with the lowly dew-drop in the nomenclature of the philosopher?

But the reviewer is very indignant that it should be claimed for Dr. Taylor by his friends that he held that "virtue and vice are respectively good and evil in themselves," and confidently sets over against this claim his own language, "there are generally [generically] speaking, two things, and only two, each of which may properly be said to be evil in itself. The one is suffering, including unhappiness or misery, and the other is the direct means of suffering. Each is truly and properly said to be evil in itself." Upon this the critic exclaims, "what is this but dexterous word-playing?" We retort, what is this but undexterous misunderstanding. You attach to the words means of suffering and means of happiness, a limited sense to which Dr. Taylor never confined himself. To put his real meaning beyond all question, we select the malevolent affection, we care not whether the simply wishing of ill, which in some cases has no moral quality, or the voluntary affection that is morally evil. That the affection is a means of evil to its object will not be questioned; that it is also uncomfortable to the person indulging it will also be granted; it is an uncomfortable affection, evil in itself. If now we abstract the malevolent quality from this subjective accompaniment, and then in the progress of our thinking come back to the fact that it is uncomfortable to the agent, we say of it, it brings only suffering—it is the occasion of suffering, it is the means of suffering to the agent. Thus he would say of any original state of feeling, it is

evil of itself, thereby excluding it from all relation to anything except the subject of the state, and then emphasizing its relation to him as a sentient being—say of the same activity in this subjective relation, it is a means of suffering. That this was Dr. Taylor's mode of expressing himself, all familiar with his writings and disposed to understand him, are well aware. Whether it was the most favorable to his being rightly and favorably understood by such as were not familiar with his use of language, we will not contend. It was characteristic of him to value the perfection of his analysis and the completeness of his generalizations, far more than to provide against the possibility of mistake from ignorance, prejudice, or perverseness.

We have used the phrase *sentient* being for the sake of calling attention to the very gross, to us the inexplicable, if not inexcusable injustice committed by the reviewer against Dr. Taylor, and which he would justify in part by this very phrase. His language is, “It is the happiness of beings too considered simply as ‘sentient’—whether their sensibility be corporeal or spiritual, animal, aesthetic or moral—the *quantum* rather than the *quale*.” To what purpose the reference to different kinds of sensibility is introduced, we do not see, but the reviewer seems to find in it a justification of his inference, that Dr. Taylor measured happiness by the *quantity* rather than by its *quality*—by “the *quantum* rather than the *quale*.” We should judge that the distinct recognition of the fact that the sensibility may be corporeal and spiritual, and that *sentient* is a generic term for the capacity for feelings of various qualities, would not only have suggested but compelled the opposite inference. The quotation which immediately follows, to the purport, that God having “the greatest portion of being,” therefore his perfect happiness has the greatest worth, is founded on Edwards' favorite conception. But neither this nor those which accompany it prove that Dr. Taylor measured happiness only by the *quantity*. It is notorious to all philosophers that the various affections of which the soul is capable are susceptible of various degrees of intensity, and thereby admit of the scale of *more* or *less*, the degrees of which are sometimes read off in rude mathematical approximations. It is also well known that the ob-

jects of affection are capable of being estimated, somewhat as Edwards measured them, by their quantity of being. But to reason that because Dr. Taylor recognized this element of quantity he did not also regard the element of quality, is to commit a fallacy too obvious to need any illustration; and too unjust to be fitly characterized by any epithet which we care to employ. We say most emphatically that Dr. Taylor, in speaking of the greatest happiness, or in reasoning from it, whether he applied it to the object or subject, never limited it to quantity alone. Is the reviewer so unfortunate as never to have heard how Dr. Taylor used to express himself in one of his well-remembered sayings—"If I had the universe in my hand and should give half to another, I should be richer than if I had retained the whole?"—and did he not, in saying this, most emphatically affirm that the blessedness of giving does in quality outweigh the quantity of happiness which the retention of the whole could impart? If he may be excused for not remembering this saying, if he had ever known it to be uttered, can he be excused that he did not, as the apostle bids us, "*remember* the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said it is more blessed to give than to receive." Or could he not at least have recalled the words of the gentle Portia, "The quality of mercy is not strained. It is twice blessed. It *blesseth* him that gives and him that takes." Or would he remember them all to press them to the conclusion, as to be consistent he ought, that the great teacher and Shakespeare, that Edwards and Taylor estimate happiness as a *quantum* and not as a *quale*. The reviewer is moved to "shudder" at the bare suggestion of the consequences of the theory which he so grossly misconceives. We think the shuddering would be far more appropriate, if bestowed upon the injuriousness of his own interpretation.

It was charged against Dr. Taylor in his lifetime, even by those holding the Edwardean theory of virtue, that Dr. Taylor taught a selfish system of morals in saying that virtue is founded in "self-love." The charge has been renewed since his death. The reviewer does not rest his objections so prominently on the use of the phrase "self-love," partly, perhaps, because he does not often find the phrase in the volumes on

Moral Government, and in part because he wishes to involve the whole New England school in one comprehensive group as Utilitarians. But as he does avail himself of the odium that was early excited by this phrase, and which has not wholly subsided, we deem it proper to explain the history of its use by Dr. Taylor. Edwards, in his Treatise on the True Nature of Virtue, distinguishes two senses in which the term self-love is used, the general desire of happiness, and the desire of private interest which degenerates into selfishness. Of the first he says:

"Self-love, I think, is generally defined 'a man's love of his own happiness,' which is short and may be thought very plain: but in reality is an ambiguous definition, as the expression his own is equivocal and liable to be taken in two very different senses. For a man's own happiness may either be taken universally for all the happiness or pleasure of which the mind is in any regard the subject, or whatever is grateful and pleasing to men," &c.

He contends that this is an improper sense of the term.*

* And yet that President Edwards was not always consistent with himself, is obvious from the following extracts from "Charity and its Fruits:"

"*Charity, or the spirit of Christian love, is not contrary to all self-love.* It is not a thing contrary to Christianity that a man should love himself, or which is the same thing, should love his own happiness. If Christianity did indeed tend to destroy a man's love to himself, and to his own happiness, it would therein tend to destroy the very spirit of humanity; but the very announcement of the gospel, as a system of 'peace on earth and good-will toward men,' (Luke ii, 14,) shows that it is not only not destructive of humanity, but in the highest degree promotive of its spirit. That a man should love his own happiness, is as necessary to his nature as the faculty of the will is; and it is impossible that such a love should be destroyed in any other way than by destroying his being. The saints love their own happiness. Yea, those that are perfect in happiness, the saints and angels in heaven, love their own happiness; otherwise that happiness which God hath given them, would be no happiness to them; for that which any one does not love, he cannot enjoy any happiness in." pp. 229, 230.

"The inordinateness of self-love does not consist in our love of our own happiness being, absolutely considered, too great in degree. I do not suppose it can be said of any, that their love to their own happiness, if we consider that love absolutely and not comparatively, can be in too high a degree, or that it is a thing that is liable either to increase or diminution. For I apprehend that self-love, in this sense, is not a result of the fall, but is necessary, and what belongs to the nature of all intelligent beings, and that God has made it alike in all; and that saints, and sinners, and all alike, love happiness, and have the same unalterable and instinc-

In using the term for the general desire of happiness, or as it rather should be defined, the capacity in man for the various kinds of good generically conceived, with the consequent capacity for as many desires, Dr. Taylor differed from Edwards, not in respect to the nature of the affection, but in respect to its appropriate name. But his attention having been called to the relations of man's desire of happiness to the rewards and threatenings implied in the government of God, and also to the much vexed question about disinterestedness as discussed by the followers of Hopkins, he sought for a brief term by which to designate this generic capacity for, and the impulse towards good. It was about this time that Dugald Stewart's "Active and Moral Powers" were published and reprinted in this country. In that work the term self-love is applied to the desire of happiness, though with some hesitation, and its meaning, as used in this sense, is distinguished from selfishness. From Dugald Stewart the term was taken by Dr. Taylor, in the sense in which he defined and used it. It was not till after much controversy had been awakened in respect to other and appropriately theological opinions of Dr. Taylor, that the use of this term was made the ground of complaint, and he was attacked for teaching a selfish system of morality, even by the men who professed to hold the system of Edwards and Dwight. It was in vain that he protested against this misconstruction and referred to his authority. He was literally made an offender for a "word." Since that time, in days when entirely new systems of ethics have been introduced with their novel phraseology, it has been alike forgotten and uncared for, whence the term was derived and what was the sense in which it was used. The term "self-love" has been sufficient, and sciolists in ethics and the import of its phraseology have been ready to urge their ready fulminations against a system of morals of which they had

tive inclination to desire and seek it. The change that takes place in a man when he is converted and sanctified, is not that his love for happiness is diminished, but only that it is regulated with respect to its exercises and influence, and the courses and objects it leads to." pp. 231, 232.

It is worth while to compare the language here used by Edwards with the quotations which are made by us from Leibnitz, &c., Knox, &c., and to notice that Edwards uses self-love in three senses.

heard said it was founded in self-love. The reviewer brings up the train of those who join the outcry, only he includes Edwards as the object of his general attack. We had expected better things of a writer even in the Princeton Review, than that he should pay so little regard to the history of doctrines and of terms in Ethical Philosophy, as to be willing to bring up this kind of sweeping and indiscriminate argumentation against something called utilitarianism, and think it would either satisfy or silence men who reflect on such subjects with earnestness, thoroughness, and candor.

We said at the outset, that it was not our design to expound or vindicate Dr. Taylor's ethical system, any further than it should be necessary to defend him from the injurious attacks of the reviewer. It was not Dr. Taylor's purpose to construct a complete system of speculative ethics. He developed such a system only so far as it was necessary for his purposes as a theological teacher. Many questions he left untouched, the consideration of them not being required by his immediate object. Some of those which he did not discuss now press themselves into notice. Whenever they presented themselves, he was prepared with an answer, but he did not spread them out before his mind or the minds of his students, as he would have done had he lived in other times or taught another science than theology.

That this is so, will be manifest to any one who considers the side from which he approached the discussion of ethical questions. In the discussions appropriate to Natural Theology, he was accustomed to ask, "Can man by the light of nature attain to the knowledge of right and wrong?" In answering this question, he of course must explain how this knowledge was attained, and he gave the answer which we have endeavored to free from the misconstruction charged upon it; the answer which has the authority of many eminent philosophers. But the question, as he discussed it, was rather psychological than ethical, as has been the case with most of the ethical discussions by the English school. When Dr. Taylor had answered the question, man knows his duty as soon as he knows his highest good, he had answered it so far as his purposes required. The element furnished by *experience* was

that which was prominent in his mind. The *a priori* relations of this knowledge he did not care to discuss, its relations to the end of man's existence, to the essential nature of things, its claim to the highest place in the universe as the end of all being, &c., &c. These were all presupposed, or else separately considered, without any special application of them to ethical questions. It was thought by some that he overlooked these relations, and that he taught a system that was merely empirical. Nothing could be further from the truth. It would not be just to say that he overlooked these *a priori* elements. He only overlooked the necessity of developing them to other minds, in order to vindicate his views from every possible objection. This defect is common to all the New England writers.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the ethical system taught in New England, even with these defects, is peculiar to that *provincial* district, or that the questions which have been started by its theologians and the solutions which have been given, are altogether unknown to speculative men in other parts of the world. Yet so the Princeton reviewer would have us believe, if we were to be altogether influenced by the emphatic tone in which he utters his "deliverances." To weigh against the preëminence of his authority, we venture to refer to the following writers, in order to show that some minds out of New England have adopted the same terminology and reached similar conclusions. We quote first from Leibnitz. "Vir bonus autem est qui amat omnes, quantum ratio permittit. *Justitiam* igitur, quæ virtus est hujus affectus rectrix, quem φιλανθρωπίαν Græci vocant commodissime ni fallor definimus caritatem sapientis, hoc est sequentem sapientiæ dictata. *Caritas* est benevolentia universalis, et *benevolentia* amandis diligendi habitus. Amare autem sive diligere est felicitate alterius delectari, vel, quod eodem redit, felicitatem alienam adsciscere in suam. Unde difficilis nodus solvitur, magni etiam in theologia momenti, quomodo amor non mercenarius detur, qui sit a spe metuque et omni utilitatis respectu separatus; scilicet, quorum utilitas delectat, eorum felicitas nostram ingreditur; nam quæ delectant per se expetuntur." Op. Phil. ed. Erdmann, p. 118.

"Mais il est visible par la notion de l'ainour que nous venons de donner, comment nous cherchons en même temps notre bien pour nous et le bien de l'objet aimé pour lui-même, lorsque le bien de cet objet est immédiatement, dernièrement (ultimato) et par lui-même notre but, notre plaisir et notre bien, comme il arrive à l'égard de toutes les choses qu'on souhaite, parce qu'elles nous plaisent par elles-mêmes, et sont par conséquent bonnes de soi, quand on n'aurait aucun égard aux conséquences, ce sont des fins et non pas des moyens." Id. p. 790.

We quote also from Alexander Knox, that true hearted Christian philosopher who was also distinguished for the almost mystical tone of his Christian devotion. He writes thus to Rev. John, afterwards Bishop Jebb.

"I am not clear, that to speak of loving God for his own sake, and not primarily on account of any benefits which we have received, that we do receive, or that we hope hereafter to receive at his hands, &c., is, on the whole, an eligible, or even strictly tenable way of exhibiting the truth on this great subject. I am aware of the sanction of great names, and good hearts, which it has. But I see it has been greatly abused; and that, as I conceive, not by distorting it, but by pressing its liberality. I think every valuable end would be safely answered, by showing that our love is not genuine, if it be on account of any earthly benefit; or even any supposed eternal benefit, which is not of a moral or spiritual nature. This strikes me as the safest and truest line; since, to delight in any thing, is, radically and essentially *to feel conscious benefit in it.* On this ground, then, it is evident, that there can be no idea formed of love, which does not contain the idea of benefit to him that loves. The delight of love, being the very wing on which it rises; and, to be delightful, being, in moral inteligen-
ces, identically the same as to be lovely."

"The more I consider human nature, and the sphere of action in which it is placed, the more convinced I am, that we cannot be too selfish, if we are selfish in a right way. We cannot, I conceive, desire that which is supremely beneficial, with any excess of intensity; nor too much regard it, *as beneficial.* In this bright and blessed center, lines, elsewhere remote, and

more and more diverging, as that is receded from, so essentially unite, that to seek that benefit, is to seek excellence, and to be infinitely selfish, is to be exquisitely pure and virtuous. I know well, *how* poor self-love has been stigmatized and execrated. But, if she were fairly heard plead in arrest of judgment, I think she would yet come off in triumph. It could be shown that the evils did not rise from self being over loved, but from the love of external things being misplaced."—"Thirty years correspondence between Jebb and Knox," pp. 325, 6.

To this Jebb responds : "Not a syllable in your letter has 'tired, or 'teased,' or 'startled' me, or 'appeared to jar with moral truth.' Most completely the reverse. I do soberly think, that self-love necessarily enters into the composition of everything great and good, and admirable in man ; that in self-love there can never be excess ; that without self-love there can be no rational, or deep love of good ; and that self-love is intrinsically more noble and excellent than benevolence itself. If this last be not the case, why should the best and wisest of all teachers make self-love the measure of love to our neighbor ? The measure, surely, always gives the idea of something more perfect than the thing measured ; the archetype, than the resemblance. Still, however, I must beg leave to doubt the propriety of your expressions 'that we cannot be too selfish, if we are selfish in the right way ;' that, 'to be infinitely selfish, is to be exquisitely pure and virtuous ;' that there is a 'soul-exalting selfishness,' &c. Observe, that I cannot discover in myself 'the shadow of the shade' of dissent from your principle ; that I most deeply concur in believing and feeling 'that we cannot desire that which is supremely beneficial, with any excess of intensity ; nor regard it too much, as beneficial.'

"Let a person use the terms self-love, and selfishness, promiscuously ; and though his own sentiments and conceptions be ever so just and clear, it is an hundred to one, that he will send away his auditor with a perplexed, unsatisfied and fluctuating mind. Let the same person, with precisely the same opinions, use the terms distinctively, and I can hardly question his giving complete satisfaction to any hearer of candor, and of decent apprehension." pp. 337, 338, 339.

An acute and able critic of the recent conflicting philosophical systems of Germany, thus remarks concerning the only possible system that can adjust the apparently incompatible views in the field of ethics. "The true system of Idealistic Realism does not, with Kant and Herbart, reject all respect to the result aimed at, as a determining ground of moral action, just as little does it with the utilitarians and the Hedonists find the moral norm in the object gained or more exactly in the highest measure of happiness, but in the relations of its worth. The highest energy and the highest pleasure necessarily connected therewith, must be sought for, but the highest *qualitatively*. All our aspirations and endeavors must be directed to that activity and pleasure which is of the highest worth and most spiritual." Fichte's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. 34, p. 78. "Doubtless," says the acute Lotze, in his *Microcosm*, "that object has inferior value which corresponds to a momentary and accidental condition or some idiosyncrasy of the soul which it affects; greater still is the value of an object which is in harmony with those general and normal peculiarities of organization, by which the spirit is qualified to fulfill its destiny, and that may be the highest of all which would favor the permanent habitude of an ideal character from whose innermost states had vanished every deviation from the end of its development. But higher than this there is nothing conceivable, and the thought of anything which is somehow unconditionally valuable [or good in itself, yet good for nothing] that does not show its value by its capacity to give happiness, overleaps itself and that which it would bring to pass. Doubtless that was a praiseworthy rigor of practical philosophy that desired to free all the laws of duty from even a sidelong respect to the advantage of the actor, but it was unjust in this rigor to seek to separate the manifest and undeniable connection in which, notwithstanding, the despised, and in most of its applications, the despicable notion of happiness stands to the other notion of intrinsic worth." *Microkosmos*, vol. ii, p. 304. We might also quote and discuss the concessions of the reviewer to the same effect, and answer more fully his objections, but we have pursued the subject at sufficient length.

We had also intended to comment on the reviewer's strictures

of Dr. Taylor's doctrine of freedom, and its relations to the influences of the Spirit, as well as to the permission of moral evil. Our limits will not, however permit, and we find no inducement to follow the topics from any novelty in the arguments offered, or any special difficulties in the minds of our readers. These points have been discussed over and over again. Explanations have been furnished, and rejoinders have been returned. The admiring and confiding readers of the Princeton Review may be satisfied with a doctrine of the will which is substantially that of Hobbes under a fair theological disguise. But we do not believe that those who have considered better views, will be satisfied either with the philosophy or the Scriptural interpretations urged by the reviewer in its support.

Were any additional arguments required to show that the later New England theology had been both efficient and useful, they might be derived from the way in which the reviewer parries the heavy blows that are dealt by Dr. Taylor upon the doctrines of mystical union and of imputation as taught by many theologians. In meeting these well-directed objections, he limits himself to a brief statement of these doctrines as held by himself, in order to vindicate them from the alleged misrepresentations of Dr. Taylor. And pray what is the true view of the doctrine of oneness with Christ? Why the reviewer tells us that the phrase "‘one moral person,’ if used at all by standard theologians, is used in a metaphorical, not a literal sense—a use for which we have the authority of Dr. Taylor himself, in an analogous but much weaker case of mutual relationship. He says, ‘as a matter of convenience in the use of language we may conceive of the public or a community as a moral person.’" Surely, the New England theologians had not toiled in vain, if it be conceded that this phrase is used in "a metaphorical, not a literal sense."

So in vindicating the church doctrine of the imputation of Christ's righteousness, the reviewer asks, "Now is it necessary to iterate for the thousandth time that imputation means to reckon to the account as a ground of judgment and treatment, not the transfer or infusion of personal qualities." So too the sins of the believer are imputed to Christ in the sense that

"they were reckoned to his account as a ground of his bearing their penalty in our place." And what is penalty, we might ask. And we should be told it is not evil endured by the person who committed the sin, but evil endured by another, to whose account the sin is reckoned !

The reviewer suspects that he may some how or other have slipped upon the ground of the New England theologians, and acknowledges "it will be said by some, that this explanation of imputation assimilates it essentially with the views of those who deny it, since they hold that sinners were treated as if they were righteous for Christ's sake." "But the ground of the treatment is very different in the two cases." Ah ! in what ? "It is a real righteousness reckoned to us." A real righteousness is either an actually righteous character, or the attainment of that relation to which the righteous man is entitled, or it is transfused righteousness. The reviewer would say it is neither of the first two, therefore it must be the last. But that he also denies. He had better acknowledge that all this stickling for "imputation," "penal," and "righteousness," is a controversy about words, and that his New England brethren are just as orthodox as himself, and far more rational and Scriptural. We retort in his own language, "The controversy is not with us, but with the word of God. Thither we remand the" defenders "of imputed righteousness," and hope that they will not forget to take with them their grammar and dictionary, and *will* forget the traditional scholastic terminology, by which the words "penal," &c., are tortured into a special theological meaning. We are strengthened in the belief that the New England theology has not been in vain.

The reviewer, in conclusion, pleases himself with the thought that his analysis of Dr. Taylor's system has made "it sufficiently evident, why, since it first flowered out in a sudden promise of triumph, it has been steadily withering and dying out of the theological life of the country." Is this the fact ? Or rather, is it not true that the theological life of the country has so generally assimilated many of the leading principles for which Dr. Taylor contended in his prime, that, now he is dead, there is less interest in the discussions which contributed in

so great a measure to the vindication and enforcement of these principles. Does the reviewer believe that even the theological life of his own ecclesiastical body, has been uninfluenced by these discussions—that the same dogmas which forty years since were received with unquestioning assent are propounded now in the same form, or are urged with the same heartiness of conviction ? Are they not preached with less frequency, or if still asserted in the same form of phrase, are they not qualified with more explanations, or reconciled to the stubborn convictions of the conscience against them by more skillfull argumentations which recognize the necessity of furnishing in some sort, the very philosophical vindications, which in theory they assume to be improper and impossible ? Is it not found necessary, in order to sustain the hold of their system on the convictions of earnest and thinking men, to dilute its peculiarities into vague generalizations, or to suppress its instinctive features by a wise discretion, or to dress them out with the trappings of a gaudy rhetoric, or to sanctify them by the factitious assumptions of unnatural ecclesiasticism, or to glorify them by the radiance that gleams from the unhallowed fires of partisan excitements ?

If we look beyond the bounds of this body, has not the theological life of the other Evangelical denominations made important progress in the conviction that the truths of the gospel ought to be interpreted and preached by forms of statement more free from scholastic metaphysics and more in accordance with the moral intuitions of the race, that the scriptures can and ought to be interpreted so as to be commended to the conscience and common sense, and that the scriptures, when thus interpreted, and the gospel when thus vindicated, are invested with greater power to command the homage of man. To these results the earnest activity of Dr. Taylor's theological life, and the discussions in which he took so prominent a part, have contributed somewhat.

There is less interest in Dr. Taylor's system now than there once was, and the reason is obvious. Many of the truths for which he contended as a wrestling giant, are now as common as household words, and are no longer thought worthy of an argument. They seem so obvious that they are regarded as self-

evident. The theological life of Dr. Taylor was also concurrent with new and strange activity in the thinking of Protestant Christendom. New systems of philosophy have risen in their strength, and whether wholly false or partly false and partly true, have done important service by showing the greatness of the truth which they vindicated, and illustrating the rottenness of the error which has been overcome. The scriptures have been assailed, vindicated and interpreted by the application of tests and principles which have invigorated and instructed the theological life of Protestantism with influences which it will not soon forget. The theology that is to convince and sway this generation, must defend its position on Biblical statements, and these statements must be scrutinized and defended by enlightened and historical interpreters. The sciences of nature have asserted their right to a hearing from theology, and their claims have to a certain extent been canvassed and adjudicated. Literature also, through the review, the poem, the newspaper, the lecture, and the novel, has been becoming a more and more potent agent in the intellectual life of society; and in all these forms has influenced for evil and for good the form, the spirit, and the principles of Christian theology. Great enterprises of moral and political reform have started into being, and have excited churches and ministers, by discussions which have diverted the attention from the theological topics which formerly absorbed their almost exclusive regard. Speculative theology has itself become a subject, if not of secondary interest to the ministry itself, yet a subject which receives but a divided attention. The interest which once was given to this alone, is now directed to the new questions which modern speculation, modern exegesis, and modern reform have presented. These considerations are a sufficient explanation of the facts which the reviewer so complacently writes into an epitaph on the rapidly dying system of Dr. Taylor. Why not let it die in peace?

But it is asserted that it owes its failure and decay to the mistaken attempt to defend the gospel by lowering its pretensions and thus weakening its power. This charge is somewhat insidiously urged, and deserves a word in reply. Dr. Taylor did attempt to vindicate the gospel from the

incumbrances with which a false metaphysics and foolish interpretations had loaded it, making it an offense to the reason of man and dishonorable to the truth of God, but he was the last man of whom it deserves to be said that he lowered its claims upon the conscience, or compromised its commands to an immediate and entire subjection of every living man. Who in these times has ever more successfully represented the holy majesty of the Eternal, or caused his hearers to say more honestly—"Wo is me, for I am undone, for I am a man of unclean lips, for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts." Whose voice and eye and soul so responded to the tenderness of that infinite pity which dwelt in the merciful Jesus, as he wept over the doomed city. Nay, what ultra Calvinist of the most strenuous school ever dared to preach the sovereignty of God in the gift of the spirit and the reality of his eternal purposes, with such freedom, and asserted for it such prominence in the administration of the gospel, as did this theologian whom the reviewer would hold up to his confiding readers, as one who fatally rationalized the truth of Christ!

What are called the mysteries of the Gospel, or the truths which the reason cannot fathom, and all the relations which man is not competent to understand, as the Trinity, the Incarnation, the relations of the sin of Eden to the sin of the race, the workings of the Spirit of God on the spirit of men—were received by him as true, on the testimony of God. To vindicate the authority of this testimony from being impaired by what he thought a lax theory of inspiration, was the last work to which he set his hand, and which he vainly hoped to be allowed to live and finish.

And yet he was called a corrupter of Christian truth through philosophy, because he would leave these mysteries where the Scriptures have placed them, when it was his single aim to exorcise from the temple, where they are hidden, the human philosophisms that had gained a lodgment within its sacred precincts. From this enclosure he would repel every bold dogmatist "vainly intruding into those things which he had not seen, being puffed up with a fleshly mind," and content himself with the simple teachings of the word of God. He rejected such

human figments as oneness in Adam—oneness by divine constitution—oneness by a federal head—mystical union—imputation of sin or holiness—righteousness which pertains neither to character nor relation—because they went beyond the record and the inferences to which it would lead, in respect to these reserved and mysterious truths. Concerning the *moral* relation of these truths, however, he felt authorized to reason, and he felt compelled to reason, and so to present these truths in their moral relations as to make them consistent with God's honor and man's duty. Because he used these knowable and known moral relations to combat and overthrow philosophical assumptions and phantasms in regard to the unknowable and the unknown; in other words, because he used conscience and common sense to assail traditional and fantastic speculations, hands of holy horror were raised against him, by men steeped in the inherited speculations of the past, as a devotee of philosophy rather than a learner from Christ. Even the Princeton Review, encrusted as it is with its own traditions, rejoiced in the evidence interpreted by its charity, that Dr. Taylor, toward the end of his life, turned from his confidence in philosophy to a more simple trust in the Redeemer.

He did not, therefore, lower these spiritual truths, which he did not profess wholly to explain, when he thus vindicated their moral authority by showing that so far as known, they are parts of one system, every truth of which is but another aspect of the moral government of God. If there is a man who lowers the claims of the Gospel, it is he who by shuffling statements and self-contradictory propositions and scholastic refinements and questionable interpretations, patches up a vindication of what he calls Orthodoxy, and having duly and solemnly delivered it to those whom he informs at the same breath can neither understand nor believe it till God shall give them supernatural grace, blesses his own soul that he has contended for “the faith once delivered to the saints.”

We regret that Dr. Taylor's views, which were so misconceived in his lifetime, should suffer injury from any infelicities of phraseology or infelicities of style and method. These infelicities are far more to be regretted now, when it is required of one whose writings are to be read with interest, that they be

invested with the real or the factitious attractions of a very good or a very meretricious style. We regret, also, that the prejudices excited against the man and his writings which were so industriously propagated during his life by men occupying high ecclesiastical and social positions, should be so zealously enforced since his death in the Princeton Review, or that any writer in that Review should take advantage of its influence so to misinterpret the principles and misconstrue the aims of one, who with great intellectual honesty, sought to know the truth of God, and declared his convictions with a singular fearlessness. His love of truth was a passion. To conceal, misinterpret, or dishonor the truth for any reason, whether from party zeal, from theological connections, from love of friends or fear of foes, was, in his view, to be guilty of no inferior sin. There are grave theologians, and sober elders, and large ecclesiastical bodies, and powerful newspapers, and confiding Christians by scores of thousands, who have been taught to believe him untrue to the great doctrines of Christian theology. The reviewer has doubtless performed a grateful service to all such, in endeavoring still further to weaken their confidence in his claims to respect and honor.

We are pleased to see that he has had the courage to express the respect which he feels for his intellectual acumen and force, as also for his generous qualities; and that he has even ventured a charitable judgment for his Christian character. But this is no compensation for the injustice done to the opinions which prominently characterized the man, and were dearer to him than his life. These opinions must stand or fall in the arena of free and fair discussion. There the author was content, there we are content, to leave them. But to be fairly discussed they must be fairly represented. It has been our aim to defend them not from opposing arguments, but only from misconception.

We could have wished that the review had come from another quarter, but while we owe to all the writers in the Princeton Review the obligations of literary courtesy, and to some of them those of sincere friendship, we owe something also to the good name and honor of the dead.

**ARTICLE XI.—DR. DUTTON'S DISCOURSE COMMEMORATIVE
OF CHARLES GOODYEAR, THE INVENTOR.**

"FOR THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN IS AS A MAN TRAVELING INTO A FAR COUNTRY, WHO CALLED HIS OWN SERVANTS AND DELIVERED UNTO THEM HIS GOODS. AND UNTO ONE HE GAVE FIVE TALENTS, TO ANOTHER TWO, AND TO ANOTHER ONE; TO EVERY MAN ACCORDING TO HIS SEVERAL ABILITY, AND STRAIGHTWAY TOOK HIS JOURNEY.—*Matt. xxv, 14, 15.*

"AND MOSES SAID UNTO THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL, SEE, THE LORD HATH CALLED BY NAME BEZALEEL, THE SON OF URI, THE SON OF HUR, OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH; AND HE HATH FILLED HIM WITH THE SPIRIT OF GOD, IN WISDOM, IN UNDERSTANDING, AND IN KNOWLEDGE, AND IN ALL MANNER OF WORKMANSHIP, AND TO DEVISE CURIOUS WORKS."—*Exodus xxxv, 30, 31, 32.*

In the first of these passages from the sacred Scriptures we are taught that God gives to men endowments, varying in kind and degree, and commissions them to use them, according to their nature and amount, in his service. In the second we have an instance of a particular kind of endowment, given to one who was divinely called to exercise it for God's purposes, viz, the endowment of *inventive genius*.

On one of the days of the last week, from this Sanctuary, where he was accustomed to worship and to unite with fellow disciples in sacred communion at the table of the Lord, we bore to its burial the body of one of the most ingenious, useful and worthy inventors of this or any other age—CHARLES GOODYEAR. And he was one who recognized his peculiar endowment of inventive genius as a divine gift, involving a special and defined responsibility, and considered himself called of God, as was Bezaleel, to that particular course of invention to which he devoted the chief part of his life. This he often expressed, though with his characteristic modesty, to his friends, especially his religious friends. Without presumption and in great meekness, he regarded himself as having a divine vocation to his peculiar work, as thoroughly and as reverently as did ever ancient prophet, or modern minister or missionary of the Gospel. And he was actuated and sustained throughout by a strong and sacred sense of duty to

God to fulfill this mission. It is this feature which gives to his life its chief interest in Christian minds, and makes it well worthy of contemplation and discourse on this sacred day, in this sacred place. For, in God's providence and grace, examples are given for our instruction in the modern as well as the ancient church.

A full account of his life will not be expected within the limits of a single discourse. My object will be simply to set forth the facts and experiences of his history, so far as will illustrate his ruling spirit, viz : that of one who labored not chiefly for himself, but as the commissioned servant of God and friend of man.

His work as an inventor was very great and very beneficent. His merit in this respect was declared, in the able and just decision of the Commissioner of Patents of the United States, in the case of the renewal of his patent, to "be the same in kind with that of the most illustrious inventors who have appeared in the world, and by that of few of them surpassed in degree."

There would not be time, and this is not the place, to set forth, in any detail, the nature or the extent and beneficence of Mr. Goodyear's inventions. Suffice it to say, in general and summary terms, that a product of natural vegetation, literally inexhaustible, since it comes from forest trees which grow in a belt of ten degrees each side of the equator around the whole globe—a product before almost worthless, and which had for years resisted many and very expensive attempts to adapt it to useful purposes, such attempts all ending in pecuniary disaster—has been rendered by his inventive genius an article of inestimable value and of indispensable utility. By that process, in which his chief invention consists, this natural and almost useless product is converted into a new material, called "elastic metal;" and it was applied by him in many forms, some of them almost universal, to secure and promote the life, health, comfort, usefulness and happiness of mankind ; and it is capable of further useful application to an extent to which we can set no limits. Already the various modes of mechanical industry founded upon it give employment to

thousands, and supply beneficially the wants of millions in all parts of the civilized world.

I. The ruling and truly religious feature of Mr. Goodyear's character already announced, and which this discourse is designed to set forth, will be naturally illustrated, in the first place, by a brief sketch of his early life, and of the varied labors and trials through which he persevered till his first great success; while, at the same time, a reasonable biographical interest will be satisfied.

Mr. Goodyear was born in New Haven, Dec. 29, 1800, the son of Amasa and Cynthia (Bateman) Goodyear, and a descendant of Stephen Goodyear, who was the associate of Gov. Eaton, and after him the head of that company of London merchants who founded the colony of New Haven in 1638. In his early childhood, as early as his eleventh year, he received deep and strong religious impressions, which resulted in his consecration of himself to God, and in his desire and purpose to become a minister of the gospel. But the condition of his father's business constrained him to give up that cherished purpose. His father was one of the earliest manufacturers in this country of hardware, and during his boyhood, when he was not at school, he was occupied with the various branches of his father's business. From the age of seventeen to twenty-one he served a mercantile apprenticeship at the hardware business, with the firm of Rogers & Brothers, in Philadelphia, at that time one of the most extensive wholesale importing houses in the United States. During the next five years he was engaged in a partnership with his father, in the manufacture of hardware, in this state. Some important inventions had been made by his father for the improvement of agricultural implements; and his observation of the good done by these, especially in lightening the burden of severe labor, contributed to the inventive bias given to his life.

At the age of twenty-six he removed to Philadelphia, and engaged in a mercantile firm, the first that was established in this country for the sale of domestic hardware,—a firm consisting of his father, brothers and himself, and connected with their manufacturing business in Connecticut. This was re-

garded by many as a visionary enterprise; for to that time the whole trade in hardware in this country had been in imported articles. For the four following years he was known in the commercial cities as the pioneer in domestic hardware; and such was his success that a handsome fortune was accumulated by the firm. In consequence, however, of too extended operations in different states, too liberal credits, and heavy losses in 1830, they were obliged in that year to suspend payment. On account of the amount of their property invested in manufacturing establishments, and especially that he might retain and complete several unfinished inventions in that business, which in their incomplete condition would be of no value either to himself or his creditors, it was thought best to continue the business by extension of credit. But such were the disadvantages to be contended with that entire failure was the result. During the next ten years, under the laws then existing, he was repeatedly imprisoned for debt. But notwithstanding, he applied himself assiduously to complete his inventions and improvements in articles of hardware, and from the sale of one of them, which he completed while confined upon the jail limits, within a year or two after his failure, he derived temporary means of subsistence for himself and family. "During these years, his anticipations," he writes, "of ultimate success never changed, nor were his hopes for a moment depressed." Indeed, he testifies that from his trials he acquired firmness for his hopes, and also the lasting benefit of having proved, by his experience, that, with a clear conscience and a high purpose, a man may be happy within prison walls as well as in any other (even the most fortunate) circumstances in life.

Under these disadvantages, in order to discharge indebtedness, he relinquished his interest in one after another of the important articles of manufacture, which were very lucrative in his former business. But he says, that in reflecting upon this, "he is not disposed to repine, and say that he has planted and others have gathered the fruits. The advantages of a career in life should not be estimated exclusively by the standard of dollars and cents, as is too often done. Man has just

cause for regret only when he sows, and no one reaps." This language truly indicates the spirit of the man throughout.

Soon after Mr. Goodyear's reduction from affluence to poverty by his failure in the hardware business, he came to the deliberate conclusion *to make invention his employment in life*. To this, by his knowledge of his own aptitude for that profession, by his past course as an inventor, by his circumstances, and by a strong inward impulse, he felt divinely called, as the profession in which he could most honor God and benefit mankind.

When he was yet a school boy, he says, in his own narrative, his attention was strongly drawn "to the wonderful and mysterious properties of the substance called India Rubber. A thin scale peeled from a bottle sometime afterward attracted his notice, and suggested to his mind that it would be very useful as a fabric, if it could be made uniformly so thin, and could be so prepared as to prevent its adhering together and becoming a solid mass, as it soon did from the warmth and pressure of his hand." By such little indications it is that God's providence often guides to great and beneficent results.

About the year 1831 or 1832, soon after Mr. Goodyear's misfortune in Philadelphia, the manufacture of gum elastic or India Rubber was begun in the United States. He turned his attention at once to some manufactured articles, which he found in the New York store of the Roxbury company—a company formed near Boston. He took one of the articles, a life preserver, in which he made a manifest improvement. The agent, pleased with this, advised him to give his attention to the improvement of the *material*; informing him that such were its intrinsic difficulties that the business must prove a failure, unless they could be removed, so great had been the losses from this source to the different companies. His resolution was then taken. He began his experiments. He soon found, however, that he had a very inadequate idea of the difficulties to be overcome in the objectionable qualities of the material, especially that by which it stiffens in the cold and melts in the heat. He found that many, chemists and others, ingenious men, had long experimented, and given it up, utterly baffled. But he

took courage, he says, "from the reflection, that what is hidden and unknown, and cannot be discovered by scientific research, will most likely be discovered by accident, if at all, and by the man who applies himself most perseveringly to the subject, and is most observing of everything relating thereto."

But he was under great disadvantages for making his experiments. He was utterly without money—worse than that, was deeply in debt ; had a young family dependent on him for support ; and the ill success thus far of manufactures in the Rubber material threw suspicion and the air of quixotism over the whole subject ; and, moreover, his experiments required some money. Fortunately, however, no great amount. By selling and pawning articles of furniture and clothing, even to those of necessity, he went on. In a narrative prepared by himself in recent years, with the reading of which I have been favored, he says, "Fortunately the substance is one, with which in experimenting fingers are better than any other mechanical power of the same force ; and these were the only mechanical power of which the writer had command during the first two years of his experiments, and that by which he mixed and worked many hundred pounds of gum, afterwards spreading it upon a marble slab with a rolling pin. Thus, owing very much to the plastic nature of the substance, in extreme poverty, he was able to persevere in his course against all obstacles."

But these obstacles were very great and painful. He had no means of obtaining even daily food. His family were in absolute want ; sickness and death threw their baleful shadow over his abode of poverty ; and he had not wherewith even to bury his child. Still he persevered. The patience of the friends who aided him became exhausted. They told him that he had been an accomplished merchant, and an ingenious manufacturer of hardware, and could earn in that way a handsome support ; and that he was, unnecessarily and almost insanely, bringing distress on himself and family, and embarrassment on his friends. Still he persevered, firmly persuaded that in this direction was a boundless field of usefulness, to which he was divinely called.

He succeeded in making some articles of utility and beauty

during the first two or three years, for which he received, in 1835, medals from the American Institute, and from the Mechanics' Institute, in New York. Still, such were the objectionable qualities of the material, and the consequent imperfections of the manufactured articles, that none of them remunerated him, or provided for his wants. Time after time he seemed to be entirely successful, and had the hope of repaying the friends who had aided him ; and then in a few months he would find his articles all melted together, or ruined by some intrinsic difficulty in the material. From whom then could he get again the means of further experiment, or of daily food ?

He was accustomed at this time, as the severest test of his manufactured articles, to wear them upon his person ; and this led to a remark, which illustrates both his poverty and the common opinion of his enthusiasm. A gentleman, being inquired of how he (Mr. Goodyear) might be recognized, answered, " If you meet a man who has on an india rubber cap, stock, coat, vest, and shoes, with an india rubber money purse, *without a cent of money in it*, that is he." He records one instance, in which he went from home to experiment, leaving as collateral security for the rent of a cottage, among other things, the linen spun by his wife. During his absence, these articles were sold at auction for the payment of rent !

In the year 1836, he seemed to have met with success, in discovering what has since been called the " acid gas process," one of his three most important inventions in preparing the material, but not the chief—a process of tanning the material, so that it is capable of a pliable and beautiful fabric. For the fabrics made by this process, he obtained, in that year, medals from the American Institute, and the Mechanics' Institute, of New York. He also, in the same year, obtained for this process a patent from the United States Government.

And here the spirit of the man appears in the record which he makes of his objections to taking patents, and of his reasons on the whole for doing it. He says, " It would have been grateful to the inventor if none of his labors, to which he had so long confined himself, had needed to have been made subjects of patents. It is repulsive to the feelings, that improve-

ments relating to science and the arts, and especially those of a philanthropic nature, should be made the subjects of money-making and litigation, by being patented. The apology he has to offer for doing that which was repugnant to his feelings, is the unavoidable necessity of the case. At different periods during a course of years, he was unable to prosecute his experiments for want of pecuniary means, and was consequently obliged to obtain them of his friends upon the prospective value of his inventions, through such legal advantage as was to be had under the patent laws." This is language which does honor to his heart, and his head also.

His success now seemed certain, not only to himself but to others. A friend agreed to let him have the means to demonstrate, by the manufacture of goods, the utility of the improvements, of which specimens only had as yet been produced. A large factory and machinery were engaged by that individual, near New York, for the purpose. But soon after that friend, overwhelmed by the disasters which befell the mercantile community in 1836, failed. He was unable to proceed. And this inability being erroneously attributed by the public mind to the ill-fated business of india rubber, and to want of merit in Mr. Goodyear's improvement, Mr. Goodyear was left apparently in a more helpless condition than ever—without the means either of proceeding in his business or of subsistence.

Of this period he relates an incident, which, with his characteristic spirit, he records as "an unexpected relief by a kind Providence." He was then in New York city. Speaking of himself (as throughout this narrative he modestly does) in the third person, as "the writer," he says, "He had put in his pocket a small article much valued, and sallied forth in the morning for the purpose of obtaining with it food for the day. Before reaching the pawnbroker's shop, he met a creditor, from whom he expected to receive sharp, if not bitter, reproaches. His astonishment was so great that he could hardly trust his hearing, when he accosted him with the inquiry what he could do for him. On being satisfied that no insult was intended, he replied, without telling him that he was in search of food, that the sum of fifteen dollars would greatly oblige

him. It was instantly handed to him, and the article which had been designed for the pawnbroker remained in the hands of the owner, to relieve a greater necessity on a future occasion. He was now, for sometime, at the mercy of the pawnbroker; every article that could be made available was pledged, until he was relieved, for the time, by the loan of one hundred dollars from a friend."

In the summer of 1836, by the help of a friend, he removed with some of his best specimens to Roxbury, Mass., where business in this material had formerly been largely carried on. Details as to various measures to complete, and bring to the favorable notice of the public, his improvements, and as to his removals from place to place, driven by utter poverty, must be omitted. Suffice it to say that again, and again, and again, very frequently, he seemed to have conquered success; and then by various causes was disappointed and utterly prostrated. One cause was that there had been in the few previous years, especially in that part of New England, a fever of excitement and speculation as to india rubber manufacture, resulting in utter failure, and in losses so great and so widespread in the community, that anybody who would speak of any further effort in that direction was intolerable. Almost no one would hear or endure him. The whole community was like a burned child on the subject. Another reason was that difficulties, before unseen or not understood, were, by experience, developed in the material. Repeatedly our friend, by the greatest effort in that state of the public mind, would obtain from some one the means of making some articles to demonstrate the utility of his improvements, and it would be found that from some cause, that could not be known except by new experience, they would in a few months become worthless, to the prostration of his credit and that of his invention. Yet he still applied himself with unabated ardor to detect and remove the causes of difficulty, until, in the year 1839, he made his greatest discovery, called "*the vulcanization of rubber.*" He found that this substance, which will only be melted by the application of heat in quite high degrees, will, by the application of heat in very high degrees, with the addi-

tion of some other substances, become a *new material*, with all its former difficulties removed—retaining the qualities of elasticity, pliability, and imperviousness to water; and acquiring the long sought quality of insensibility to cold, and to heat except in very high degrees. This, when at length demonstrated, was the subject of patent, and established his reputation and success.

But during the year before he made this discovery, and indeed the year after he made it, and was well satisfied of its value, Mr. Goodyear was in his greatest distress; and at times it seemed as though he would perish from poverty, anxiety and hardship, and his discovery would perish with him!

A few incidents from his own narrative will convey some idea of what he and his suffered at this period:

During the winter of 1839-'40, a year after he was fully satisfied of the value of his discovery, "in one of those long and severe snow storms which in New England sometimes occur, when even those who are blessed with health are confined within doors, he found that his family were without food or fuel. His feelings were that the face of nature was a fit emblem of his condition—cold and cheerless. But the recollection of a kind greeting received some time previous from an individual who resided some miles distant, and nearly a stranger, (this was in Woburn, Mass.,) induced him, enfeebled by illness, to attempt to reach his house through the storm. After being by turns exhausted by walking through the driving snow and rested upon its drifts, he reached the dwelling of this individual,* and stated to him briefly his condition, and the hopes he entertained of success from his discovery, if he should ever be able to convince others of the facts relating to it. He was cordially received, and not only supplied with a sum adequate to his immediate wants, but also furnished with facilities for continuing his experiments on a small scale."

Again, speaking of the very unfavorable state of things at this period for the promulgation of his discovery, he says:

* "O. B. Coolidge, Esq., of Woburn, Mass., to whom a tribute of gratitude is due."

"He felt, however, in duty bound to beg in earnest, if need be, sooner than that the discovery should be lost to the world and to himself. In the event of the writer's death it could hardly be expected that his theory, which he afterwards found it so difficult to establish, could survive him. The invention was fully appreciated by him at that time, and was considered as valuable as it now proves to be. * * * Want of sympathy, want of means to go forward with experiments, or even to provide sustenance from day to day for those dependent on him, only increased the solicitude consequent on the state of suspense as to the result of those efforts. How he subsisted at this period, *charity alone can tell*; for it is as well to call things by their right names, and it is little else than charity when the lender looks upon what he parts with as a gift. The pawning or selling some relic of better days, or some article of necessity, was a frequent expedient. His library had long since disappeared; but shortly after the discovery of this process (his great invention) he collected and sold at auction the school-books of his children, which brought the trifling sum of five dollars. Small as the amount was, it enabled him to proceed. At this step he did not hesitate. The occasion and the certainty of success warranted the measure, which, in other circumstances, would be sacrilega."

Wishing at one time to take some specimens to New York, where he hoped for a more favorable reception, "he received assurance from an individual in Boston, once employed by him, that on coming to Boston he would lend him fifty dollars, whereby his family could be maintained during his absence, and his expenses paid to New York. Arriving at Boston, he was disappointed in this. He remained at the hotel from Monday until Saturday, hoping to obtain from some source the sum required. He at last applied, where he had reason to expect it, for the sum of five dollars, with which he might return to his family. This was refused. At night, his bill at the hotel was presented. Mortified and chagrined, he walked, meditating on his condition, till late at night. He strayed into East Cambridge and stopped at the house of a friend, who received him kindly and made him comfortable for the

night. Early next morning he walked ten miles to his home, and was met at the door by one of the family, saying that his youngest boy, two years of age, who was in perfect health when he left home, was dying. He thanked God for being turned back to the rescue of his family ; for they had already been denied the subsistence promised by a dealer when he left."

The United States Commissioner speaks of the evidence before him that Mr. Goodyear's family, at this time, had to endure privations almost surpassing belief, "being frequently without food in their house, or fuel in the coldest weather;" "represented as gathering sticks in the woods and on the edges of the highways, with which to cook their meals, and (in summer) digging the potatoes of their little garden before they were half grown, while one of his hungry children, in a spirit worthy of his father, is heard expressing his thanks that this much had been spared to them."

Indeed, the full account of the hardships endured by himself and family during that year, when he had actually attained the knowledge of this great secret of nature for the world's welfare, would be as painfully interesting as the harrowing recitals of a tragic romance. Truly with him it was darkest just before day—in one sense, even after dawn!

I ought here to turn aside to say that, during all these struggles and trials, Mr. Goodyear had what can be well described only by the Scriptural word "helpmeet," in the wife of his youth, Clarissa Beecher. He could confide in her discretion as well as her affection. To her intelligence and wisdom, and her eminent faith and piety, he could entirely entrust, amid his absorbing occupation and frequent absence from home, the care and culture of his children. And in all the alternations of his fortune, and especially in its deepest depressions, he experienced in her the gentleness, the patience, the equanimity, of an angel, and *more* than the *sympathy* of an angel, even the sympathy of a true Christian *woman and wife*. She lived to share the joy of his complete success. And going with him to Europe, to partake with him in new trials and new triumphs, the result of her long labors and sac-

rifices culminated there in her death. Her body, with that sweet, serene, upborne expression of face, which now beams in our memory, was buried in a foreign land. But one of the directions of her husband's last days was that it should be removed, to sleep, till the morning of the resurrection, beside his own.

I ought not to be prevented by his presence from also saying that Mr. Goodyear always found scientific counsel and hopeful encouragement from an eminent professor of science* in Yale College, whose learning and labor have ever been at the disposal of his generosity. And he always gratefully appreciated it.

But valuable for his support as were these aids, and those of many other friends, some of them in New Haven, who cannot here be mentioned, Mr. Goodyear's chief support through those years of toil, privation, suffering and sorrow, was his faith in God, and his loyalty to the divine call which he heard to this peculiar work. He saw in this immense and nearly worthless product of nature, boundless capability for the welfare of man, and for that progress in God's material kingdom which, under his providence, moves in even step with the progress of his spiritual kingdom. By the ear of reason and faith he heard God's voice, calling him to be "the interpreter and minister" of it for human use. And that voice he desired and determined to obey, counting no sacrifice or suffering dear in the sacred service. His inventive work was his religion, and was pervaded and animated by religious faith and devotion. He felt like an apostle commissioned for that work; and he said to his niece and her husband, who went, with his approbation and sympathy, as missionaries of the gospel to Asia, that he was God's missionary as truly as they were.

By the aid and kindness of a brother-in-law, now residing in this city,† who for a time furnished the means to conduct the manufacture, Mr. Goodyear, in the autumn of 1841, was enabled to proceed with his improvements, and was just about to demonstrate practically the value of his invention, at Spring-

* Benjamin Silliman, Sen

† William DeForest, Esq.

field, when he was thrown into prison for debt, and interrupted in his work just as that work was blooming into its consummate flower. This induced him to obtain a release by the bankrupt law. This law, he says, was "odious" to him. "He had always opposed it, and firmly resolved not to accept of any advantages it offered." But he now saw the necessity of it in order that he might be free to employ his powers for human welfare, and for the benefit of his creditors. And as soon as he was enabled by pecuniary success, considering himself discharged by that law from no moral obligation, he began to look up and pay his debts, which he did, in the course of a few years, to the amount of thirty-five thousand dollars.

This first part of the subject, the illustration of Mr. Goodyear's ruling religious spirit, found in his early life and in his struggles and privations till his first full success, has so grown on my hands, that the remaining parts of the subject must be given in outline, rather than with the fullness which I desire and had purposed.

II. I proceed, then, to observe, secondly, that this ruling benevolent and religious spirit of Mr. Goodyear is illustrated by his continued and life-long devotion to the improvement of his chief inventions, and to their application in a great variety of modes, to human welfare.

When he received his patent, he might, without any more effort, have discharged all indebtedness, and accumulated large wealth, by his receipts from licenses under that patent. And many, not to say most men, would have yielded to that temptation. But he saw that his invention was capable of being applied for human benefit in a multitude of forms, each of which forms needed inventive genius for its construction. And he heard the same voice of philanthropy and piety calling him to the *applications* of the invention, which had called him to the invention itself. And so, for the last sixteen years, really without any rest, he has been employed in inventing new articles for human use, out of his invented material. And this he has done, not for money, for all the money almost he could get he has devoted to the same beneficent purpose, keeping himself poor, notwithstanding his very large receipts. His be-

nevolent and religious principle, and his inventive genius too, have been illustrated in this, as conspicuously, perhaps, as during his persevering struggles for his great invention. He says of himself, that "independent of all pecuniary considerations, he has taken great satisfaction in trying to invent and improve articles of necessity and convenience for the use of man." "Whatever (he adds) of misfortune may hereafter befall the inventor, he will have the satisfaction of knowing that his efforts have been successful, and of witnessing on every side, and in every civilized country, the growing importance of the numerous branches of manufacture already established, and which may in his lifetime be established, under these inventions and improvements."

Mr. Goodyear went to Europe in 1852, and returned in 1858. His object was the establishment of his patents, and the introduction and improvement of the articles manufactured under them. He had already received for his inventions the highest honors at the Exhibition of the World's Industry in London, in 1851. He received the highest honors, also, for his inventions, at a similar Exhibition in Paris, in 1855. From a desire to have his inventions suitably appreciated, and especially from a patriotic desire to have the American department honorably represented in these Exhibitions of the World's Industry, he expended very large sums (almost a fortune) upon them.* He had a return of honor for himself, and honor for his country. But this was all that he received. He could not obtain, what he richly deserved, his patents ; but others reaped unjustly the reward of his inventions. And not only this, he was imprisoned for debt, both in France and in England, suffering in mind most keenly ; and he returned to his own country poorer than when he left it ; indeed, absolutely poor, had it not been for the renewal of his patent for seven years, very justly obtained soon after.

III. The ruling spirit of Mr. Goodyear is illustrated, in the third place, by his special devotion to the humane instead of the lucrative bearings of his inventions. His question was not

* On the Exhibition at Paris alone he expended \$50,000.

what applications of my inventions will make most money ? but what will most promote human welfare, especially what will best preserve health and secure life ? The United States Commissioner justly says : “ A large portion of these fabrics is intimately connected with human comfort and the preservation of human life. Not to enumerate more of the articles produced by this process, it would be hazarding nothing to say that the shoes and wearing apparel, perfected by it, and now cheaply and abundantly made, and almost universally in use, have saved thousands from a premature death, and may save millions in the ages which are to come.” I may add, that Mr. Goodyear, especially of late years, has paid great attention to the invention of articles for the relief and comfort of invalids and the sick, and of cellular garments for security of life on the water ; and all in utter disregard of his own profits.

IV. And, once more, we find a fourth illustration of Mr. Goodyear’s ruling, benevolent and religious spirit in his work, in the fact that he persevered in his work under constant suffering from miserable health. Most men, with such health as Mr. Goodyear has had for the last twenty or thirty years, would have considered themselves excused from all labor, certainly from all except that absolutely necessary for subsistence. Yet he has constantly performed, in making his chief inventions, in his numerous ingenious applications of them, in his attention to obtaining and defending his patents, and in supervising the varied and general interests of the whole work, an almost incredible amount of labor ; and this not for himself—certainly not chiefly for himself—but as the servant of God and the friend of man.

There was one fault in Mr. Goodyear, which ought to be mentioned, both for the purpose of impartiality, and also for the purpose of giving such excuse for it, as is presented in his nature, circumstances and peculiar history. He was, especially in his later years, improvident ; so that, though in the receipt of large sums of money, he was yet often embarrassed with debt, to a degree which was a discomfort to his family and friends, and a disadvantage to his creditors. This undoubtedly was a fault. Yet we should judge him according to his nature

and circumstances. He was always ready and glad to pay debts. And no one ever asked payment in vain, when he had any money. But he had become accustomed to being in debt during the many years of his necessity, when he could not avoid it. He had the enthusiasm of genius, and counted money nothing in comparison with success in a humane invention, and for that purpose used it profusely, and so became habituated to profuse expenditure. Then he felt justified in this free use of it for his inventions, though he was indebted, because he felt confident that his object was benevolent, and that the final result would be the discharge of all pecuniary obligations. When we consider these things, and add to them the fact, that among his first acts, after his first full success, was the searching out and paying debts, to the amount of thirty-five thousand dollars, from which he had been legally discharged, we shall be assured that with regard to indebtedness he was, in heart and intention, honorable and upright. Still his improvidence was a fault to be regretted. His character would have been more complete if this had been otherwise.

There was in Mr. Goodyear an admirable combination of gratitude and generosity, and also a beautiful regard for his kindred and relatives. When the days of his prosperity at length came, he remembered those who had aided him in his adversity and extremity. And he was not satisfied with a full payment of their dues. But when any of them were in pecuniary misfortune he aided them with a princely generosity. Indeed, some of them with their families were really supported by him for years. He, also, as soon as he was able, afforded modes of remunerative employment and ways of advancement for many of those who were allied to him or his by kindred. In his manifold experiments, and through his influence in connection with the extensive manufacturing under his patents, a large number of them have been employed, and have found avenues to lucrative and independent business for themselves. And for all objects of benevolence he had an open heart and hand, giving to them cheerfully and unsparingly, whenever he had money at his disposal.

Mr. Goodyear's remarkable charity and forbearance toward

those who had wronged him, should be noticed. He had been greatly injured, and that by those whom he had greatly benefited. On this point the United States Commissioner thus speaks:

"The public stipulated with him that he should peacefully enjoy for fourteen years the monopoly created by his patent, and, had he been permitted to do so, he would no doubt long since have realized an ample remuneration; but, so far from this having been the case, no inventor probably has ever been so harrassed, so trampled upon, so plundered by that sordid and licentious class of infringers known in the parlance of the world, with no exaggeration of phrase, as 'pirates.' The spoliations of their incessant guerilla warfare upon his defenseless rights have unquestionably amounted to millions. In the very front rank of this predatory band stands one who sustains in this case the double and most convenient character of contestant and witness; and it is but a subdued expression of my estimate of the deposition he has lodged, to say, that this Parthian shaft—the last that he could hurl at an invention which he has so long and so remorselessly pursued—is a fitting finale to that career which the public justice of the country has so signally rebuked."

Yet through the whole narrative which Mr. Goodyear has written, there is not one severe or unkind word, even towards the man who so greatly defrauded him, and who compelled him to the trouble, anxiety and enormous expense of constant litigation.

His humility, reverence and loyalty towards God were most exemplary. One who knew him thoroughly, says that "the most marked features of his religious character were deep consciousness of the evil of sin, and of his nothingness before God. Self-reliant as he appeared as a business man, his soul was more humble before God, and he seemed more deeply conscious of his dependence upon him and need of forgiveness, as well as of forbearance, than any other person with whose religious experience I have any intimate acquaintance." He might, if any among us dependent and sinful creatures might, have felt pride in the beneficence of his

works. But he allowed himself nothing in that respect. And in his last days, when reference was made to his useful works, he said: "What am I? To God be all the glory."

The piety which sustained him through the peculiar struggles and trials of his life, sustained him in death. He died in faith.

"I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, from henceforth, yea, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."

And now only a few words more, to indicate some of the lessons of this remarkable life. Most of them lie on the surface, and need but a word to bring them to your thoughts.

But one of them, which is specially illustrated by an incident of Mr. Goodyear's life that has not yet been brought to your notice, should be more distinctly developed. That is, God's providence in the working and results of inventive genius.

Mr. Goodyear's chief discovery, the vulcanization of rubber, was immediately caused by what is termed an accident. The United States Commissioner, to whose able and eloquent decision I have so often referred, thus describes it: "In one of those animated conversations so habitual to him, in reference to his experiments, a piece of India rubber combined with sulphur, which he held in his hand as the text of all his discourses, was by a violent gesture thrown into a burning stove near which he was standing. When taken out, after having been subjected to a high degree of heat, he saw—what it may be safely affirmed would have escaped the notice of all others—that a complete transformation had taken place, and that an entirely new product, since so felicitously termed 'elastic metal,' was the consequence. When subjected to further tests, the thrilling conviction burst upon him that success had at length crowned his efforts, and that the mystery he had so long wooed now stood unveiled before him. His history in this respect is altogether parallel with that of the greatest inventors and discoverers who have preceded him."

Mr. Goodyear, in his account, though he justly claims that,

owing to his long search for such a result, and his intense attention to everything that might produce it, he perceived it, when others would not—in fact, others thought nothing of it when their attention was directed to it—he perceived it, and saw that the great object was gained ; yet, he reverently adds, that, as it was not what any known facts or principles would have indicated, “it should be considered as one of those cases where the leading of the Creator providentially aids his creatures, by what are termed accidents, to attain those things which are not attainable by the powers of reasoning he has conferred upon them.” This is a pious, but true and sublime conclusion. God presides over and aids inventive genius. To its keen eye, peering earnestly into the darkness, he shows the light.

For the rest, the lessons are plain, and very practical and urgent for us. 1. In the first place, find out what your peculiar endowments are, what talents are entrusted to you, what you are called to do. 2. Then, in the second place, do it—do it industriously and earnestly. But this is not enough. 3. In the third place, do it unselfishly, benevolently, religiously, as the servant of God and the friend of man.

But, finally, the special lesson of this personal history is this : *that every man should regard himself as called of God to his life's work, the particular thing for which he is fitted, by a sacred calling, a sacred commission.* You are called of God to be a lawyer, a physician, an inventor, an artisan, a merchant, a teacher, or to any, even the humblest work, as truly as an apostle, a minister of the gospel, or a missionary, is called of God. And your work, if done aright in spirit and outward form, is as truly divine. Regard yourself, then, as called and commissioned of God for your life's work ; and do it with a sublime and ennobling sense of being God's appointed officer. Do it with loyalty, with faith, and with fidelity.

ARTICLE XII.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THEOLOGY.

HAGENBACH'S HISTORY OF DOCTRINES.*—Dr. Hagenbach, Professor of Theology at Basle, a leading theologian of the evangelical school, is the author of several meritorious works. One of these is a history, in two volumes, of the church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which presents an interesting sketch of religious movements and changes during this period, especially of such as belong to Germany, interspersed with biographical details. His principal production is the History of Doctrines, of which, the translation in the third edition, (including the amendments made in the author's second edition,) lies before us. It forms a part of the Edinburgh translations from the German, issued by Messrs. T. and T. Clark.

Hagenbach divides the history of doctrines into five periods; the first period extending from the close of the Apostolic Age to the death of Origen, (from the years 80–254,) and characterized as the Age of Apologetics; the second period, from the death of Origen to John of Damascus, (254–730,) called the Age of Polemics; the third period, from John of Damascus to the Reformation, (730–1517,) styled the Age of Systems, (Scholasticism in its widest sense;) the fourth period, from the Reformation to the rise of the Wolfian Philosophy, (1517–1720,) described as the Age of Polemico-ecclesiastical Symbolism; the fifth period, (from 1720 to the present day,) the epoch of antithesis between faith and knowledge, philosophy and Christianity, reason and revelation. The best writers differ in their classification. One of the briefest and most ingenious arrangements of the subject, we have lately seen in Dr. Alexander's Letters. It is quoted from a German author.

1. Theology, the doctrine of God and the Trinity, which was fixed by the Greeks.
2. Anthropology, the doctrine of the fall and of grace—

* *Compendium of the History of Doctrines.* By K. R. HAGENBACH, Doctor and Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. Translated by Carl W. Buch. Third Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1858. Philadelphia: Clark, English & Co. Two Volumes, pp. 496, 488.

including the Pelagian controversy—which was determined by the Latins. 3. Soterology, the doctrine of salvation—justification—which was defined by the Germans. Of course none of these general statements have more than a partial accuracy.

Hagenbach has some fine qualities as a historian of doctrines. He is uniformly candid, having no violent prejudice to color his narrative or warp his judgment. He does not write to make out a theory, and is under no temptation to construct history for such a purpose. He is well-informed as to the matter, and clear and unaffected in style. On the other hand, he is not so thorough in his knowledge of the original sources—the *quellen*—as some others are. In this respect he falls far short of Neander. Not that he is specially deficient in this regard,—but we mean to say, simply, that he is not eminent. He is in the second rank, decidedly, when his learning is compared with that of Neander and Gieseler. Another defect is the want of a very high degree of theological acuteness. We miss the sharply cut, discriminating statements which one craves in a work of this nature. Here again, there is no glaring fault, but simply mediocrity. With these drawbacks, the volumes before us possess a high value. There is nothing to take their place, and they deserve to be consulted by every student who attends to this most interesting branch of theological science.

THE CHURCH OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES.*—This volume proceeds from the pen of one of the most amiable and accurate of the Unitarian scholars. It is written with all the exactness and elegance which we should expect from him. Its object is indicated by its title, to exhibit within a brief compass a satisfactory portraiture of the men and the times, in the first three centuries—and especially to ascertain how far the doctrine of the Trinity was taught in their writings, or was received by the church in the times when they lived and wrote.

As a contribution to the history of those times, it is critical and of no inconsiderable value, for it is evidently the product of learned and original research, by a scholar who has brought to his task a cool and discriminating judgment. As an argument in support of the conclusion that the doctrine of the Trinity is not warranted by Scriptural

* *The Church of the First Three Centuries*: or notices of the lives and opinions of some of the early fathers, with special reference to the doctrine of the Trinity; illustrating its late origin and gradual formation. By ALVAN LAMSON, D. D. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 362.

testimony, we do not count it of any considerable cogency. The argument assumes several forms, the first of which is that the early fathers did not receive the doctrine of the Trinity as it is now held in the church. Let this be granted. Does it follow that therefore it is not true? These fathers were in many respects far less qualified to interpret the Scriptures, than the scholars of later times, through the defect in the power of judgment, as well as the influence of traditional superstitions and errors. We have the Scriptures in our hands, and perhaps can interpret them better than they.

But it will be urged, This ought not to be presumed, for surely they lived so near the times of the apostles, that if the doctrine had been received in the life-time of the apostles, the tradition of it would have survived till the second or third generation after their time, and therefore, from the absence of such tradition, we may safely infer that it was not held by the teachers of the first generation. This inference is not warranted for two reasons. It is not contended that the doctrine of the Trinity was held in the apostolic times, in a form developed more fully than the Scriptural statements would indicate. Certainly it is not held that the conception and language prevalent in the infant church took the form of a precisely and distinctly developed doctrine. Tradition would of course transmit no more than the Scriptures and church doctrines had furnished to its hand.

But again, as we pass from the apostolic age in which the Spirit dwelt to those which immediately followed, we leave a clear-sighted though unscientific faith, and find a dim-sighted and bewildered fantasy, which seemed to be incapable even of comprehending the import of the written word, and much less of transmitting any traditions with sure and safe retention. The argument from the presence or absence of traditions, which should purport to supply any defects in the New Testament record, must be dismissed as invalid.

But the author presents the argument in another form. The doctrine of the Trinity, which gradually shaped itself into form in the hands of the early Christians, was wrought by them from the speculations of Philo and Plato, and not from the testimony of the sacred writers. If this should be conceded it would not warrant the inference that the Christian student now who makes the testimony of the Scriptures the sole foundation of his creed, would not be forced to accept the doctrine of the Trinity. If Philo and Plato wrote of a Logos and of Triads, as doubtless they did, it would necessarily happen that those who were influenced in their thinking by their mystical and fantastical philoso-

phizings, should draw illustrations from their writings, and aid their conceptions of certain relations in the divine essence which are clearly implied in the teachings of the Scriptures, by the analogies and reasonings which these writings furnish. But this does not at all prove that their doctrine did not rest for its *ultimate* authority to their minds, on the declarations of the Scriptures concerning the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. To these declarations we must come at last, and to the views of the Divine Nature which these declarations of necessity involve and require.

THE ANCIENT CHURCH.*—It is one of the favorable signs of the times, that theological study is at present, at least in this country, so manifestly becoming more distinctively biblical and historical, rather than merely speculative. While the spirit of inquiry is growing continually more thorough, not to say radical, it is encouraging that the direction of its search is towards the fountains of truth. The disposition now so manifest, both in and out of the church, to sift anew the fundamental principles of Christianity, as revealed in the Bible, is naturally accompanied by a desire to trace the workings of those principles in their applications to human society, and note the modifications which Christian institutions and Christianity itself have undergone in the centuries that have elapsed since their first promulgation. This awakened interest in the history of Christianity and of the Church, is indicated by the many works which have recently appeared on one branch or another of the subject—especially on the history of the first three centuries. These works differ from each other according to the point of view, aim, and spirit of their respective writers.

In the volume before us, Dr. Killen has taken a comprehensive survey of the Christian church, in its history, doctrine, worship, and constitution, during the first three hundred years of its existence. As professor of Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, his predilections have naturally led him to look at his subject from the Presbyterian stand-point. Yet it is by no means to be inferred that he is a prejudiced writer, or that he has not discussed most questions, if not all, in a fair and candid

* *The Ancient Church: Its History, Doctrine, Worship, and Constitution, traced for the first three hundred years.* By W. D. KILLEEN, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. New York: Charles Scribner, 124 Grand street. 1860. pp. 656.

spirit. He is, in general, careful in his statements, and apparently not less honest than earnest in his reasonings. His work is by no means a mere compilation, but everywhere shows marks of patient investigation and independent thought. He is decided in his opinions, and does not hesitate to avow and maintain them, yet not offensively towards those who differ from him, and always apparently with a sincere desire to arrive at truth. His views on matters of doctrine, so far as expressed or implied, are evangelical and orthodox, and in respect to matters of church order, such in general as comport with his ecclesiastical standpoint. The style of the work is clear and forcible; the author shows himself to be master of his subject, and his discussions are characterized in the main by sound common sense. On some points, however, especially in respect to matters of church constitution and order, not a few will be disposed to differ from him, and will approve or condemn his views according to their own particular convictions and denominational sympathies. Not unfrequently, also, the author seems to take delight in using a technical Presbyterian phraseology, when other and more scriptural terms would equally have answered his purpose. To apply such formal designations as synod, synodical epistle, circular letter, church courts, church judicatories, commissioners, &c., to any thing found in the New Testament, is to use terms which certainly Inspiration did not coin, and which must fail to convey the exact truth either to Presbyterians themselves, or to any other class of readers. It is but natural, however, for writers to call things by the names with which they have been accustomed to associate them, and it would be unreasonable, perhaps, to expect to find in Dr. Killen an exception to the rule.

The subject of the rise and extension of prelacy is treated with much clearness and force, and the leading corruptions of Christianity, whether in doctrine or polity, are satisfactorily traced to their origin.

One of the most valuable portions of the work is the discussion of the genuineness and credibility of the famous Epistles, so long and so generally attributed to Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch. These Epistles Dr. Killen, in opposition to Bishop Pearson and other celebrated writers, but in agreement with Calvin, and several distinguished modern critics, pronounces, without hesitation, to be unquestionably forgeries—written a century or more later than the time of their reputed origin. The arguments, pro and con, are summed up with great clearness in the two chapters bearing on this subject, and the evidence of the want of genuineness of the Epistles, both external and internal, is made to appear so conclusive, that the reader is led to wonder how the credit of

these compositions could ever have survived the emphatic condemnation of them, pronounced by the clear-headed Calvin in these characteristic words : "There is nothing more abominable than that trash which is in circulation under the name of Ignatius."

The bearing of these Epistles on certain questions relating to prelacy and other matters, is what chiefly has enlisted advocates in their defense, rather than any weight of positive evidence of their credibility, which authentic history has been able to furnish. The recently discovered Syriac version of three of these Epistles, which have been published with comments, under the editorial supervision of Dr. Cureton, who indorses their genuineness, has incidentally been of material service in the discussion. The student will read these chapters of Dr. Killen's with special interest, and will find the entire volume worthy of attentive perusal. An index would have greatly added to its value.

FARRAR'S SCIENCE IN THEOLOGY.*—This volume consists of nine university sermons, preached in St. Mary's, Oxford, on the following topics : I. The gradual discovery of the Divine attributes through Scripture and Science. II. Divine Providence in General Laws. III. Divine Benevolence in the Economy of Pain. IV. Jewish Interpretation of Prophecy. V. The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity. VI. The Atonement. VII. Laws in the life spiritual. VIII. The Gifts of the Holy Ghost. IX. Providence in Political Revolutions. A glance at these topics is sufficient to show that some of the most difficult and interesting subjects in modern speculation are here treated, and a closer examination of the manner in which they are handled will satisfy the reader that the author is not unaware of the newest aspects in which these subjects now present themselves. Indeed it would seem as though the Oxford theologians were bestirring themselves in earnest to meet the demands of the times in which they live.

We cannot say that the author has been so successful in all cases in solving his problems, as he has been in stating them. There is at Oxford, with all its ability and the perfection of its conjoined logical and classical discipline, some defects either of strong and just thinking, or we do not see the best results of its ablest thinkers in theology. This volume is, however, very interesting and readable, and presents better than any work with which we are acquainted, a brief yet comprehen-

* *Science in Theology.* Sermons preached in St. Mary's, Oxford, before the University. By Adam S. FARRAR, M. A., &c., &c. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 250.

sive view of the new aspects of the questions discussed, as well as able solutions of them. It is a book fitted to instruct and quicken a large class of intelligent, and cultivated readers.

BARRETT'S LETTERS ON THE DIVINE TRINITY.*—These letters were called forth by the hasty and inconsiderate, not to say the unconsidered sayings of Mr. Beecher, which provoked some free criticism in the newspapers. Mr. Barrett is a well known Swedenborgian pastor and writer, and took the occasion to set forth in these familiar letters the doctrine of the Trinity, as taught by Emmanuel Swedenborg. Those who feel any interest to know what this doctrine is, will find it clearly set forth in these letters, which are free from all spiritual or second senses, and can be read and understood without any "gift" of interpretation.

THE TWO NATURES OF CHRIST.†—It is the object of this pamphlet to show, that Christ "stands confessed, God manifest in the flesh; and he received the worship of his disciples, paid not to a human soul, but to a *divine spirit, in a human body, and with human attributes.*" The human attributes spoken of must, according to the principles of the author, be those limitations of the divine spirit which arise from its connection with a human body. For he denies expressly and he argues with great earnestness to show that there could be and was no human soul. This he endeavors to establish from physiology by analogies drawn from the limitations on the human spirit that are often imposed by an undeveloped or morbid condition of the body, so that however great the intellect at one time it cannot be conscious of this greatness at another, but must be narrowed and depressed by the medium of its action. From this he concludes that in like manner if the divine spirit were to be incarnate in a human body it must by a physiological necessity be subject to human limitations. But the query would at once present itself—whether a human body is known to or recognizable by physiology, except as requiring and involving a human soul, and whether the incarnation of the Divine, if it be attested as a fact, is conceivable except in connection with human nature in such a body.

* *Letters on the Divine Trinity, addressed to Henry Ward Beecher.* By B. F. BARRETT. Second Edition. New York: Mason Brothers. 1860. 18mo. pp. 187.

† *Immanuel.* An examination of the two natures of Christ, in their relations to Philosophy and Revelation. By P. W. ELLSWORTH, A. M., M. D. Hartford: David B. Moseley. 1850. 8vo. pp. 24.

But we cannot pursue the argument either from physiology or revelation. The whole doctrine of the author has especial interest from its relation to what is now discussed by theologians, as the doctrine of the *Kenosis*, or the abandonment of the exercise of the divine nature by the incarnate Son.

The pamphlet is written with great clearness and with a reverent and Christian spirit. We prefer the view generally accepted, because we think it is supported by greater physiological, Scriptural, and practical evidence.

METCALF'S NATURE AND FOUNDATION OF MORAL OBLIGATION.—We have perused with some attention and much interest, the advance sheets of a work by Rev GEORGE METCALF, on the Nature and Foundation of Moral Obligation. It is written in a familiar style, with great clearness, and the discussion is managed by questions and answers in such a way as to be obvious to persons unused to the distinctions of the schools. The author defends the doctrine of "Benevolent Utility," and is himself a good example of a clear, steady, sensible New England Divine. We bespeak for his work a favorable hearing and a kind reception, for we think it deserving of both.

HASE'S LIFE OF JESUS.*—This work has very great merits, which have been acknowledged for a long time where it was first published. It is written in a true scholarly spirit, and with great fairness in the discussion of the subjects which are presented. Its style is remarkably good, and, considering that the author calls it only an epitome, it is surprising with what interest he bears us on from one point to another. Its conciseness also is truly refreshing. To know that a German writer can be as concise as Hase is, in all his works, is a satisfaction to those who have read much in the philosophical or theological literature of that language. And, as a whole, we do not doubt that the volume, as it now appears in an English form, will by many persons be regarded as a work of great value. We cannot but feel, however, that Dr. Schaff is right, when he says, "While it gives a valuable and interesting account of the human development of Christ, as the religious ideal of the race, it is unsatisfactory in not rising

* *Life of Jesus.* By Dr. CARL HASE, Professor of Theology in the University of Jena. Translated from the German, by James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1860. pp. 267.

high enough to the full divine-human grandeur of its sublime subject." It is just here that Hase's work fails, and we almost regret that it has been translated, because we fear it may lead into error minds which are prone to doubt, and which have not the willingness, or perchance the opportunity, to investigate the great questions so far as to meet the influences and arguments which are here brought to bear upon them. But only in the case of such as these can we anticipate an evil result. The man who has once learned to realize the power of the divine in Jesus's nature, must feel the want of that element most deeply, wherever it is absent, and so his own faith becomes more precious to him as he sees how perfectly it, and it alone, can satisfy his soul. And, in this way, to such a man will this volume, with all its power in the presentation of its own views, serve but to strengthen his belief, that there is not merely "a religious oneness," but a oneness of nature between Christ and the Father.

MORISON'S NOTES ON THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.*—We have looked over this book with very great pleasure, and, though we do not agree with all that it contains, and must regret a certain indefiniteness on some important points, we can only feel grateful to the author for the many elevating and interesting thoughts which he has presented before us. The style of the "disquisitions," which are introductory to the several chapters, is excellent, while a tender and earnest Christian spirit is displayed in many of them, which cannot but exert an attractive influence upon the reader, who will open his heart to its power. The notes are not quite so extensive as we could wish, but, so far as they go, they are well written, and well adapted to the wants of those for whom they are designed. We think the author, like a large class of men to which he belongs, might be benefited by giving up a small part of that excessive hostility to creeds, which he shows in many parts of his volume. It is very possible that creeds have been pushed too far, and too much insisted upon; but we begin to feel that there is a somewhat general and growing tendency, at least in certain places, to treat them and those who adopt them rather uncharitably. In the great struggle between truth and error, articles of faith, say what we will against them, are almost essential and unavoidable. They

* *Disquisitions and Notes on the Gospels—Matthew.* By Rev. JOHN H. MORISON, D. D. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1860. pp. 535.

are like a platform in a political contest—a thing which the most earnest men will be most apt to frame, as setting forth clearly the truth for which they are contending. Men may bid us “fall back on the great Scriptural expressions,” as some would have us quiet the present agitations of the country by carrying out the Constitution; but the all-important question is, what does the Constitution, what do the “great Scriptural expressions,” mean? and in the determining of this question, which the very necessities of the struggle force upon us, we find ourselves with a creed almost before we are aware. The Saviour is Divine, or he is not; there is a punishment of sin which shall endure forever, or there is not. The great Scriptural expressions mean the one thing or the other, here and elsewhere, and, according as we decide each point, we have—there is no help for it—a creed, and on every vital point that creed must be distinct, or else we are uncertain what it is which we are struggling for, and the “uncertain” combatant must sooner or later lose courage and give way. We believe, as strongly as our author does, not only that there are multitudes of narrow-minded advocates of creeds, in the world, but also that they do the cause of Christ much harm; but we fear, on the other side, that much of our so-called liberality and large-mindedness tend directly toward the destruction of all earnest faith and life. But we willingly turn from this point, in dwelling upon which we may have implied what we would not charge upon the writer of this volume, in order that we may join our voice with his in all the earnestness with which he would urge the student to come directly to the Gospels themselves, as the best preventive against both bigotry and unbelief; in all the earnestness also, with which he would bid him attempt the understanding of the truth, as well as the removal of his doubts, by a prayerful study of the Word, and a careful cultivation of piety in the heart. “He who studies our Saviour’s precepts about prayer” (see Introduction to the volume) “and never prays, can have even intellectually but a meager idea of the subject. He who studies the great law of preëminence among His disciples, will make poor work with the doctrine, until he has sought to realize it in himself, not only by an outward show of obedience, but an inward subjection of his whole nature to its spirit.” * * * “We must read the gospels for practical guidance, and, seeking to give ourselves up entirely to their instructions by prayer, by humility of heart, by a warmer charity towards others, by more faithful and obedient lives, with the help which God will

certainly give us, if we seek it thus, in our renovated affections, and the deeper, purer life of the soul, we shall find the faith, and with it the inward tranquillity and repose which we crave."

OWEN'S COMMENTARIES ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.*—The publication of this volume, which is the third in the proposed series of Dr. Owen, has been anxiously waited for by many admirers of his former commentaries. We feel sure that none will be disappointed, now that it has appeared. Especially for the teachers of Bible Classes and Sunday Schools, it will be found extremely useful; indeed, we hardly know of any more valuable works for such persons, which are to be met with anywhere. The libraries of ministers also, and students, will be enriched by the addition of such volumes as this, and we gladly receive it as a new contribution to the literature connected with this gospel, the unfolding of whose meaning is a thing which must always call forth the gratitude of the church.

STIER'S WORDS OF THE LORD JESUS.†—The seventh and eighth volumes of this commentary (bound as one) have been received within the past few weeks, and thus we have the whole work republished in this country. These two volumes contain "The Words of the Passion," and "The Words of the Risen and Ascending Lord." In their general characteristics they resemble closely the earlier portions of the book, of which, a somewhat extended notice was given in the *New Englander* for May of the present year. To that notice, therefore, we may refer our readers, while we recommend all of them who may be devoted, in any measure, to the study of the New Testament, to purchase all the volumes, and examine them for themselves.

THE REVELATION ITS OWN INTERPRETER.‡—The author of this little volume, which will abundantly repay any one for the time spent in reading it, endeavors to show not only that commentators generally

* *A Commentary, Critical, Expository, and Practical, on the Gospel of John.* By JOHN J. OWEN, D. D. New York: Leavitt & Allen. 1860. pp. 502. 12mo.

† *The Words of the Lord Jesus.* By RUDOLPH STIER, Doctor of Theology, &c. Translated by the Rev. William B. Pope, of London. Nine volumes bound in five. 8vo. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1859-60.

‡ *The Revelation of John its own Interpreter in virtue of the Double Version in which it is delivered.* By JOHN COCHRAN. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1860. 12mo. pp. 350.

have failed in any proper measure to understand the Revelation, but also what is the cause of this failure. This, however, he does in what is the best way, perchance, in all cases, namely, by opening what he thinks a new and better course himself. He begins with setting forth the difference between figurative and symbolic language, and the fact that this prophecy is of the symbolic class. Belonging to this class, it is to be explained in accordance with all the rules of this peculiar language, as well as in accordance with those special characteristics, which are found in the similar prophecies of the Old Testament Scriptures. To the full development of these two points a very considerable portion of the book is devoted. This development, which is, of course, necessary as the foundation for his subsequent argument and application, is carried forward with a good deal of skill, and we cannot but feel that he justifies himself in the charges which, here and there, he brings against those who, disregarding all plan, have discovered all manner of things in the prophecy—now making the language literal, now figurative, now symbolic or allegorical. But the two things on which he most insists, are that the prophetic allegory is everywhere given in a reduplicated version and a quaternal form. At great length he shows that the prophets of the earlier times, Daniel and Zechariah, carefully follow out both these rules, while a distinct declaration is given in Gen. xli, 32, that the double version is “a feature of symbolical representation.” The double version in the case of the Revelation is most manifest, the dividing point between the two parts being at chap. viii, ver. 1, where, immediately after the opening of the seventh seal, it is said that there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour. The opening of the seventh seal thus opens the reduplication of the first six seals—that is, the second version of the whole prophecy, which was a seven-sealed book. The quaternary or fourfold structure is seen in both parts; in the four horsemen of the first four seals, and in the woman, the dragon, the ten-horned and the two-horned beasts of the twelfth and thirteenth chapters. Since now there must be a unity of design in the prophecy, for this also is a characteristic of the entire symbolic class, it follows that the double version must contribute greatly toward making the prophecy its own interpreter, and that the interpretation which is suggested, if found to adapt itself to both developments of the quaternal structure and to all the points in which the one version answers to the other, will commend itself almost irresistibly as the true one. The whole argument is presented with much ingenuity, and the volume is evidently the result of a careful examination of the subject in

all its parts. As it is almost impossible, however, to set forth, in as few words as the space now at our command will allow, either the course or the strength of the reasoning, we will only add that the author regards the "Revelation as having reference to political dominions and events, and to these alone;—the four dominions represented in the quaternary structure of the allegory being the kingdom of God, the Roman Empire, the Roman Papacy, and the Romish church, the first of these being in conflict with the other three and even oppressed for an appointed season, but at last, after the judgments and destruction inflicted upon them, becoming finally triumphant and fully established. The glorious visions of the twenty-first and twenty-second chapters, thus, according to his view, are visions only of the divine glory of the kingdom in this world, and of that peace which the church shall enjoy on earth after its warfare with these three great adversaries shall come to its end.

NAST'S COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.*—We have received the first two numbers of this excellent commentary, which we announced to our readers in our last number. It is very handsomely printed in large 8vo., and sent in monthly numbers of sixty-four pages each, to subscribers, at thirty cents per number, postage free. It meets with entire favor from all who have examined it, and is destined, we hope, to a very wide circulation among intelligent Germans, and American students who read the German language.

GAGE'S TRINITARIAN SERMONS TO UNITARIAN CONGREGATIONS.†—These sermons were preached to a Unitarian congregation by the author, while his mind was passing through a period of change in his theological opinions. The result of his inquiries and reflections was that he reached the distinctive peculiarities of the evangelical system.

One element of interest in this volume arises from the circumstance that each of the discourses represents a stadium in the spiritual progress of the author. He did not remain silent till he had completed the entire cycle of these mental experiences, but as soon as he had adopted new or altered views in regard to a single doctrine, he proclaimed the result to his congregation. We have in these sermons a continuous

* *Kritisch-praktischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament.* Von WILHELM NAST, Doctor der Theologie. Cincinnati: Verlag von A. Poe & L. Hitchcock.

† *Trinitarian Sermons Preached to a Unitarian Congregation.* With an Introduction on the Unitarian Failure. By Rev. WILLIAM L. GAGE. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1839. 16mo. pp. 153.

history of the mental and moral processes through which the author was feeling his view to a more consistent and better established faith. Aside from the ability of the sermons themselves, they have the freshness and individuality of interest that arises from this cause.

Again, these sermons, though Trinitarian in their import, were addressed to a Unitarian congregation, and by one who knew full well the objections, prejudices, and real difficulties that embarrass the minds of such, even in the most unprejudiced and earnest search after truth. To this peculiar condition of his audience, these discourses are adapted, with the various suggestions, explanations and concessions which were dictated by an earnest love of the truth and earnest desire to commend it to his hearers.

From these features and the general freshness and versatility of the author's handling of his themes, the volume may be characterized as of more than common interest to all classes of readers, and especially fitted to benefit such as constituted the audience for which it was originally prepared.

FULLER'S SERMONS.*—This volume contains thirteen sermons, each long enough, we suppose, to occupy an hour in delivery, with the advantage of readable type and respectable mechanical appearance in general. It deserves to be noted how far the taste of the reading public has veered round, of late years, from its former direction; for printed sermons used to be reckoned a drug in the literary market, while now-a-days newspapers, even of a secular sort, find it for their interest to print them often, and publishers issue them in volume after volume. The press does not always wait for the preacher to die or to grow old, but takes advantage of his present popularity to spread such discourses as he may select before a larger community than his voice can reach. Dr. Fuller is the most conspicuous of the southern Baptist preachers, a native of South Carolina, as we learn from the opening of the sixth sermon in this volume, and settled for some years in that state, but now pastor of a Baptist church in Baltimore. A few years since, public attention was drawn to him the more by his controversy with Dr. Wayland, then of Brown University, on the subject of slavery. His eminence in his own denomination, especially at the south, justified this publication, though a like eminence at the north would ensure a larger circle of readers. And the sermons themselves show sufficient

* *Sermons.* By RICHARD FULLER, D. D., of Baltimore. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. pp. 384. 12mo.

reasons for his popularity. We take pleasure in commending them as evangelical in their topics, arguments, and appeals, and dealing with great truths and obligations rather than sectarian questions. Without showing any special power of originality, or analysis, or description, they are yet characterized by more than common range of thought, command of language, the apt use of scriptural terms and incidents, occasional impressive illustrations and examples, and animated exhortations. Indeed, as far as we have observed, too much matter is here sometimes comprehended in one sermon. The style is copious, direct, and often striking, but here and there tends to grandiloquence. It has the merit of composition which is spoken to be heard rather than written to be read. The author does not use notes in the pulpit, or did not when we heard from him the fourth sermon in this volume—and we suppose these discourses were delivered from memory. From speaking thus, and often extempore also, his style has come to adapt itself the more to the presence of a congregation. We cannot but complain, however, of a certain dogmatic, almost arrogant, tone in his manner of putting forcible arguments and just conclusions, as if the antagonists of the truth scarcely deserved his notice. We complain, too, of finding in these pages, as we saw or fancied in the author's delivery, an air of self-consciousness, as if he were excessively mindful of the attention he is getting, or of the effect expected from him. An impression of this kind detracts more from the best effect of his sermons than their declamatory quality, both of composition and delivery, which itself, though more in demand at the south, would compel attention and find admirers in northern congregations also, especially with his real ability and careful preparation. In hearing the sermon we have referred to, on "The three Hebrews in the Furnace," we wondered whether the preacher could blink, or how he could resist, in his own mind, the "application" of the instructive example he had in hand to conscientious sufferers in the furnace of southern despotism; but, near as that fiery ordeal lay in thought, neither the sermon nor the preacher was "singed" nor "changed," nor did they betray "the smell of fire."

SERMONS BY JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER.*—It seldom happens that one family becomes so useful and eminent in one profession, and in

* *Sermons.* By JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER, D. D. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. pp. 414, 425. 12mo.

the same religious communion, as the Alexanders, of Princeton, in the persons of the older professor of theology, and his two sons, recently deceased. Of late years few names, if any, in the Old School branch of the Presbyterian church in this country, have been more honored than those of James W. and Joseph Addison Alexander. They were not, like some others, made prominent by accidents of their time or position, but deservedly distinguished for worth, and ability and culture. With such a character and such attainments as theirs, they seemed not to belong exclusively to the Presbyterian body, still less to any party or clique within that denomination, but rather to the wider evangelical communion. Their deaths, so near each other, in the midst of their strength and usefulness, were therefore the more generally noted as a public loss. Others in similar positions will do well to observe how soon events reckoned so sad and mysterious have ceased to arrest general attention; how soon and how calmly time seems to close over the public men, of all characters and grades, whom it has engulfed. Unhappily, Dr. J. W. Alexander, who was the more widely known and beloved out of the circle of their profession, has not been "saved from his friends," for already one of them has seen fit to publish his correspondence with himself for forty years, which, to say the least, has disturbed the impression he had left for liberality and candor upon many Christian minds out of his own ecclesiastical connection. They will, however, hold the living, not the dead, responsible, for encumbering his good name by bringing forth in print all his private utterances to a friend for so many years, about persons and things which were not involved in such writings as he had himself chosen to publish. We turn, however, to the more suitable memorial of Dr. J. A. Alexander, in the volumes we have named, containing forty-three sermons. Not having heard him preach, we know not how far these productions, as read, will confirm the impression made by their delivery. Knowing his high reputation both as a scholar and preacher among the disciples and friends of Princeton, we had somehow been led to think of him in the latter capacity, as a splendid rhetorician, in the good sense of this phrase, which, however, did not seem to comport with the scholarly, severe character of his commentaries. Taking up these volumes with this impression we have been surprised, and, on the whole, favorably. As compositions, these sermons are not as ornate, nor even as finished, as we expected to find them, but they have other and higher merits which we had not happened to hear assigned to the author's preaching. There are strokes of rhetorical skill and glimpses of imaginative power,

surprising as well as pleasing from one so noted as a linguist; but these are not, as far as we have observed, the predominant traits of these discourses. His interpretations of Scripture are careful and candid, but without any parade of learning, and without reminding the reader of the professional *exegete*. Usually, instead of taking a long passage for exposition, he finds his theme in a single clause or sentence, and, in one view of it, pursuing this with discrimination and unity to a brief, lively application. Perhaps nothing characterizes his treatment of a subject more than his sharp analysis, and the consecutiveness of his thoughts. He is happily free from the formalities of what is called "sermonizing," yet is too disciplined a thinker to be ever wanting in essential method. He deals rather with subjective truths and processes than with objective forms. And these sermons, in general, are not "doctrinal," in the common acceptation of this word among the people with whom the author was most associated: that is, they do not set out with a dogmatic statement in the terms of the catechism or of technical theology, follow it with an array of what are called proof-texts, and then square and guard it on every side; but rather adopt the Scriptural forms of truth, and in their ethical and practical relations. Nor do they get their staple materials from the more debatable grounds of Calvinism. The views they present are determined rather from the circle of Christian doctrine, than from the "triangle" of old school theology. Not that we would damage his reputation, if we could, in the exclusive atmosphere of Princeton, nor that these sermons show no marks of the school in which he was a learner and a teacher; but that they show us on his part a deference to the Scriptures themselves, and a breadth and candor of view, which prove that "the zeal" of *that* house had not "eaten him up." In the intellectual qualities we have named, his mind bears more of the New England than of the southern stamp, and in respect to the freedom of its methods is rather in advance of the New England standard. As to the due admixture of evangelical truth, we have heard it said that some of these discourses, if they had proceeded from a northern seminary, would have been pronounced by southern censors and their northern imitators too *legal* in their tone, and the sentence would have been at least as just as most of the censorious charges from the same quarters. Reverting to the literary character of these volumes, we are struck with their copious, rich vocabulary, abounding in plain, strong words, mixed with others more sonorous, which, however, are employed with precision and effect. There is great variety in the structure of the sentences, which in some

places are brief and simple, and in others long and complicated, as if owing to different habits of composition at successive periods of the author's life, which is probable enough in respect to sermons thus selected, and even as to different parts of the same sermon as modified with repetitions. On the whole, the style seems better suited to cultivated hearers than to the multitude, while the author's brother, if we mistake not, adapted himself remarkably to both. But we must take exception to its unfinished character, which we have adverted to before. Some allowance must be made from the fact, if it is so, as we suppose, that these sermons were not revised and prepared for the press by the author. The volumes have no editor's name, nor biographical sketch, nor preface, but only a portrait, which is a fair round face, such as one likes to see, with a prepossessing autograph. All this looks as if the work were gotten up in haste for sale under the recent impression from the author's death. But the editor, whoever he may be, if only from respect to his memory, ought to have given it enough supervision to remove certain inaccuracies, whether mere misprints or more, which now disfigure the style, or at least he should have attended, as he has not done, to the punctuation. Without looking for any errors, we have noticed some which ought to be corrected in another edition. From a rather long list before us we make only one or two selections. Vol. I, p. 49, *furtherest* is not the right form; on p. 53, "suffers us to suffer" is not well; p. 82, "pastimes," as a verb, may not be quite novel, but is not warranted.

We add that scholastic as was this divine in his habits, there is often in these sermons an earnestness of appeal and exhortation which must have made them effective in any congregation. We take an example from the twenty-second sermon in the second volume, from Isaiah v, 20 :

"The question which I ask is this: when one who thus admits in words the great first principles of morals, takes away so much on one hand, and grants so much on the other, as to obliterate the practical distinction between right and wrong; when with one breath he asserts the inviolable sanctity of truth, but with the next breath makes provision for benevolent, professional, jocose, or thoughtless falsehood; when in the abstract he asserts the claims of justice, and the obligation to give every man his own, but in application to specific cases thinks it lawful to enrich himself at other men's expense, or to take advantage of another's weakness, ignorance, or error; when he admits the paramount importance of religious duties in the general, but in detail dissects away the vital parts as superstition, sanctimony, or fanaticism, and leaves a mere abstraction or an outward form behind; when he approves the requisitions of the law and the

provisions of the gospel, in so far as they apply to other people, but repudiates them as applying to himself; when any one does this, or any part of this, or anything analogous to this, I ask, whatever his professions or his creed may be, whether he does not virtually, actually, call evil good, and good evil?

" Again, I ask you, whether he who in the general admits the turpitude of fraud, impurity, intemperance, malignity and other vicious dispositions, with their practical effects, and thus appears to be an advocate for purity of morals, but when insulated cases or specific acts of vice are made the subjects of discussion, treats them all as peccadilloes, inadvertencies, absurdities, indiscretions, or perhaps as virtues modestly disguised; whether he who condemns drunkenness, but clears the drunkard; he who frowns upon fraud, but smiles upon the fashionable swindler or defaulter; he who hates licentiousness, but loves the libertine; is horror-struck at murder, but can fawn upon the duelist and flatter the assassin, I ask, whether he who does all this can be protected, by the mere assertion of a few general principles, from the fatal charge of calling evil good? And, as the counterpart of this, I ask you whether he who praises and admires all goodness not embodied in the life of living men or women, but detests it when thus realized in concrete excellence; who praises piety, but blames the pious; who extols benevolence, but doubts the motives of the few who practise it; who honors warm devotion, but laughs the wretched devotee to scorn; in short, who worships *virtue* as a being in the clouds, but hates her when incarnate in the form of a reproofing example; whether he who does all this, does not really and practically call good evil?

" And I ask you, lastly, whether he who, in relation to the self-same acts performed by men of opposite descriptions, has a judgment suited to the case of each, a pillar of fire one way and of cloud the other, but the dark side turned to Israel and the bright to the Egyptians; all compassion to the willful transgressions of the wicked, and all inexorable sternness to the innocent infirmities of godly men; he who strains at a gnat in the behavior of the meek and conscientious Christian, but can swallow a camel in the conduct of the self-indulgent votary of pleasure; he who lauds religion as exhibited in those who give him no uneasiness by their example, but maligns and disparages it when, from its peculiar strength and brightness, it reflects a glare of painful and intolerable light upon his own corruptions; I ask, whether he who does all this, let his maxims of moral philosophy be what they will, does not, to all intents and purposes, incur the woe pronounced on those who call evil good and good evil, who put darkness for light and light for darkness, who put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter?"

For examples of his rhetorical and imaginative passages, we give two extracts from the ninth sermon in the first volume, from Luke xi, 26, the case of the man reposessed by evil spirits, and whose last state was worse than the first. Of them, the first is also one of his more complicated sentences:

" If we could watch the tide of national prosperity, in such a case, until it ebbed, it would require no great stretch of imagination to perceive the evil spirit, who had seemed to forsake a people so enlightened and so highly favored,

coming back under the cloak of the returning darkness from his wandering in the desert, not alone, but followed by a shadowy train, overleaping the defenses which appeared impregnable to human foes, or mysteriously gliding through the very crevices of fast-barred doors, and unexpectedly appearing in their ancient haunts, which all the intervening glory and prosperity have only seemed to sweep and garnish for its repossession by its ancient master and his new confederates, under whose united usurpation and oppression the last state of that race, or society, or nation, must be worse than the first."

"It is not as the invaders of a country or besiegers of a city, that the evil spirit, with his sevenfold reinforcement, rises up before the mind's eye in terrific grandeur. It is where we see him knocking at the solitary door from which he was once driven in disgrace and anguish. The scene, though an impressive one, is easily called up. A lonely dwelling on the margin of a wilderness, cheerfully lighted as the night approaches, carefully swept and garnished, and apparently the home of plenty, peace and comfort. The winds that sweep across the desert pass it by unheeded. But, as the darkness thickens, something more than wind approaches from that quarter. What are the shadowy forms that seem to come forth from the dry places of the wilderness, and stealthily draw near the dwelling? One of the number guides the rest, and now they reach the threshold. Hark! he knocks; but only to assure himself that there is no resistance. Through the opened door we catch a glimpse of the interior, swept and garnished—swept and garnished; but for whose use?—its rightful owner? Alas! no; for he is absent; and already has that happy home begun to ring with fiendish laughter, and to glare with hellish flames; and, if the weal or woe of any man be centered in it, the last state of that man is worse than the first."

TYLER'S BIBLE AND SOCIAL REFORM.*—This work is written in an excellent temper and with a plain and forcible exhibition of the argument which is offered in support of the author's leading position—the Scriptures as the great means of civilization. It is designed to affect common people who think and read somewhat, and seems well fitted to be useful. The facts adduced are not to be questioned, and they have been collected with fidelity and are urged with force and skill. It is a good book to place in the hands of many persons who would not read a distinctively devotional or religious work.

* *The Bible and Social Reform; or, the Scriptures as a means of civilization.*
By R. H. TYLER, A. M., of Fulton, N. Y. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son.
1860. 12mo. pp. 866.

PHILOSOPHY.

WARDEN'S FORENSIC VIEW OF MAN AND LAW.*—This work is another indication which we are glad to welcome that in and about Columbus special attention is given by lawyers to psychological and kindred studies. The present volume might properly be entitled a lawyer's view of man, especially of those attributes of his nature which have to do with law and the administration of justice. This design leads the author over a wide range of topics, ordinarily treated of in physiology, psychology, ethics and medical jurisprudence. The contributions of the author, upon each and all of these topics, exhibit much reading, with vigorous and independent thinking. His remarks, even on points which are especially technical to any of the subjects named, are fraught with interest. They are especially valuable and timely upon all those subjects which are at all related to criminal law. In order to determine all the questions here involved, the author has gone into careful investigations in physiology, so as to establish, on tenable grounds, the relation of the morbid conditions of the bodily organism to the moral responsibility of those guilty of felonious acts. We cannot accept the author's theory of the will as a just or full statement of its relations to the thoughts and affections, but we entirely coincide with the cautious and well-considered objections which he urges against the tendency to believe in moral insanity, which is fostered by so many in the medical profession. On this subject even the *physiological* views of this able thinker might be profitably considered by those who are deemed so exclusively *experts* in their own department as to claim to give *law* to judges and jurors.

We shall look with much interest for the volume to which this is designed as a preparatory introduction.

CHAMPLIN'S TEXT BOOK IN INTELLECTUAL PHILOSOPHY.†—This is an able outline of the generally received doctrines in the science of the

* *A Familiar Forensic View of Man and Law.* By ROBERT B. WARDEN. Columbus: Follett, Foster & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 000.

† *Text-book in Intellectual Philosophy, for schools and colleges;* containing an outline of the science, with an abstract of its history. By J. T CHAMPLIN, D. D., President of Waterville College. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 240.

Intellect, showing an attentive and thoughtful study of the principal English authorities and the exercise of the author's own independent judgment. We have not had time to examine it as critically as we desired, as it came to hand at the last moment before our going to press. But as far as we have looked at it, the distinctions are more accurately and justly made, and the terminology is more precisely and rigidly adhered to than in the other compends which have been recently given to the public. The work is brief, professing to be only an outline for the teacher to explain and illustrate, and certainly it leaves room for this work from the instructor. Our own experience would leave the impression, that however plausible this view of the ideal text-book is in theory, it will not always be successful in the actual working, for the simple reason, that in teaching sciences of this kind, the prime condition of success is to awaken the philosophical spirit, or a strong and intense interest in the actual inspection of one's own mind. It is true, this interest can be aroused by the excitement of the teacher, but to sustain and feed it, he must keep within the reach of the pupil a definite and somewhat fully illustrated exhibition of the facts and relations which are the subjects of his inquiries. So far as the author of the work is concerned, the work is very creditable to his well known reputation.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.

WOOLSEY'S INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.* —We are pleased to see a new work on international law from President Woolsey, of Yale College. In the instruction which he has given, for a series of years, to the college classes under his charge, in history and in the principles of law, he has found no book answering all the requirements of a text-book, and this work is the result of his study and his experience as a teacher. The whole subject of public and private international law is treated under the following general heads: The rights and obligations of states as independent sovereigns; the right of property and rights over territory belonging to states; the rights and duties of intercourse, with the relations of foreigners with the territory to the state; the forms and agents of intercourse between the states themselves; the right of treaty; the

* *Introduction to the Study of International Law*, designed as an aid in teaching and in historical studies. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, President of Yale College. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 500.

state of war as affecting the belligerents, and as bearing on the rights and obligations of neutrals. The general plan and aim of the author has been, as he himself says, not to write for lawyers, but to introduce students, especially students of history, into a science which has very close relations to the history of Christian states, and in general to that of civilization. Hence, throughout, there has been an aim to show historically the progress of the science, and to expound positive international law by itself, as it is received through Christendom, without forgetting to place a standard of justice, separate from it, by its side, which may serve to test its enactments.

The advantage of presenting this science historically, is proved by the execution of this work, and will be obvious to every one who examines it. We have been particularly pleased with the chronological list of the important treaties since the commencement of the sixteenth century, in which is embodied a statement of the main features of each treaty. We think the chapter on the relations between belligerents and neutrals especially full and satisfactory. We should have been pleased with a more thorough discussion of some other important questions, such as the rights of authors and patentees, so as to develop the reasons on which the existing law is based, or which require its modification. While the author leaves us in no doubt as to his own opinions, a more full exposition of his views might be of service to those for whom the book is mainly designed, without detracting too much from its elementary character. We desire in this connection to say something of the importance of this branch of study to our American youth.

It is a remark of Aristotle, that "jurisprudence is the principal and most perfect branch of ethics," and the learned commentator on the common law of England, Sir William Blackstone, in his introductory lecture, describes law as "that science which distinguishes the criterions of right and wrong; which teaches to establish the one and prevent, punish or redress the other; which employs in its theory the noblest faculties of the soul and exerts in its practice the cardinal virtues of the heart; a science which is universal in its use and extent, accommodated to each individual yet comprehending all." Such a science should form a part of the intellectual and moral training of every educated man, for the principles on which the laws of Christian communities rest are found in the will of the Creator, who formed man to live in society, and so brought him into relations

more or less intimate with his fellow men, and under obligations of greater or less force.

What is true of individual men in society, is true of individual states in the great community of nations, and the obligations which arise from the relations they sustain to each other, involve the most important ethical principles. As the individual citizen in a state exhibits his inward character in his intercourse with his fellow citizens, so the individual state in its relations to other states makes outward manifestation of that interior life which is derived from its institutions and its laws. Hence it follows that as the history of the development of the municipal law of a state is a criterion of the mental and moral progress of that state, so the history of the growth of the principles of international law is an index of the progress of the world in civilization and Christianity.

The progress of this science has been very great within the past fifty years. The growth of the principles of freedom, and the increased security which has been given to the rights of the people, have modified the law of nations. The only valid sanction which such law can have, is to be found in the enlightened public sentiment of the world, and this has been strengthened, and is more powerfully felt than at any former period, and in those states especially where the intelligence of the people is the greatest, and their power the strongest. Early in the last century the abbé Montesquieu said, "the passions of sovereigns and the forbearance of the people have corrupted all the principles of public law. Its present use is to show princes how far they can violate justice without injury to their interests." Exaggerated as was this statement, even when it was written, the truth which underlies it is the want of sanction to international law, for at that period the sovereigns of the world had too much of the education and habit of despotic power to feel the influence of public opinion. We think that the establishment under our own form of government of free principles in advance of other nations, and the increase of the power of the people in all civilized countries, has done much to improve the laws which regulate the mutual intercourse of nations. The influence of our institutions has been felt especially in procuring greater freedom of the seas, and in the removal of restrictions upon commerce, in the prohibition of the African slave trade, and the enlarged privileges of neutral nations, in time of war. Much remains for us to accomplish, and we have peculiar advantages with those half civilized nations which are now beginning to contribute

to the wealth and knowledge of the world. The Chinese already recognize in us a powerful but peace-loving nation, and receive us more kindly than they do any other people, regarding us as seeking not territorial aggrandizement, but that mutual advantage which results from the reciprocal exchange of commodities and of opinions. The recent envoys from Japan cannot fail to be impressed with the advantages which will flow to them from a people who, under the influence of free and equal laws, have risen to such a high and independent position, and ask of other nations only that which is just and equal.

There are peculiar reasons why international law should be studied in the United States. The danger is, that those who have the management of public affairs shall treat the questions which arise in the interest of a party, and not in the interest of truth and justice; that our executives shall amass power by having diplomatic relations under their independent control, and that the bitter words of Montesquieu, above quoted, shall be verified in us. The remedy is the education of a large number of intelligent men in the principles of international law, and in the nature of our free institutions, that our rulers may feel responsible to an enlightened public opinion, and that the influence of our nation may be felt on the side of right, and in the improvement of the civilization and the morality of the world.

HISTORY.

DIARY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.*—Every one who has made a study of American History in the original documents, who has deciphered the manuscripts, and labored through the cumbersome files of old newspapers, perpetuated in the libraries of colleges and historical societies, will appreciate the value of such a book as this. It presents, within the compass of two octavo volumes, each of more than five hundred pages, numerous extended extracts from the public journals of this country, both whig and tory, during the period of the American Revolution. The first quotation is from the Pennsylvania Journal of January 25, 1775, and that which closes the series is from the New Jersey Journal of October 31, 1781. Between these two dates the extracts are quite numerous enough to justify the title of the work,

* *Diary of the American Revolution.* From newspapers and original documents. By FRANK MOORE. New York: C. Scribner. 1860. 2 vols. 8vo.

A Diary of the American Revolution. Grave matters and gay, important and trivial, bloody battles and bloodless dinner parties, solemn papers of state and evanescent *bon mots*, stern hatred of "the Regulars," and keen satire of "the Rebels," follow one another in these pages just as they did before the eyes of our grandfathers in the newspapers of the day. In fact, we are taken directly back to the times of 1776, and enabled to view the events and the comments upon the events of that stirring period, in a spirit quite different from that which we read the philosophical pages of Mr. Bancroft, and the harmonious narrative of Mr. Irving.

In our opinion, there is one marked deficiency in the volumes. While the names and dates of the papers are given from which extracts are made, no clue is furnished in respect to their political standing. To the well-read scholar this omission may be of slight importance, for his knowledge of the public journals will enable him to assign the right value to every extract. But in a book designed to circulate, as this is, among those whose historical studies must have been very limited, it seems to us of the highest importance that the value of each quotation should be characterized by the statement as to whether it is taken from a whig or tory journal. An introductory chapter on the journalism of that period, or even a list of the newspapers quoted, with a brief account of the opinions which they advocated, would be a most useful addition to the future editions of the work, or if printed in some existing periodical would be of much service to the majority of readers.

We have a corresponding wish in respect to the illustrations. These, for the most part, are admirably engraved, giving spirited portraits of eminent men, and interesting views of important places as they appeared in the olden time. But no indication is given as to the source from which these are derived. There is nothing, for example, to indicate whether the view of New York, from Col. Rutger's farm, is a real or imaginary sketch.

The typography of the book, and its mechanical execution generally, are worthy of the subject.

TRAVELS.

LORD ELGIN'S EMBASSY TO CHINA AND JAPAN.*—Books in relation

* *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's mission to China and Japan, in the years 1857, 1858, 1859.* By LAURENCE OLIPHANT, Esq., Private Secretary to Lord Elgin, Author of the "Russian Shores of the Black Sea," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 639.

to China and Japan are just now especially timely. For although both these countries have largely occupied the attention of the Western world during the last ten years, it seems probable that they are to be of equal or perhaps greater interest during the ten years to come. In China, the work which the last English Embassy accomplished has now to be wholly done over again,—and that, too, in the face of some inconvenient obstacles. The fighting which is about to commence at the mouth of the Peiho will probably be harder fighting than the British ships have yet seen in those waters; for, proud and pig-headed as the Chinamen seem, their experience of foreign methods of warfare has not been in vain to them. They have all the time been learning how to fight. And in a contest, on the result of which depends perhaps the entry of a barbarian force into their capital city and the admission of a "foreign devil" to a personal audience with their Emperor, they will doubtless exhibit all the skill and courage which they possess. Their courage and obstinacy will doubtless be intensified also by the feeling, (though it will make less difference with the Chinese than it would with any other people,) that in this instance, the right is partly on their side. The fight which is about to take place on the Peiho is therefore likely to be one of unusual interest, and the results of the war can hardly fail to be important, not only to the nations directly involved in it, but to the whole world.

Mr. Oliphant's book is precisely what one needs as a preparation for the intelligent reception of the news which we may soon expect from China. He briefly sketches the history of recent foreign intercourse with that country from the beginning of the difficulties connected with the Lorchia "*Arrow*," until the arrival of Lord Elgin at the seat of war. Then his account becomes minute and full, as the narrative of an eye-witness should be; and thus he brings us down to the event with which the present chapter of Chinese history opened,—the arrival of Mr. Bruce at the mouth of the Peiho, and the disastrous defeat of Admiral Hope's gun-boats at that place. We hope that the British expedition—naval and diplomatic—now in those waters may be fortunate enough to have so excellent a historian as Mr. Oliphant.

The volume before us is exactly what it pretends to be—a narrative. Mr. Oliphant tells what he has seen, and no more, except in those chapters which relate to Japan, and which call for special criticism. He made good use of his opportunities; he was observing, adventurous and of quick and clear perception. He was briskly on the look out whenever, as happened more than once, peaceful diplomacy was suspended and

the naval authorities opened upon the unfortunate Chinese with shot and shell. He was in the field with the "blue-jackets" at the capture of Canton; in the main-top of the "*Nimrod*," while she was engaging the Peiho forts; in the cross-trees of the "*Furious*" while she was cautiously finding her way up the Yang-tse river among Imperialist fleets and Rebel forts. His account of all that he saw is simple, clear, sometimes very fresh and racy, and evidently accurate. Much of the information he gives us is new and valuable, and all of it is interesting. The "*Furious*" steamer with the embassy on board, and accompanied by two other steamers and two gun-boats, penetrated into the very heart of the empire,—six hundred miles or more from the mouth of the Yang-tse,—and the record of this expedition we owe to Mr. Oliphant. It is especially valuable as giving some clear and reliable information in regard to the great insurgent movement about which, for the last ten years, so much has been said and so little known. Lord Elgin's party had, on several occasions, official communications with the rebels, and the opinions in regard to their character and prospects which Mr. Oliphant gives, are entitled to high respect and confidence. We regret to see that these opinions confirm the unfavorable estimate of the rebels and the rebellion which many of the most intelligent men in China and out of it, had previously entertained. The navigable capacities of the Yang-tse river as tested by the steamers of this expedition,—its value as an avenue into the heart of the continent,—the peaceable and thrifty character of the population on its banks,—the beauty and richness of its valley,—all these are fully manifest in this report of Lord Elgin's successful excursion to Han-kow.

As in regard to China, so we may say of Japan, that all reliable information which we can obtain concerning it is just now of special interest and value. There is evidently at hand a crisis in the history of that strange old empire. While we have just seen the most significant and memorable token of its progress in liberality, in the presence among us of an embassy from its shores, we have, on the other hand, reports of civil dissension, of insurgent princes, of possible intestine war, the cause of all which is this very foreign policy over which western nations have been rejoicing so loudly. It would seem as if the conservative party in Japan are resolved to make one more attempt to withstand the rude assaults upon their dignified and proud seclusion; as if the experiment of free intercourse had, so far, only convinced them of the superiority of the old ways and the danger of the new policy. It is clear, that among some of the nobility, this hostility to both foreign and to domes-

tic innovators must have become very intense, because, in a country so perfectly governed as Japan, and among a people so quiet, so intelligent and so necessarily afraid of one another as the Japanese are,—every man being his neighbor's spy,—nothing but the intensest bitterness could ever break out into open insurrection, and positive defiance. Whether Prince Mito will find adherents enough to sustain him, or whether, defeated by the stronger and more progressive party of "Young Nippon," he will avail himself of "happy dispatch," is a question to which we shall curiously await the answer. And whether the report which the embassy, which has at length safely escaped from our fierce hospitality, will carry back to their own land, will not be one likely to encourage Prince Mito in his defense of the exclusive policy, is a question which we almost fear to ask.

At any rate, in the present critical state of Japanese politics, and in view of the interest with which the whole world is now looking towards those pleasant islands, any information in regard to the country and people is welcome. Especially welcome is it, if it be in the fresh and lively narrative of such an observer as Mr. Oliphant. We have never quite recovered from a feeling of mortification that the interesting materials which Perry and his officers collected in their expedition to Japan could not have been given to us with the freshness and vivacity of an author who was also an eye-witness. A personal narrative of Perry's expedition would have been far more acceptable than a mere history compiled from many fragmentary papers by a man who never came within thousands of miles of Japan, although the work of compilation may have been elegantly and accurately done. Would it not have been better to have trusted the Commodore himself, blunt and perhaps inelegant as he might have been, rather than to have called in a man of letters who, so far as personal experience was concerned, knew nothing of what he wrote about. If it be true, as we fear must be confessed, that the report of Perry's expedition is unsatisfactory, heavy and dull, a simple explanation of the fact is obvious. On the next similar expedition, let the Commodore, if he cannot write himself, take with him a Secretary who can; and then we may hope to have a narrative as lively, as readable, as satisfactory as Mr. Oliphant's.

Lord Elgin and his party were only three or four weeks in Japan, and of course they had but little opportunity to collect new information in regard to the country and people. Their impressions, however, exactly coincide with those of all travelers, both ancient and modern, who have visited the empire. Mr. Oliphant is enthusiastic in his de-

scriptions of the beauty of the country and its abundant resources, and of the shrewd, amiable, and generous character of the inhabitants. He draws also the same comparison between the Japanese and their neighbours in China, that every one who enters the one country from the other seems compelled to draw,—a comparison most favorable to the former. He seems to have been, all the time of his visit, in a state of delighted wonder at what he saw,—and to have left it and set his face again towards China and its dirt, its dead civilization, its false and contemptuous diplomacy, with great reluctance. His testimony, although it is based on very limited experience and observation, is very valuable and, confirmed as it is by the voice of all other travelers, very conclusive as to the high character and civilization of the Japanese nation.

What we wish to take exception to, and what deserves to be rebuked in Mr. Oliphant's book, is rather what he says impliedly and what he omits to say. One would think, to read the two hundred pages in which the events of Lord Elgin's three weeks in Japan are recorded, that little of importance had been accomplished there, in behalf of foreign nations, until his irresistible diplomacy broke down all barriers and opened wide the doors of the empire to the outer world. "We passed on at full speed up to the bay," says Mr. Oliphant, speaking of Lord Elgin's refusal to anchor at Kanagawa, the usual anchorage for ships at Yedo, fifteen miles below the city,—"*where no western ship had been before.*" But, four years before this, Commodore Perry in the "*Mississippi*," had advanced beyond the southern suburb of the capital, and both that steamer and the "*Powhattan*" had gone as near to Yedo as the depth of water would allow.* So again, Mr. Oliphant, speaking of Lord Elgin's landing at Yedo, declares that the boat procession from the "*Furious*," "along the shore about three miles," was "such a spectacle as Japanese eyes had never before witnessed;" whereas, on more than one occasion, in this very bay of Yedo, Perry had landed with much more parade and under circumstances far more strange and impressive. Again says Mr. Oliphant, "there was some discussion as to the salute which should be fired by the Japanese, they having never, upon any previous occasion, saluted a foreign flag." But Mr. Harris, the American Consul General at Shimoda, declares that on both the "*Fourth of July*" that he had spent in Japan, "and once upon Washington's birth day, they fired a salute of twenty-one guns with howitzers," made after the pattern of those which

* See Perry's Report, Vol. I., pp. 398-9.

Perry had presented them. "Mr. Heuskin and myself attended, with the American flag flying, and the people exhibited the greatest good feeling and enthusiasm."* These are points of small importance, perhaps, but they are specimens of the spirit in which all this part of Mr. Oliphant's book is written. The facts in the case are that Lord Elgin in his visit to Japan did little more than secure to his own countrymen the benefits which Commodore Perry and Mr. Harris had already secured for the Americans; and that he would have been unable even to accomplish anything, had it not been for what these gentlemen had first accomplished. We have been at some pains to compare the English treaty with Mr. Harris's of a month previous. It is almost word for word the same, and it would have followed almost as a matter of course, upon the American treaty, without any necessity for an especially resolute and inflexible attitude on the part of Lord Elgin. Added to all this is the fact that Lord Elgin was wholly without an interpreter and that the services of Mr. Heuskin, Mr. Harris's Secretary, were invaluable to him. It would have been in better taste, to say the least, had Mr. Oliphant assumed a less exalted tone in his narrative of this part of Lord Elgin's mission, and had he done more than occasionally and grudgingly to refer to Mr. Harris's presence in Japan and to his great diplomatic successes before Lord Elgin's arrival.

Possibly Mr. Oliphant would reply to us in the spirit of an ill-natured article which appeared in the London *Times*, when the news of Lord Elgin's treaty reached England. That article insinuated that the concessions which Mr. Harris had obtained from the government at Yedo were obtained only in view of the intelligence which had just before arrived concerning the success of the engagement at the mouth of the Peiho; and that it was only by ungenerous trickery on the part of the Americans that they were the first to reap the benefits of this Chinese news. Mr. Oliphant, though he has the courtesy to refrain from saying so, evidently thinks as the *Times* thought. But such an intimation as this is grossly incorrect. Long before Lord Elgin entered the Japanese waters Mr. Harris had begun the work which was consummated by the treaty of Yedo. We know whereof we affirm when we say that the liberal attitude which Japan now holds toward the western world is owing more to him than to any other living man. It is he who, by his wise, firm but always conciliatory policy, and particularly by his influence and example as an upright Christian gentleman, has made prac-

* See Lt. Habershon's letters to the Philadelphia "Ledger," 1858.

tically valuable the results which Perry achieved by an armed squadron,—disarming the suspicion of a people who had for two centuries hated all foreigners,—winning their confidence,—gaining their warm, personal affection. A year before Lord Elgin came, he had secured some of the most important of the privileges afterwards embodied in the treaty of Yedo. Before any of the news from China had been received, he had been twice to the capital; had lived there for a month; had been treated with profound respect and with a careful and almost affectionate attention by every one; and had been received to an audience by the Tycoon, without any of the humiliating ceremonies previously required of the Dutch, and in a manner wholly worthy of his dignity as a man and as the representative of a great and friendly power. Thus was the way made ready for the signing of the treaty; so that when Mr. Harris went for the third time to Yedo in the "*Powhattan*" there remained little to be done except the drawing up of the document and its signature by the commissioners. It required only three days for Mr. Harris to go from Simoda to Yedo, make his treaty and return again to his consulate. If any one will assert, in view of these facts, that the treaty at Yedo was extorted by the effect upon the Japanese government, of the news of the Chinese war and of the British successes at the Peiho, that, in short, the Americans only stole what was properly the thunder of the English guns, we can only wish him much joy of his assertion.

We should not have dwelt at so much length upon these errors of Mr. Oliphant's book, if we had not regarded the spirit in which he writes as one that is more or less general among his countrymen. Indeed we shall not greatly err, if we regard such a disposition to ignore all that has been done by others than themselves in discovery, in science, in general progress, as peculiarly and characteristically English. In this particular case it is especially to be condemned, for it tends to take from Mr. Harris the credit for successful diplomacy to which he is singularly entitled, by his patient, upright, and sagacious labors in Japan.

THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA.*—In the present aspect of American affairs, with the "negro" uppermost in all the great questions of the day, a book that touches upon the negro's "fatherland," and throws

* *Adventures and Observations on the West Coast of Africa, and its Islands.* By Rev. CHARLES W. THOMAS, M. A., member of the Georgia Conference, Chaplain of the African Squadron in 1855, 1856 and 1857. Illustrated. New York: Derby & Jackson. 12mo. pp. 479.

light upon the character and condition of the black race at home, and upon the efforts making to stay the traffic in human flesh, and to colonize and Christianize the sons of Africa on African soil, will be received and read with interest.

The scope and character of the work before us, are fully indicated by its title. The chapters which compose it were prepared originally for the "Southern Christian Advocate," at the request of the Georgia Methodist Conference, of which the author is a member. Besides a narrative of personal observations, at various points on the African coast and islands, he has condensed from various sources a large amount of historical, statistical, and other information respecting the regions visited, and also given us his views on various questions of interest respecting the colored race. The book is well written, interesting throughout, and, in the main, we doubt not, trustworthy. The reader, however, will often be reminded, in its perusal, that the writer is a Southern man, and that however conscientiously inclined to observe and judge impartially, he has not always been able to free himself from Southern prejudices. The book is, in fact, a "South-side" view of Africa and the Africans, but is all the more interesting on this account, and the more valuable, also, when its facts or testimonies are such as would be suspected, if they came from a "Northern abolitionist."

As a specimen of the Southern light in which he is apt to look at objects, we may cite a passage in which he refers to Mrs. Stowe. He represents an eloquent colored Methodist preacher, whom he heard in Sierra Leone, as contrasting the condition of his audience with that of their race in America, "where," said the preacher, "they live on roots, and do the work of brute beasts."

"After service," says our author, "I introduced myself, as a southern Methodist, to the preacher, and enjoyed half an hour's chat with him at the mission house, where I intimated that his description of the condition of the colored race in the United States was new to me. Imagine my surprise when the gentleman quoted from the 'Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin,' and asked me if I did not admire Mrs. Stowe. I replied that '*as a writer*, I admired her; and that the most ardent admirers of her intellect were Southern men.'

"How is that, sir?"

"Why, out of the South she is complimented in that she possesses an imagination which can form a beautiful and attractive story out of a few plain characters, acts of cruelty and pictures of suffering. In the South, we know that not only did her imagination supply the dressing and paint, but even the characters and the so called 'facts,' and that, therefore, as a creative genius,

which is the highest order of genius, we consider her *gigantic*—but alas! for her veracity.'

"Thus is abolitionism doing its accursed work; spreading, even in Africa, the venom of falsehood, and engendering strife." pp. 81, 82.

Occasional instances of this sort of prejudice very much detract from the general fairness and excellence of the book. At the same time, we must do the author the justice to say, that, while he has a strong antipathy to "Northern abolitionists," he shows little sympathy with the "fire-eaters" and disunionists of the South, or with their radical views respecting slavery and the slave trade.

His sketches, historical and descriptive, of Sierra Leone and Liberia, are both interesting and instructive, and, as a general thing, his views respecting the condition of these settlements and the results of missionary labor in them, appear to be discriminating and just. It is to be noticed that he everywhere gives the negro (whether colonized from America or native) credit for a degree of intellect and capacity to take care of himself, entirely at variance with the theories of negro inferiority, of late so current among Southern philosophers. The government officials of Liberia, her senators and representatives, he describes as, many of them, men of talents, eloquence and sound judgment. Certainly, in point of dignity, capacity, good sense, and integrity, they would compare favorably, in these days, with those of the "model republic" after which their own is fashioned. President Benson, a pure black, is a "public functionary" who does no discredit to his color, nor would he to any color. His very blackness gained him votes, when a candidate for the presidency; the question of the relative merits of the two races, and of the natural capabilities of the black, having entered, to some extent, into the national politics, as the following anecdote will show. An American gentleman, Captain W., meeting, just before election, an intelligent colored man whom he had known in Virginia as a slave, under the name of "Buck," but who in Liberia bore the title of "Colonel" Brown, asked him, after some other conversation,

"Which of the candidates for the Presidency are you going to vote for?"

"Oh, Benson, sir!"

"Has not Roberts made you a good President?"

"Oh, yes."

"He is a very smart man," continued the captain, "and much respected abroad. I think you had better vote for him."

"That's all true!"—Colonel becomes quite animated—"But the fac's just this, Mass Whit': the folks say as how we darkies ain't fitten to take care o'

ourselves—ain't capable. Roberts is a very fine gentleman, but he's more white than black, an' Mr. Benson's colored people all over! There's no use talking government, an' making laws, an' that kind o' things, if they ain't going to keep um up. I vote for Benson, sir, *case I wants to know if we's going to stay nigger or turn monkey!*" p. 164.

After describing the prospects of Liberia as in the main encouraging, and deciding, on the whole, affirmatively, as to the capacity of the black race for self-government, or at least for maintaining national existence, after the manner of the old and powerful kingdoms of Ashantee and Dahomey—"kingdoms, by the way," he remarks, "which, if we could add to them a few of the principles and arts of American civilization, especially the moral principles of the Christian religion, would compare favorably with many of the kingdoms of Europe, in the protection and privileges secured to their citizens,"—he proceeds to remark upon the probable effect of the progress of African civilization on the existence of slavery, as follows :

"Supposing, however, that Liberia should, in the course of time, become wealthy, powerful, established, how would that affect the relations of the black man in the South? Not at all. Southerners do not hold slaves, as such, because they believe them incapable of taking care of themselves; nor because skeptics have assigned to the black man an origin inferior to that of the white man; nor yet merely because the relation of master and slave is sanctioned by the writers of the Old and New Testament. The ground on which the relation rests is that of expediency. The present relation is deemed the best that can be adopted, considering the interest and happiness of *all the parties* concerned. This we believe to be the attitude of most southern men relative to this question, certainly that of all Christian and conservative southerners. In view of these facts, then, it is evident that, while the condition of the South remains the same, no changes or demonstrations from without, except physical force, can affect this relation. Sierra Leone, Monrovia, Loando, Yoruba, may become powerful and civilized nations—we sincerely hope they may; the scientific world may become one on the question of man's aboriginal unity—we think it will; the higher law sentiments and morbid humanity of certain sections may prevail in a large portion of the Union, though it is scarcely to be expected; yet, while in the opinion of southerners the present and prospective interests of the South demand that the present relations of master and servant shall be sustained, southern slavery will be unaffected by these things. Since, however, this institution rests on expediency alone, it is not permanent in its form, but will continue to receive such changes and modifications as the internal circumstances of the South may demand." pp. 119, 120.

Our author answers as follows another question:

"What are the Liberians doing towards converting the natives?

"I once pulled a drunken man off a railroad track just in time to save him

from being run over by the train. The imminence of his danger sobered him a little, and rising to his feet, he exclaimed:

"Sir, you have saved my life! What shall I do for you?"

"Pray for me," said I.

"Well," said he, after a moment's thought, "I guess I'll have to begin that job by praying for myself; and it'll give me enough *for a while* to do that."

"When the Liberians are converted themselves then they may strengthen their brethren. At present they have no means to spare in that direction. Indirectly, however, they are exerting an elevating influence over the tribes around. They hire their children as domestics, and these generally forsake the religion of their fathers for that of their masters. The savages acknowledge the superiority of the civilized man; they are gradually adopting the ideas and practices of civilized life, and eventually they will become one people. The schools and other missionary operations among them are hastening this event."—pp. 158, 159.

Of the abundant and unprejudiced testimony which this book contains in relation to the horrors and iniquities of the slave trade, we can only quote a single paragraph, which, though pointed with a fling at the north, is sufficiently illustrative of the general features of the traffic :

"The tribes who inhabit its banks [the river Volta] have been among the most vigorous and cruel prosecutors of the slave trade, and to this day they are ready, whenever a Yankee craft makes signal, to ship, in a few hours, hundreds of their neighbors. It is said by old traders on the coast, that, rather than suffer in their reputation for promptness in supplying 'live cargoes,' these remorseless robbers will, when prisoners are scarce and neighbors hard to catch, sell their wives and children, and deliver them on the deck of the slaver for a few dollars each.

"A story was told us of a Yankee captain who visited this river lately. After paying the headmen, or traders, for five hundred lively darkies, he invited them into his cabin to take a drink. He was profuse in his hospitality, made them all drunk, put them in irons, sank their canoes, pocketed their money, and got under weigh. Two of the twenty-five thus taken jumped overboard shortly after, and were drowned; the remainder he sold in Cuba for four hundred dollars each!"

"Were we to look for this shrewd gentleman now, he would likely be found occupying a neat cottage, with green blinds and brass door-knobs, somewhere in Massachusetts, a warm advocate of abolitionism and the 'higher law.'

"Could the waters of this bar tell their own story, we would hear of the tumult of revolt in slave canoes, and the destruction of captors and captives; cries of anguish from parents torn from their children, and from children torn from their parents; and of the sea being red with the blood of men, thrown a prey to the ravenous sharks which infest these waters, in order to lighten the slaver of her cargo on the approach of a man of war. Countless thousands will arise from these polluted waves when the sea shall give up her dead demanding

eternal vengeance on their heartless murderers; and among these shall be mighty merchants and captains bearing the Christian name." pp. 239, 240.

It is also stated that when a slaver is pursued by a cruiser, and on the point of being taken, "it not unfrequently happens that, as a *dernier pas*, she discharges her load of human beings into the sea, and escapes while her humane pursuers are trying to rescue the helpless victims of civilized cupidity from the hungry sharks."

And yet, after all, in the light of southern theology, he seems to see some little glimmering of good in the accursed traffic, for which the negro ought to be grateful. He qualifies its accursedness thus:

"The slave-trade, as it has been carried on, especially in the course of the last half century, has been bad enough in all conscience, but let it be responsible only for the evil that it has done. We would not for any consideration be considered as saying anything encouraging to the forlorn hope of re-opening this trade—to do so at present would be to compromise the dignity of our nation and the humanity of our religion, yet at the same time we believe that the Great Disposer of events will so direct the issues of this trade as to make them contribute to the moral and intellectual elevation of the African race. Who that has compared carefully, and from actual observation, the condition of the black man in America with that of the black man in Africa, can hesitate to say that in the former this trade has been made a blessing indeed?" p. 295.

But the native Africans hold another relation to slavery besides that of being sold as slaves. They are themselves slave owners. Slavery would seem to be an indigenous institution among them. Our author gives the following representation on the subject :

"It is said that four-fifths of the Africans are slaves. This estimate has been objected to, as being too large; we are safe, however, in saying, that in western Africa, three-fourths of the people are slaves. This large proportion will not be so much wondered at, when we see how numerous and easy are the ways by which men pass into slavery. First, the father is the *owner* of his children; and though the children of a free man are not generally considered or treated as slaves, he has the right to sell them whenever he may choose, and without respect to their age or circumstances. Second, the children of slaves are slaves, unless freed by their owner. Third, all captives taken in war are the slaves of the captors. This perquisite gives daring to the African soldiers, and prompts a degree of mercy without which all their wars would be wars of extermination. Fourth, persons sold for debt are slaves until the debt is redeemed. This is a fruitful source of slavery. In time of famine, men who have no slaves to dispose of, or not enough to meet the demand, pawn themselves, or their wives, or children, for food, or the means of procuring it; promising to pay as much as fifty per cent interest—this is a common interest in such transactions—and in a majority of such instances the pawn is never redeemed." pp. 291, 292.

. . . . "Africans are wild in their speculations, sanguine in their undertakings, and to carry out a favorite pursuit will pawn themselves even when the hope of redemption is small. They pawn themselves for tawdry merchandise; pawn themselves to lawyers to free them from difficulties, or to punish an enemy; pawn themselves to the priests for ghostly comfort, for relief from a malady or a witch. It is a dernier resort, but while they are free they feel that they are not destitute, even though poor; they feel that they own marketable articles in themselves. Every free man in Africa, therefore, owns 'one nigger.' How intense must be their self-consciousness! Fifth, the adulterer, among many tribes, is sold to pay the fines in such cases provided, if he have no other means of meeting them, or is turned over by the judges to the husband offended. To murder the offender would not be allowed, and if the new owner punish very severely he would be considered mean. Men of great cupidity and a superabundance of wives, often increase their property by employing a seductive and pretty woman to lure men into her wiles, and then betray them; having provided beforehand, and often ingeniously, that the proofs shall be positive and ample. The punishment of the women in such cases is merely nominal." pp. 292, 293.

This domestic slavery, in our author's opinion, is not at all a result of the foreign slave trade, but is an aboriginal institution. And instead of being weakened by the increase of legitimate trade with Africa, it is only strengthened, and the distinction between master and slave widened, in consequence of the increased value of slave labor for producing the articles demanded by the foreign trade. Slaves are, therefore, he tells us, actually advancing in value, on parts of the coast, despite the suppression of the foreign slave trade. This domestic slavery he regards as "a blessing rather than an evil, under the present conditions of society in Africa."

It is natural to infer, from this representation, that the true way to break up the slave trade is, not to enact penalties, or send fleets, but so to stimulate by commerce the demand for slave labor in Africa as to render slaves too valuable to be made an article of export! When negroes cost more in Guinea than in Cuba or Carolina, the trade towards Cuba and Carolina must cease! And this gives a hint also as to the way in which our own surplus slave population may be disposed of. By promoting commerce with Africa, and encouraging the American type of civilization there, a demand may be created for them in their father-land, and sales be made of them to their brethren over the water, at an advance upon prices in Virginia. This would benefit the south by superadding to the profits of slave labor the profits of slave breeding. We commend this idea to southern patriots!

We cannot refer to our author's interesting sketches of the Canary Islands and Madeira, further than to call the attention of the lovers of

Madeira wine to his account of the total cessation of the grape culture in that island since 1852. Not a drop of wine for export has been produced in all this time, and the small stock of wine now in the island is in the hands of a few wealthy merchants, who hold it at extraordinary and daily increasing prices. Our author, therefore, very pertinently inquires, "Is it not a little remarkable that Madeira wine is as abundant in the American market as ever, and that it can be bought at any country store in the interior at a price which is *lower* than the present first cost in Madeira! If you doubt the genuineness of the article, examine the—label?"

THE PIONEERS, PREACHERS AND PEOPLE OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.*—The style of Mr. Milburn as a writer, is animated and graphic, and in the volume before us he has given us a series of sketches in the form of lectures, which will well repay perusal. Having spent the earlier years of his life and ministry in the south and west, and shared in many of the struggles peculiar to pioneer life, it is natural that he should be an enthusiast respecting the stirring scenes and the heroic characters which belong to the history of the Great Valley. These sketches are in part made up of personal observations and reminiscences, but to a much larger extent are lively historical pictures, drawn from trustworthy sources, of the leading events which characterized the early settlement and growth of that portion of our country. The scope and spirit of the book cannot be better learned than from the author's own words:

"I have sought to follow the pilgrimage of the plumed cavaliers of De Soto in their quest of the Great River, and the gold which they fondly hoped was to be found upon its banks; I have floated with Marquette in his bark canoe as he went upon his gentle embassy to the Indians; I have wandered with La Salle as he vainly strove to found a French Empire in the West, and mourned by the Texan grave of one of the most unfortunate but heroic of men; I have sat down with the kindly French in their Paradise of Kaskaskia, and enjoyed the spell of their idyllic life; I have trudged with our own pioneers, as with stout hearts they crossed the Cumberland Gap and entered the Dark and Bloody Ground; I have stood with them at their guns in their blockhouses, have slept on their rawhide beds, and shared their jerked meat and 'dodger'; and I have sought to appreciate the development of Saxon sense under the tuition of the wilderness,

* *The Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley.* By WILLIAM HENRY MILBURN, Author of "The Rifle, Axe and Saddle-bags," and "Ten Years of Preacher Life." New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860. 12mo. pp. 465.

and to trace the schooling of the mind under the auspices of social life, in application to the needs of self-government. I have traveled the circuit with the first preachers, sat in the congregation as they expounded the doctrines of eternal life, and welcomed them for their works' sake; and last, I have summed up in a few words what has been done, since the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, in the way of exploration and development, on the other side of the Great River." Preface, p. viii.

As a specimen of the preachers here referred to, and in proof, at the same time, that "political preaching," and an interest in the "irrepressible conflict," are not peculiar to New England Congregationalists, nor to the Kansas era of our politics, we cannot forbear quoting the following anecdote of one of the most heroic and successful of the pioneers of Methodism in the Mississippi Valley:

"There is an old friend of mine, my first presiding elder, yet living in Illinois—Peter Cartwright—who was one of those old preachers in the West, and has many of their peculiarities. I may give you one incident of this man's life, as a specimen of their physical courage and prowess; for it was sometimes necessary for them to fight with carnal weapons, and many of them had obstinate combats with the rough pioneer people—and commonly came off victorious. Cartwright, in common with most of those early old preachers, was a strong opponent of slavery. Now the question was being canvassed in Illinois, between 1818 and 1823, whether this institution should be ingrafted upon the Constitution, when the State was applying for admission into the Union. The old gentleman resolved to remove to Illinois, and take a hand in the quarrel. He had been living in Kentucky and Tennessee, and had preached there for a quarter of a century, when he was appointed to Illinois as presiding elder, and had a circuit from Galena on the northwest, to Shawnee-town on the south—a district nearly as great as the entire country of England. Around this he was to travel once in three months, at a time when there were no roads, scarcely a bridge or ferry—and keep his regular appointments to preach, Sunday after Sunday, besides attending love-feasts, and administering the sacraments. Then, after preaching on the Sunday, he would generally announce a stump speech for the Monday, and call upon his fellow citizens to come and hear the question discussed, whether slavery should be admitted or not. Of course, taking a political side, he was regarded as a politician, and there was a good deal of angry feeling about the old preacher. On one occasion, he rode to a ferry upon the Sangamon River; the country about was rather thickly populated, and he found a crowd of people about the ferry, which seemed to be a sort of gathering place for discussing politics. The ferryman, a great herculean fellow, was holding forth at the top of his voice about an old renegade, one Peter Cartwright, prefixing a good many adjectives to his name, and declaring that if he ever came that way he would drown him in the river.

"Cartwright, who was unknown to any one there, now coming up, said, 'I want you to put me across.'

" ' You can wait till I am ready,' said the ferryman.

" Cartwright knew it was of no use to complain; and the ferryman, when he had got through his speech, signified his readiness to take him over. The preacher rode his horse into the boat, and the ferryman commenced to row across. All Cartwright wanted was fair play; he wished to make a public exhibition of this man, and, moreover, was glad of an opportunity to state his principles. About half way over, therefore, throwing his bridle over the stake on one side of the boat, he told the ferryman to lay down his pole.

" ' What's the matter? ' asked the man.

" ' Well,' said he, ' you have just been using my name improper, and saying that if I ever came this way, you would drown me in the river. I'm going to give you a chance.'

" ' Are you Peter Cartwright? '

" ' Yes.'

" And the ferryman, nothing loath, pulls in his pole, and at it they go. They grapple in a minute, and Cartwright being very agile as well as athletic, succeeds in catching him by the nape of the neck and the slack of the breeches, and whirls him over. He souses him down under the tide, while the companions of the vanquished ferryman look on, the distance insuring fair play. Cartwright souses him under again, and raising him, says, ' I baptize thee in the name of the Devil, whose child thou art.' He thus immersed him thrice, and then drawing him up again, inquires, ' Did you ever pray? '

" ' No,' answered the ferryman, strangling and choking and dripping in a pitiful manner.

" ' Then it's time you did,' says Cartwright; ' I'll teach you: say ' Our Father who art in Heaven.' '

" ' I won't,' says the ferryman.

" Down he goes under the water again, for quite a time. Then lifting him out, ' Will you pray, now? '

" The poor ferryman, nearly strangled to death, wanted to gain time, and to consider the terrors.'

" ' Let me breathe and think,' he said.

" ' No,' answers the relentless preacher, ' I won't; I'll make you,' and he immersed him again. At length he draws him out, and asks a third time, ' Will you pray now? '

" ' I will do anything,' was the subservient answer. So Cartwright made him repeat the Lord's Prayer.

" ' Now let me up,' demanded this unwilling convert.

" ' No,' says Cartwright, ' not yet. Make me three promises: that you will repeat that prayer every morning and night; that you will put every Methodist preacher across this ferry free of expense; and that you will go to hear every one that preaches within five miles, hereafter.'

" The ferryman, all helpless, barely alive and thoroughly cowed, promised; and Cartwright went on his way.

" That ferryman joined the church afterward, and became quite an eminent and useful member." pp. 374-378.

We can now only refer to a single other topic—the remarkable bodily affections which characterized the great Kentucky revival at the beginning of this century—a topic of more than usual interest at the present time, from the re-appearance of similar manifestations in the recent remarkable revival in Ireland. The Kentucky revival broke out in the southern part of the state, in the year 1800, in connection with certain “union meetings,” or sacramental meetings, in which Presbyterians and Methodists united their strength, and labored conjointly, to stem the prevailing torrent of infidelity and wickedness. At one of these meetings

“The people were seized as by a sort of superhuman power; their physical energy was lost; their senses refused to perform their functions; all forms of manifesting consciousness were for the time annulled. Strong men fell upon the ground, utterly helpless; women were taken with a strange spasmodic motion, so that they were heaved to and fro, sometimes falling at length upon the floor, their hair dishevelled, and throwing their heads about with a quickness and violence so great as to make their hair crack against the floor as if it were a teamster’s whip. Then they would rise up again under this strange power, fall on their faces, and the same violent movements and cracking noise would ensue. Such peculiarities characterized the first meeting.” p. 357.

Soon after there was a grand union camp-meeting held for several days at Crane Ridge, when people came sixty, seventy, a hundred, even three hundred miles to attend, and on one night not less than thirty thousand were supposed to be present. The preaching uttered from the brazen lungs of the Boanerges of the backwoods, was of the most exciting character. It was during a sermon of this kind, by William Burke, one of the most eloquent and powerful of the Methodist preachers, when there were present some ten thousand hearers, that the most remarkable physical manifestations were exhibited.

“It is said that all these people, the whole ten thousand of men and women standing about the preacher, were from time to time shaken as a forest by a tornado, and five hundred were at once prostrated to the earth, like the trees in a ‘windfall,’ by some invisible agency. Some were agitated by violent whirling motions, some by fearful contortions; and then came ‘the jerks.’ Scoffers, doubters, deniers, men who came to ridicule and sneer at the supernatural agency, were taken up in the air, whirled over upon their heads, coiled up so as to spin about like cart-wheels, catching hold, meantime, of saplings, endeavoring to clasp the trunks of trees in their arms, but still going headlong and helplessly on. These motions were called the ‘jerks;’ a name which was current in the West for many a year after; and many an old preacher has described these accurately to me. It was not the men who were already members of the church, but the scoffing, the blasphemous, the profane, who were taken in this way

Here is one example: A man rode into what was called the 'ring circle,' where five hundred people were standing in a ring, and another set inside. Those inside were on their knees, crying, shouting, praying, all mixed up in heterogeneous style. This man comes riding up at the top of his speed, yelling like a demon, cursing and blaspheming. On reaching the edge of the ring, he falls from his horse, seemingly lifeless, and lies in an apparently unconscious condition for thirty hours; his pulse at about forty, or less. When he opens his eyes and recovers his senses, he says he has retained his consciousness all the time—that he has been aware of what has been passing around—but was seized with some agency which he could not define. I fancy that neither physiology, nor psychology, nor biology, nor any of the ologies or isms, have, thus far, given any satisfactory explanation of the singular manifestations that attended this great revival." pp. 359, 360.

SCIENCE.

POPULAR ASTRONOMY.*—This book is precisely what its title indicates, a popular presentation of the leading facts and principles of the science of astronomy, as far as possible in ordinary language, and without mathematical formulæ. It is not therefore a text-book for the student, nor a hand-book for the computer, but just such a book as any professional man, or other intelligent person, needs, who would revive his half-forgotten knowledge of the science, or acquire for the first time an understanding of the wonderful phenomena and laws which it reveals, and of the steps and processes by which the mind of man has been able to scale and span the heavens, and unravel and systematize the most intricate laws and relations of the material universe. It is just such a book as any one needs, who would post himself in a general way in reference to the recent progress and present state of this the oldest, yet, in these days, one of the most rapidly advancing, of the sciences. This work of Professor Mitchell's has many advantages over all others of the same scope. It has been prepared, not by a mere epitomizer, or book-maker, but by an astronomer—one who is an enthusiastic cultivator of the science, and who has a rare faculty of presenting its abstrusest points in such a manner as to interest and instruct the popular mind. Its arrangement is historical and inductive rather than systematic; and hence, it is calculated to stimulate rather than weary the mind, by leading it to contemplate, as far as possible, the actual steps by which original investigators have overcome the difficulties they

* *Popular Astronomy.* A concise elementary treatise on the Sun, Planets, Satellites, and Comets. By O. M. MITCHELL, LL. D., Director of the Cincinnati and Dudley Observatories. New York: Phinney, Blakeman & Mason. No. 61 Walker street. 1860. pp. 376.

encountered, and gradually developed the great facts and principles of the science. It is enriched occasionally by the results of the author's own observations and inventive genius, particularly in the portions which describe the telescopic appearances of celestial objects, and the most recent devices and methods in instrumental astronomy. The author has for years had at command one of the finest telescopes in the world, and is now bringing his peculiarly fertile inventive talents to bear upon his favorite science, as director of the observatories at Cincinnati and Albany. He has contributed much towards awakening a general interest in this science both by his attractive courses of lectures, and by the present and a preceding work which may be regarded as those lectures in print. The work before us treats specially of the Sun, Planets, Satellites, and Comets, and is illustrated with cuts and diagrams.

MATHEMATICS.

PROF. STRONG'S ALGEBRA.*—In our May number we gave a brief notice of this important work. We now proceed to indicate, somewhat more fully, the chief points wherein it may be distinguished from ordinary treatises of this kind.

In the first place, it is no compilation, it is the *production* of the author's own thoughts. Many of these, it is true, must have been derived from others: but from the first definition to the highest formula, all is presented exactly as things appear to the writer's own mind. This gives the whole a unity and concinnity of parts, which to the truly scientific reader is a charm of the highest character. Mere compilations, while for ordinary teaching they have their value, can never attain this excellence. Parts will be brought into juxtaposition, without sufficient regard to their natural relations, and separated on the pages of a book, when in thought the one grows directly out of the other.

We observe, in the second place, this volume exhibits most completely the peculiar spirit of the Algebraic Calculus. This is the calculus of numerical fractions in a *general* way; or universal Arithmetic. Now this is by symbols, representing numbers, and indicating operations, and capable therefore of being submitted to the eye in all their processes. In strictly observing this, it seems to us, has consisted the special excellence of the French treatises upon the various topics and applica-

* *A Treatise on Elementary and Higher Algebra.* By THEODORE STRONG, LL.D. New York: Pratt, Oakley & Co. 8vo. pp. 551.

tions of Algebra. Every thing, as far as possible, is submitted to the eye, and hence the conclusions have the evident validity of things seen.

Again: as all the operations of Algebra have respect, ultimately, to numbers, Prof. Strong keeps this distinctly in view. Each conclusion, however high or abstract, is applied to some operation in numbers, and seen therefore, in its legitimate scope.

Beginners in Algebra are often not aware of the fact, that in this calculus different quantities are compared together merely in view of numerical relations. When, for example, we compare the cube of a with its square, it is not that a cube has any ratio to a square; but merely that the numbers expressing the peculiar units in the one, may be compared with those expressing the units of the other. We repeat—it is with general expressions of numbers that we have to do in Algebra, and with nothing else.

Once more; as we said in our May number, Prof. Strong has added to the before existing stock of knowledge in this department. To his treatise we may justly apply the words of Edward Burke, when speaking of "difficulty," he says of it: "This it has been the great glory of the great masters in all the arts to confront and overcome; and when they had overcome the first difficulty, to turn it to an instrument of new conquests over new difficulties; thus to enable them to extend the empire of science, and even to push forward beyond the reach of their original thoughts the land-marks of the human understanding itself." Prof. Strong has done this, as, in some particulars, we shall farther show; and hence he deserves a niche in the Temple of Fame, among the benefactors of our race.

We proceed to designate some particulars, wherein we find either improvements upon the usual modes of treating the subjects, or actual additions to the science itself. Of the solution of the *irreducible case* of Cubic equations we have spoken before. The occurrence of this case under Cardan's formulæ was inevitable, on account of certain limitations of the auxiliary quantities employed in the general solution. Of this case, Bonnycastle says, (in his Alg., London, 1820,) "The solution of it, except by a table of series, or by infinite series, has hitherto baffled the united efforts of the most eminent mathematicians of Europe." So it has been to this day; and in virtue of this single achievement, Prof. Strong has earned himself the highest credit as a master in his art.

We find another equally ingenious extension of the science, in the method of extracting the roots of numbers of any degree, by a direct process, and without the aid of logarithms.

This depends primarily upon the proposition, that any quantity of the form one , plus b divided by a , can be resolved into any number of factors of the same form, as appears on p. 288, &c.

For the convenient application of this to all numbers, a resolution of the nine digits, as also the figure 10, into factors of the same form, is wanted, as appears in an Article by Prof. Strong in the April No. of the Mathematical Monthly. Altogether, this is one of the most curious feats that we know.

MISCELLANY.

HUMBOLDT'S LETTERS.*—When David Mallet, a native of Scotland, published the posthumous works of Bolingbroke, Johnson, speaking of the latter to Boswell, said, "Sir, he was a scoundrel and a coward; a scoundrel, for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality; a coward, because he had no resolution to fire it off himself, but left half a crown to a beggarly Scotchman, to d'aw the trigger after his death!" An equally severe censure some may be disposed to pronounce upon Humboldt for the infidel remarks which for the first time see the light after his decease. But so hard terms are not, in this case, just; for though the remarks are, some of them, flippant, and none of them either new or profound, they disclose nothing concerning the writer, that was not known before. The pantheistic opinions of the author of *Cosmos*, are sufficiently patent to a discerning reader of that work, and he has been known in Germany to be a free-thinker if not an Atheist. Nor are we inclined to hold the famous naturalist responsible for the publication of these letters which, for many reasons, should never have been printed. They were written, and such of them as emanated from his distinguished correspondents, given, to his life-long friend, Varnhagen von Ense, and placed without reservation at his disposal. But the friend unexpectedly died first, and they fell into the hands of a female relative who gives them to the world, professing that in so doing she is discharging a sacred duty, it being the express wish of Humboldt that they should be published at his death. We do not find sufficient proof of this statement in the evidence which she brings forward to support it. The principal passage cited in proof is from a letter of Humboldt to

* *Letters of Alexander Von Humboldt to Varnhagen Von Ense, from 1827 to 1858.* With extracts from Varnhagen's Diaries, and Letters of Varnhagen and others to Humboldt. Translated by FREDERICK KAPP. New York: Rudd & Carleton. 12mo. pp. 407.

Varnhagen, dated the 7th of December, 1841; of which, however, we are furnished only with disjointed clauses. These, in a free but faithful paraphrase, are as follows: "Your last very complimentary letter contains words which I may not misunderstand." "You are hardly content with the exclusive possession of my impieties." "With such property, after my decease, not far distant, you may do what you will. One is bound to open himself during life only to those whom one deeply respects,—therefore, to you." Varnhagen, a soldier, diplomatist, and one of the best of the German prose writers of his day, enjoyed Humboldt's unbounded confidence. Rahel, the wife of Varnhagen, was a woman of rare powers and attainments, and with the family, until her decease and after, Humboldt stood in relations of cordial intimacy. It is not unlikely that his intention was to provide materials for a biography of himself to be prepared, at a future day, by his trusted friend, who would know how to use them with discretion. This, at least, is the most charitable hypothesis. But for this solution, we should be obliged to conclude that his vanity, which was not small, degenerated into the vulgar thirst for notoriety, which delights to make a stir at whatever cost, and that instigated by this passion and by petty hatred and resentment towards contemporaries about him, he arranged for the publication of confidential conversations which he was bound in honor to keep private, and of gossiping letters which do no credit either to his head or heart. In every event, one who reads this book is compelled to lower his estimate of the writer's character and intellectual power. He is in correspondence with princes and sets so high a value on their praises, that he preserves and deposits with his friend their flattering epistles, however short and void of interest to any one but himself; at the same time that he ridicules them and bitterly complains,—see, for example, what he says of Prince Albert, who had not alluded to Victoria in connection with the *Cosmos*,—whenever they fail to yield him the desired amount of deference, or to suit him in minor particulars. We are convinced, independently of this volume, that the reputation of Humboldt has exceeded his merits. His extraordinary capacity for acquiring knowledge and his skill in recording his researches in a genial and methodical manner, are undoubted. But he does not, after all, belong in the very *first* rank of men of science, with Sir Isaac Newton, Kepler, Leibnitz,—with the men who have struck out paths of discovery and whose souls, while engaged in the study of Nature, have been alive to higher truth. It is not to be forgotten that his abilities were aided by remarkable good fortune and uncommon

opportunities for their development and display, and that his fame, which filled the world, was, in a considerable degree, the result of happy circumstances,—of personal qualities which made him attractive to sovereigns, and of extensive explorations on both continents, undertaken at a period when they were comparatively infrequent.

Something may be said in extenuation of Humboldt's unbelief, and of his habit of sneering indiscriminately at the ministers of religion. He was born in the period of the French Revolution ; was brought up under the reign of Rationalism, and his situation in the latter part of his life was not propitious for a change of views either upon Christianity or the clergy. In no Protestant state, are the mischiefs of an established religion more palpable than in Prussia. The vast patronage in the hands of the government, which has at its disposal not merely the civil offices but professors' chairs and the schools throughout the kingdom, together with a multitude of parishes, presents a temptation to aspirants for station to conform their thinking to the sentiments prevalent at court. If the court become evangelical, the door to preferment is shut against men of a contrary type of opinion. The consequence is that in the universities and elsewhere, there is much profession of piety which is but half honest, and many in their anxiety to eschew cant and hypocrisy, and to distinguish themselves from the place-hunters, withstand the current views and take the side of unbelief. When despotical tendencies rule at court, as of late has been the fact, the spectacle is presented of clergymen zealous for prerogative and vehement in their denunciations of literal notions in politics, or content to enjoy their offices, maintaining silence upon the encroachments of power and the destruction of popular freedom. It is natural that men like Humboldt, a sincere friend of liberty, should look with disgust upon this numerous class of persons, many of whom he was obliged to come in contact with daily. Von Raumer and Hengstenberg, and Bunsen as he was before he lost office, with many other prominent names of men still living, are handled in these letters in a manner which must be anything but pleasing to them. Of the bad taste of what is said of them, if it is supposed to be intended for the public, and the unamiable nature of the observations, even if made to Varnhagan, there ought to be but one opinion. Of the allusions to religion, it is sufficient to say that the author in effect abjures inquiry, as if supernatural things were not an appropriate or possible subject of knowledge, and contents himself with a dogmatic rejection, in a light tone, of the faith of Christendom. Such a course, so at variance with

the spirit of science, not to characterize it more severely, though it cannot be excused, may be regarded as less unworthy when the associations of Humboldt and the peculiarities of the Prussian Court and Church are taken into view.

LETTERS OF JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D. D.*—These volumes were published, it is declared on the title page, to serve as a memoir of the writer, it having been expressly his wish that no formally written life of him should be given to the public. We are not informed how particular or earnest was the injunction that his life should not be written; but we find in this correspondence an expression of his opinions, which is pertinent to the publication of these letters: “When you or I depart this life, the letters of the survivor, (free as they have been about persons who may then be alive,) might prove very mischievous to the surviving party. I think, therefore, we both ought to provide for the return of the letters to the writers or the family of the writers.”

But the letters are published, whether with greater or less violence to the supposed or expressed wishes of the author we do not undertake to decide, and they will be variously judged, according to the interest that is felt in the author, and the importance which is attached to his opinions. The reason given for their publication is, that a memoir may be furnished of the growth and characteristics of the inner man, which the editor thinks can be best accomplished by the publication of a familiar and unreserved correspondence from early manhood till death. There can be no doubt that he is correct in this. A still more effectual method would be to give to the public his letters to his wife—all his private and confidential communications concerning family and private interests, and the record of his inmost thoughts and feelings. But a question might arise as to whether the great public has a right to know man’s inner life, in such methods, at a cost so great to personal delicacy and private feelings. On this subject we agree with Tennyson, whose scorching words we quote:

“For now the poet cannot die,
Nor leave his music as of old,
But round him, ere he scarce be cold

* *Forty Years’ Familiar Letters of James W. Alexander, D. D.*, constituting, with the Notes, a Memoir of his Life. Edited by the surviving correspondent, JOHN HALL, D. D. In two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. 8vo. pp. 412, 879.

Begins the scandal and the cry :
‘ Proclaim the faults he would not show,
Break lock and seal ; betray the trust ;
Keep nothing sacred ; ’tis but just
The many-headed beast should know.’ ”

We contend that it is an offense against all our better feelings to spread before the public eye a series of private and familiar letters, and we cannot understand how the editor could, on his account or that of his friend, have consented to their publication. We do not believe that the annals of literary history can furnish a parallel to such an act. Thirty years' correspondence between Jebb and Knox, is totally unlike this, in that it contains few passages that are merely personal, and none of that overflowing of private and public gossiping, in which this series superabounds, but is made up almost wholly with the discussion in a familiar way of the gravest matters. The peculiarity of these letters is that they are flooded with the news of the day and the writer's comments upon them. It is true the character of Dr. Alexander is in this way most effectually exhibited. We are quite sure that he was earnest in the Christian life, and burdened with his responsibilities as a pastor—that he was inventive and versatile in his devices for good, that he was facile in execution and never wearied in well-doing. We see, also, that he was alive to beauty in nature, that he was exquisite in his literary tastes, that he abounded in humor and was as playful as the children whom he loved ; that his pen and fancy, together, would at times both run rioting like the babble of a mountain stream. We are convinced, also, that in all sincerity he was a large-hearted and catholic theologian, not a stickler for nice points of an over-strained Calvinism, and having no sympathy with the violent spirits who divided the Presbyterian church ; that he sighed again and again for the return of harmony between those who differed and was prepared to be satisfied with a substantial agreement in the prominent truths of the Christian faith—and yet, on the other hand, he was imbued with the credulous suspiciousness that is hereditary at Princeton towards New England and her sons save those who abuse and renounce the theology of their fathers. It is just in keeping that he should be surprised that anything good should be found east of the Hudson river, and gratified to find, after Bridgeport had been consecrated to his sympathies by the erection of a Presbyterian church, that it was so beautiful a city, “ which he dare not say is the most beautiful place he ever saw, but dare say as little the reverse.”

While we acknowledge that we have been greatly amused by this

work, and have received some very delightful impressions of Dr. Alexander, we must confess that we are not any the more reconciled to the book which has given these impressions, or to the pages on pages of tattle, that are the vehicles through which we have reached them.

As to the expressions of opinion in regard to men, the chance thoughts of a good man in his idlest and least earnest moods, we have only to say that as long as they slumbered in these letters they were the most innocent things imaginable, but now they are printed and given to the public, they have a somewhat graver significance. Sir Thomas Brown remarks, "There is no reproach to the scandal of a story; it is such an authentic kind of falsehood, that with authority belies our good names to all nations and posterity." These gossiping stories, which Dr. Alexander penned after breakfast, in a thoughtless mood, are destined to live and propagate prejudices for generations against the men who walk with him before the Throne of God and the Lamb.

LETTERS OF HANNAH MORE TO ZACHARY MACAULAY.*—When the memoirs of the life and correspondence of Hannah More were originally published, many interesting letters which she had written to one of the earliest of her friends, Zachary Macaulay, were withheld from the work, on account of the frequent and familiar allusions in them to his son, the late Lord Macaulay, who was then living and occupying so conspicuous a place before the public. After his death, there seemed to be no reason why they should be kept back any longer. Accordingly they have been given to us in this little volume of somewhat over two hundred pages. The special interest that attaches to the collection is the glimpse that is afforded of the early life of the illustrious historian. When a boy, he was a frequent visitor at Barley Wood. His genius could not fail to attract the attention of one of the most observing of women, and in these letters we find her prophesying his future greatness. In her will, made about this time, she bequeathed her library to him, evidently expecting that one day this promising son of her old friend, who had been trained in the school of Wilberforce and Stephen, of Venn and Thornton, would come to be the representative of their principles in the British Parliament, and the leader of the evangelical party in the kingdom. But her hopes were not destined to

* *Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay, Esq.* Containing notices of Lord Macaulay's youth. Now first published. Edited and arranged by ARTHUR ROBERTS, M. A. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers 1860. pp. 215. 18mo.

be realized. She lived to see him attain the high position that she had anticipated, but her interest in him waned as she saw him "brought over from the ranks of the saints by the whig politicians," and giving up those religious and political principles which were so dear to her. She accordingly made a different disposition of her library, and left it to one of her own relatives.

We can only call attention to a few of the many passages in these letters which will interest our readers. On pages 126 and 162, will be found some allusions to Mr. Augustus Hillhouse, and his letters from Paris to Hannah More, on the subject of the circulation of her tracts in France, a project which is spoken of in the first Article in this number of the New Englander, in connection with the brief sketch there given of the life of that accomplished and philanthropic gentleman. On page 162, there is also a reference to "the most elegant of my [her] transatlantic friends, Rev. Matthias Bruen of New York." On page 122, she replies as follows to a friend to whom she had repeatedly written in very high terms of some sermons of our countryman, the Rev. Mr. Gallaudet, of Hartford. "Your speaking of these discourses being more elegant than one expects from an American, reminds me to say that I lately had a letter from the American Ambassador in London, *which is really a model of elegance.*" On page 213, there is an extraordinary letter, written by "William Jamieson, British Chaplain." We would advise those who have access to the book, to observe *what important conclusions* the writer draws from the fact that when he had sent a printed sermon of his own to Macaulay, his lordship replied that he had "read it with interest and pleasure."

A NEW ELEMENTARY BOOK IN LATIN.*—Teachers have long felt the need of a good elementary book in Latin. There have been many attempts to supply the want, but with no very great success. The desideratum is a book that shall induct the learner by an easy method into the reading and writing of the language, while at the same time it gives him a full acquaintance with the necessary grammatical forms and rules. All who know Mr. Whiton, and have heard the recitations of his classes in the "Hopkins Grammar School" of New Haven know that he is eminently qualified to prepare such a book. We think, from what we have seen of the advanced sheets of the volume whose title we give,

* *A Hand-Book of Exercises and Reading Lessons in Latin for Beginners.*
By JAMES MORRIS WHITON, Rector of the Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven, Ct. Boston : James Monroe and Company.

that he has succeeded in making a very valuable work. The peculiar characteristic of his book is the plan (which is carefully carried out in a series of Latin-English and English-Latin exercises,) of familiarizing the learner with the different inflections of the language, by the frequent repetition of familiar words in the greatest possible variety of combination. Those who have tried this method of instruction confess its superiority to every other for impressing the mind with an accurate and ready knowledge of the forms, and for interesting it by a continual appearance of progress. The only deviation from the usual succession of topics is the putting the third conjugation after the fourth on account of its irregularities, and the transfer of the relative pronoun to its proper place among the other connectives at the end of the book. We have space only to mention that there are entertaining dialogues and much other reading matter. The notes are concise yet lucid. The vocabulary is much more complete and instructive than is usual in elementary works; and an especial novelty is a list of over two hundred of the less obvious English derivatives, which serve to give a very tolerable idea of the connection between the two languages. The print is large and handsome. In short, we can heartily recommend the work to all who are engaged in teaching Latin to beginners.

THE UNIVERSITY QUARTERLY.—This is the name by which the College Quarterly is now known;—a name which characterizes it far better than "The Undergraduate," as it was called when it was commenced a year ago. The first number of the second volume has just been issued, and we had intended at this time to give some account of the complete success which the Quarterly has met, during its first year. But our limits will only allow us to say that its conductors have not only succeeded in making a very readable magazine for students of every name,—undergraduate and professional—but one also which deserves to commend itself to all who have ever been within the walls of a college, and all who are in any way interested in education. We would advise all such to send to Thomas H. Pease, Bookseller, New Haven, and order the University Quarterly for the year just commencing. The price is \$2 per year; single numbers 75 cents.

AMERICAN NORMAL SCHOOLS.—The proceedings of the first Convention of Normal School Teachers, held in Trenton, August, 1859,

have been carefully reported and well printed in an octavo volume, which is illustrated with views of some of the chief normal schools in the country. The volume contains the formal addresses of Professors Alpheus Crosby, John Ogden and Richard Edwards, and the less extended remarks of many other distinguished educators.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

In addition to the books and pamphlets whose titles are given in this list, a large number have been received which it is impossible to notice in this number. These will all be noticed in the November number.

Faith and the Assurance of Faith. By Rev. EBENEZER ERSKINE, of Stirling, Scotland. 1730-1750. American Tract Society. 18mo. pp. 173.

The Wife's Trials and Triumphs. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 347.

The Puritan Hymn and Tune Book; designed for Congregational singing, social meetings, and the family. Third Edition. Boston: Congregational Board of Publication. 1859. 8vo. pp. 112.

Manual of Geology; designed for the use of Colleges and Academies. By EBENEZER EMMONS. Illustrated with numerous engravings. Second Edition. New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr. 1860. 8vo. pp. 297.

A Popular History of England. By Mrs. THOMAS GELDART. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 18mo. pp. 275.

Haste to the Rescue; or, Work while it is Day. By Mrs. CHARLES W. With preface by the author of "English Hearts and English Hands." New York: American Tract Society. 1860. pp. 324.

Martyrs of the Mutiny; or, Trials and Triumphs of Christianity in the Sepoy Revolution in India. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee. 1860. 18mo. pp. 284.

The Boy Inventor. A memoir of Matthew Edwards, mathematical instrument maker. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1860. 24mo. pp. 109.

Child's Book of Natural History. Illustrating the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. By M. M. CARLL. New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr. 1860. 24mo. pp. 148.

Class Book of Botany. Being outlines of the structure, physiology, and classification of plants, with a flora of all parts of the United States and Canada. By ALPHONSE WOOD, A. M. New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr. 1860. 8vo. pp. 174.

Tales from the Bible, for the Young. By WILLIAM M. THAYER. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1860. 18mo. pp. 262.

Mama's Lessons about Jesus. By a Mother. Philadelphia: William & Alfred Martien. 12mo. pp. 200.

Elements of English Composition. Grammatical, rhetorical, logical, and practical. Prepared for academies and schools. By JAMES R. BOYD, A. M. New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr. 1860. 12mo. pp. 406.

Popular History of the United States of America. By MARY HOWITT. Two vols. New York: Harper & Brothers. pp. 406, 387.

Introductory Lessons on Mind. Cambridge: J. Munroe & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 240.

Letter of Rev. S. D. Campbell, of Geneva, Alabama, on African Colonization, in reply to a review on that subject by Rev. J. B. Adger, of South Carolina. Washington, D. C. 1860. 8vo. pp. 16.

The Orchard House; or, Culture of Fruit Trees in pots under glass. Containing plans and estimates for construction, details of management and culture, and a list of fruits best adapted to the purpose. By THOMAS RIVERA. Also an appendix, containing directions for growing trees and vines in orchard houses. By WILLIAM SAUNDERS. With Illustrations. New York: C. M. Saxton & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 58.

The Right of American Slavery. By T. W. HORT. St. Louis. L. Bushnell. 8vo. pp. 51. 1860.

State Rights, and the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States. A constitutional argument by a member of the Rock County Bar. Beloit. 1860. 8vo. pp. 50.

Tom Brown at Oxford. A Sequel to "School Days at Rugby." By THOMAS HUGHES. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859. Parts VI, VII.

A Discourse Preached in the West Church, on Theodore Parker. By C. A. BARTOL. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 28.

Discourses on the Vitality of Christianity: the Pilgrim Fathers. Also, a historical sermon at dedication of church edifice. By T. M. Post, D. D. St. Louis. R. P. Studley & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 50.

Cassell's Illustrated Family Bible. In Parts. New York: Cassell, Peter & Galpin, Park Building, 37 Park Row. 4to. pp. 32.

The Bible and Politics; or, an humble plea for equal, perfect, absolute religious freedom, and against all sectarianism in our public schools. By Rev. W. A. Scott, D. D. San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 146.

American Nationality. An address delivered before the Irving Society of the College of St. James, Md., June 11, 1856. By PHILIP SCHAFF, D. D. 8vo. pp. 24.

An Historical Inquiry into the relation of the Federal Constitution to African Slavery. By Rev. R. S. CUSHMAN. Orwell, Vt. 8vo. pp. 26.

Bible History. A Text-Book for Seminaries, Schools, and Families. By SARAH R. HANNA. New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr. 1860. 12mo. pp. 290.

The Present Crisis. With a Reply and Appeal to European Advisers, from the Sixth Edition of Slavery and the Remedy. By SAMUEL NOTT. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1860. pp. 43.

Andover and Danville. A Reply to an Article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, for October, 1859. Containing a Review of Breckenridge's Theology. Louisville. 1859. 8vo. pp. 15.

Review of Dr. Scott's Bible and Politics in the light of Religion and the Law. By Rev. W. C. ANDERSON, D. D., and FLETCHER M. HAIGHT, Esq. San Francisco. 1859. 8vo. pp. 92.

LIST OF BOOKS NOTICED IN THE NEW ENGLANDER OF AUGUST, 1860.

THEOLOGY.			
HAGENBACH.—Compendium of the History of Doctrines, - - -	794	OWEN.—Commentary on the Gospel of John, - - -	804
LAMSON.—The Church of the First Three Centuries, - - -	795	STIER.—Words of the Lord Jesus, - - -	804
KILLEEN.—The Ancient Church, - - -	797	COCHRAN.—Revelation of John its own Interpreter, - - -	804
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		TYLER.—Bible and Social Reform, -	818

PHILOSOPHY.		MISCELLANY.
WARDEN.—Familiar Forensic View of Man and Law, - - - -	814	Letters of Alexander Von Humboldt to Varnhagen Von Ense, from 1827 to 1858, - - - -
CHAMPLIN.—Text-book in Intellectual Philosophy, for schools and colleges, - - - -	814	HALL.—Forty Years' Familiar Letters of James W. Alexander, D. D., - - - -
INTERNATIONAL LAW.		ROBERTS.—Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay, Esq., -
WOOLSEY.—Introduction to the Study of International Law, -	815	WHITON.—Hand-Book of Exercises and Reading Lessons in Latin for Beginners, - - - -
HISTORY.		University Quarterly, - - - -
MOORE.—Diary of the American Revolution, - - - -	818	American Normal Schools, - -
TRAVELS.		BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.
OLIPHANT.—Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's mission to China and Japan, in the years 1857, 1858, 1859, - - - -	819	INDEX TO ADVERTISERS.
THOMAS.—Adventures and Observations on the West Coast of Africa, and its Islands, - -	825	L. A. Bigelow, Boston, - - - -
MILBURN.—The Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley, - - - -	832	J. H. Richards, New York City, - - - -
SCIENCE.		Ticknor & Fields, Boston, - - - -
MITCHELL.—Popular Astronomy, - - - -	836	S. Bowles & Co., Springfield, - - - -
MATHEMATICS.		Silliman & Dana, New Haven, - - - -
STRONG.—Treatise on Elementary and Higher Algebra, - - - -	837	Ivison, Phinney & Co., New York, - - - -
		Leonard Scott & Co., New York, - - - -
		A. S. Barnes & Burr, New York, - - - -
		D. Appleton & Co., New York, - - - -
		Smith, English & Co., Philadelphia, - - - -
		Littell, Son & Co., Boston, - - - -
		J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, - - - -

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THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. LXXII.

NOVEMBER, 1860.

ARTICLE I.—THE DIVINE HUMANITY OF CHRIST.*

THE doctrine of Christ's person, or the question, Who and what was Christ? is the great question, the fundamental and all-inclusive doctrine of Christianity. Yet this question, important as it is, is not definitely and finally settled, as is evident from the many and diverse theories respecting Christ which still prevail in the world; from the fact, moreover, that acknowledged Christians, and some of the most devoted and wise of Christian teachers, differ, if not radically, at least widely in their interpretations of his person; and also from the fact,—a most significant one,—that the Christian mind of the present age is turning itself with more and more

* This Article was originally written and preached as a Discourse before the General Association of Illinois, at Aurora, May 25th, 1860, from the texts, John i, 14: "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." Hebrews ii, 17: "Wherefore in all things it behooved him to be made like unto his brethren: that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God."

of interest and gravitating tendency towards this great question—revolving about it with holy curiosity, desiring with the angels to “look into” this mystery of godliness with a profounder and more intelligent gaze.

If it be said that this question, and the doctrine of Christ's person, was settled authoritatively by the councils of the fourth and fifth centuries, when the various heresies concerning it were eliminated and proscribed, and the whole truth defined and circumscribed by logical boundaries, yet, like many other questions, it will not stay settled, but rises ever and anon, like Hamlet's ghost, after being “quietly inurned,” inviting and demanding reinvestigation.

There are reasons why this question could not be finally settled in the earlier ages, besides the skeptical tendency which is more or less rife in all ages. The science of man, to say nothing of the science of God or Christian theology, has been advancing. The man of modern anthropology is not precisely the man of Plato and Aristotle, any more than the cosmos of modern science is the same *cosmos* which Hipparchus and Ptolemy understood. And this very advance is owing, in no small degree, to the new light which Christianity or the ideal humanity revealed in Christ has contributed. Christ is himself the key to a true interpretation and science of man, as he is the type of a true and perfect manhood. And just as the key which unlocked the mysteries and motions of the starry universe was seized by Newton, in connection with new discoveries which it alone could explain, so a deeper and truer knowledge of the person of Christ is to be understood, if at all, only in connection with a deeper and truer knowledge of man, of which he is the divine head and type.

In attempting one more reply to this greatest of all questions, we do it in no spirit of vain speculation, or conceit of superior wisdom. Rather do we feel that it were more befitting the writer, and more honoring to the Redeemer, to be silent and adore with the humblest disciple, than to contend and argue with the ablest. But we also feel that we may not shrink from uttering the truth, through modesty or fear of reproach; and that a profound conviction of truth on a subject

so vital to the faith and comfort of the church, a fit occasion being given, is a distinct call to utter it.

Let us first glance at some of the existing beliefs and theories respecting Christ, as preparatory to the true doctrine.

Rejecting the manifestly unscriptural theories which deny the real divinity of Christ, the faith of the Christian church seems to be practically settled in the great two-fold truth or doctrine, that Christ is in some real and true sense *divine* and *human*. He is both the Son of God and the Son of Man. No faith can be Christian or Scriptural which leaves out really and practically these two elements of his being. But *how* they coexist, or are united; what is the relation of the one to the other; in what sense Christ is divine, and in what sense he is human, and how he is or can be both?—here is a large and undivided field of truth, where different claims and theories are put forth, which in their conflict confuse and mar the faith of the church, and greatly obscure the light of Christ, for want of a single eye to discern it.

The most prominent and prevailing theory is the common orthodox belief of “two natures and one person,”—meaning by two natures two distinct subsistences, one the Logos, or divine nature, the other a human nature, consisting of a physical body and a reasonable soul; and all included in a metaphysical unity called a person.

The theoretical objections to the duality of Christ’s spiritual nature, or the doctrine that he had two distinct souls, a divine and a human, are too obvious to need anything more than a statement of them. How, on the one hand, these two souls or wills, and their several activities, could exist together, and yet form but *one person*; or how, on the other, they could exist in one personal consciousness, and yet preserve their individual integrity;—how, moreover, to *conceive* of such a spiritual conjunction of two rational souls in one person without a confusion too great and insurmountable for a rational faith in him; and finally, where is the *need* of supposing a distinctively active *human* soul in Christ when a divine soul—the Word made flesh—will answer all the conditions and terms of the problem;—and especially and last of all, since

there is no clear warrant in the Scripture for such a supposition ;—these are questions which reason cannot help asking, however she may be silenced by the reply that they are questions she has no right to ask, since the subject of them lies without the pale of reason and speculation, and belongs to faith alone.

We are aware that a need for a human soul in Christ is found, or thought to be found, and also a seeming warrant for it in Scripture, in those passages which set forth most distinctly his humanity, his perfect likeness to his human brethren, his growth in wisdom, his dependence, weakness, suffering and temptation, and other distinctively human traits and attributes. But these, as we propose to show, may be better explained on the supposition of one spiritual nature, than of two.

But the *practical* objections to the theory in question are more weighty than those of reason. By this theory of a distinct human soul, the divine and human in Christ are practically separated ; a *man* is as it were, thrust between our faith and the being we worship. In approaching this divine person,—whom we profess and believe to be divine,—it is not the divinity, but the humanity, of Christ, that we really approach. The divine is still separated from us by the intervention of a human soul. The love and sympathy of Christ towards men is not the very love of God, or of the divine heart, but of a *human* heart in union or conjunction with the divine. The love of God can only be *inferred from*, not felt and seen *in*, the love of Jesus. And so the suffering of Christ and his atoning death is not *divine* suffering and expresses not the real feeling of God, but only of a man, or a *human* nature bearing certain relations to God ; and so the very meaning and vitality of the atonement, as a divine *self-sacrifice*, is lost out of it.

As a reaction from this unsatisfactory, and, at best, clumsy theory of the person of Christ, there is the simpler, and, to some, more satisfying theory, recently revived by a distinguished preacher of our own country—of *one* nature in Christ, or the Divine Soul manifested in a human body. This avoids

the difficulty of an intermediate substance between the divine in Christ and its outward manifestation ; it avoids also the confusion consequent on holding practically a bi-personal Saviour, and so gives a closer and more vivid reality to the doctrine of Christ's divinity, or "God manifest in the flesh." But the chief objection to this view is, that it denies, or seems to deny, the real and essential *humanity* of Christ, since it makes his humanity to consist only in the outward and bodily *form* of man, and thus makes him human only in appearance, and not in reality. Christ, it is affirmed and truly, must be *both God and man*, in the truest and most real sense, in order to realize the true idea of his person, or the true meaning of the incarnation.

A belief in Christ's real and proper humanity is fundamental to any true conception of his person or work.

From these opposite and unsatisfying theories let us now turn for relief and guidance to the words of inspiration, where the true doctrine, if anywhere, is contained—could we but penetrate their deep and comprehensive import.

If we inquire, Who was Christ? What was his real and essential nature? the answer is explicit: "*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*" Whatever is here meant by "the Word," it is manifestly *a divine person*. Christ was truly and properly divine, and that in the highest sense, without qualification or subtraction. What is the Scripture doctrine of the Incarnation? The same authority answers: "*And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.*" Understanding the word "flesh" here in its larger and most obvious import, as equivalent to *man* or humanity, the teaching is, that He who was God, was made, or became, *man*, (*σαρξ ἡγένετο*.) The doctrine is, not that the Divine Word was *united* to a man, however close and intimate the conjunction, but that he *became* man; not that he became *a* man, but *Man*, in the generic sense, (which seems to be the import of the word *flesh*,) mysteriously passing over into, and identifying his divine nature with the human; yet not thereby losing

or essentially changing his divinity,—for we read afterwards, after he became flesh, “and we beheld his glory.” Whose? Not of any man interposed between this divine person and ourselves, but “the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.” If we inquire still further concerning the humanity of Christ, how far humanity can be predicated of Him who is essential Deity; was his humanity real and complete, or only outward and partial? The answer given by inspiration seems equally explicit: “*In all things it behooved him to be made like unto his brethren,* that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest.” “For we have not a high priest that cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities, but was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin.” This language declares him to be human in a real and inward, as well as outward, sense. It also seems to exclude the idea of bi-personality, or a two-fold spiritual nature, since this is not a human characteristic, and would separate him from his brethren, instead of assimilating him to them. The same thing is implied in the word *brethren*, as is shown by the apostle, in the context. “For both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are *all of one*, [i. e., of one nature,] for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren.” Let it be noted here that the word “brethren” is applied to men by the Spirit of Christ *before* the incarnation, as denoting an original and essential brotherhood between himself and them, which was afterwards *perfected* in the flesh: “Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same.” “For verily he took not on him the nature of angels—[or more correctly rendered—*he laid not hold of*, or came not to the succor, of angels,] but he came to the succor of the seed of Abraham. Wherefore in all things it behooved him to be made like unto his brethren.” “For in that he himself hath suffered, being tempted, he is able to succor them that are tempted.”

In addition to this, he is frequently spoken of in the Scriptures as a man, most generally as *the man*, or *Man* in the generic sense, as in the fifteenth chapter of I Corinthians:

"For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead." "The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam [was made] a quickening spirit." "*The first man is of the earth, earthly; the second man is the Lord from heaven.*"

Christ, then, according to the Scriptures, is truly God, and truly man; and this not by the union of two beings or personalities in one, but the *same* person is both divine and human, at once Son of God and Son of Man;—or, in the expressive term which seems to condense the whole truth into a single word, he is the *God-Man*.

This we understand to be the Scripture doctrine respecting Christ. But how adequately to conceive this doctrine, so as to preserve at once the true Deity and the true Humanity of Christ, and at the same time, the strict and real *unity* of his person—this is the problem before us. Let us here say that we do not undertake to solve the mystery of the incarnation. We admit, with Athenarius, that "the true Christ is incapable of being construed by human reason." The person of Christ is and must be a mystery in which all other mysteries meet and blend. All we shall endeavor after is to present such a *conception* of this person as may preserve inviolate the truth of Scripture, and afford a resting place for the heart and reason in their approaches to him, and so a basis for a clear and rational faith in the Redeemer.

This conception, as near as it can be presented in a logical statement, is the *identity* of the Divine and Human in the person of Christ, so that it is proper to speak of his nature as the *Divine-human*, and his humanity as a Divine Humanity. Christ is not God and man *united*, each nature retaining its own separate individuality and functions, nor yet a fusion of the two, forming an intermediate or compound nature; but their *identity* in a person who is *both divine and human in all his attributes*. The idea of the Scripture is not that the Logos *assumed* or put on humanity, (except indeed the outward form or body of man,) nor that he united it to himself as a foreign nature, but that he *became* man, without losing

his real divinity. The divine in Christ is the human, and the human in Him is divine.

In order to verify, or even make intelligible, this conception, it will be necessary to consider one or two prior and fundamental truths, respecting the nature of man and of God.

It is one of the first truths of revelation—the second in order after the first grand announcement that God created the heavens and the earth—that *God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him.* This is repeated in a manner and with an emphasis which shows its superlative importance in the divine mind. While God formed the physical and animal creatures each after its *kind*, i. e. after an idea or type then first originated, he created *man*, or the human soul, after a type already existing in Himself or his own nature. The import of this truth, that man is made after the image and similitude of God, that he is therefore *kindred* to God in his nature, *of the same kind* with Him in his spiritual attributes, and not, as some theorists maintain, sprung from some lower and animal type; that he is, in his mental and moral structure, not something essentially different from God, but essentially *like* his Creator, and even a partaker of the Divine Nature—the reality and import of this great truth has not been sufficiently recognized and vindicated. Its bearing not only on the question of man's origin and place in the creation, but on intellectual and moral science, on morality and theology, on the whole science both of man and of God, cannot be sufficiently estimated. If, as certain philosophers of our day teach, the attributes and faculties of the human mind have no correspondence with the divine;—if the attributes of God are in our faith and reason different from the reality; if right and justice are one thing in our minds and another thing in God; if conscience is not the voice of God, and its revelations are not *true* revelations; if human reason, in its purity and integrity, is not a ray of the divine reason, and its light the *true* light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; if *love*, in its purest human manifestation, is not identical with, and the *inspiration of*, that love which flows from the divine heart;—all of which denials rest upon a denial of

the fundamental truth that the human soul is made in the image of God—then there is an end of all true knowledge of God, or real communion with him.

But this truth has a special and emphatic bearing upon the doctrine of the incarnation. One of the greatest hindrances to the full reception of this doctrine has been the low and degrading conception of human nature prevalent in the world, and enforced by Christian teachers; a conception far below that exalted idea expressed in the sublime sentence : “Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.” The prevalent conception of humanity has been inconsistent with the idea that it is or can be divine; and so the truth is disbelieved that God can become *human*.

As a Christian poet of our own country has said :

“Poorly of his own nature must he deem,—
His very immortality a dream,—
Whose God’s so poor he may not condescend
With his own last and greatest work to blend.
Though veiled in flesh, did God his glory hide ?
God counts not glory thus, but human pride.”

It is not an incredible or unscriptural thought, that God created man originally with special reference to the incarnation, that He might have a mold or type of being in the creation which he might afterwards fill with Himself, and so become visibly and perfectly one with man, and this irrespective of the fall and redemption of man. This at least is true, that the Scriptural idea of man, as God made him to be, and as he will be when perfectly redeemed, is one of transcendent dignity and glory, the realization of which is only seen in *the* man Jesus Christ. It is wonderful to see how the Scripture identifies man, especially redeemed humanity, with Christ in nature and dignity, as if the *Divine Man* was the only true and ideal man. It is not without significance that Luke traces up the genealogy of the chosen race from Christ to Adam, and from Adam to God,—“which was the son of Seth, which was the son of Adam, which was the son of God,”—as if Jesus was not more truly the Son of God in his divine than in his

human generation. **Mark**, too, the words of the apostle—"Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is."

In the second chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the inspired writer quotes from the eighth Psalm, which sets forth the greatness and dignity of man as originally created; made to rule as a king over the creation: "Thou madest him a little lower than the angels, [or more literally, a little less than God,] thou crowned'st him with glory and honor, and didst set him over the works of thy hand. Thou hast put all things under his feet." This language, which refers unquestionably to man, is not yet true in its highest and complete sense. "For," argues the apostle, "in that he put *all* things in subjection under him, he left nothing that is not put under him. But now we see not yet all things put under him, (i. e., man.) But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honor." In Jesus Christ alone as the ideal and divine man, we see this language fully realized, and in him as the second Adam, redeemed humanity shall yet be crowned king of the creation, and shall reign with him on his throne of divine and universal empire.

Notice this identification once more between Christ and humanity, in the expression "*image of God*," as applied to both in the Scriptures. Christ is called "the image of the invisible God," "*the express image of his person*," that form or manifestation of God in which the Deity is most perfectly *expressed*, and this language is applied to the Logos before his appearance in the flesh. When man then is said to be created in the image of God, is there not a reference to this prior divine image, of the *Word* as being created *in* and *through* that original divine Form, who is par eminence *the image* as he is *the Son of God*, "*the First Born of every creature*."

But there is a reverse side to this great truth, which is greater and more blessed still. Not only is it true that there is in man as the image of God something which is truly and properly divine: it is also true that there is in God something which is truly and properly *human*. There is a Humanity in

the Deity, which is the original from which our own humanity is derived, and in the image of which it is made; by virtue of which alone a real union and communion between God and man is possible. The reality of this is testified on almost every page of the Bible. What is the *Anthropomorphism* everywhere met with in the Old Testament, or the expression of the divine mind in *human language*, human thoughts, and human feelings? Shall we call in, as many do, an *accommodation* merely to human capacities? But is there not also a truth and reality in it behind the language, and pertaining to the divine consciousness itself? Does God express himself in this human way simply because *we* are human, or also because he really thinks and feels thus, and the outward form corresponds to the inward reality as it exists in himself;—because, if we may so express it, God himself is human, at least in a part of his nature? The same truth is involved, as might easily be shown, in the very *personality* of Deity; for this conception of God as a person, in contradistinction from the Absolute, is a finite and human conception. We cannot conceive of God as a person, except through the mold of our own personality,—i. e., as human. And either this conception, which the whole Scriptures warrant, is a falsity, or there is a humanity contained in the Divine Being through which all his revelations and communications with men are made—the true *mediator* between God and man. We know it is maintained by philosophers of the present day, that the conception of God as a person, having personal thoughts, feelings, and sympathies, and sustaining social relations with men, since it is a finite and human conception, involves a contradiction to the true idea of God as absolute and infinite, and therefore however true and even necessary to *faith*, is false to the reality.* But here Christianity makes issue with rationalism and infidelity, however disguised under the name of reason. Let it be granted that the rationalistic idea of God as the infinite and absolute one, is in contradiction to the Christian revelation of him as a person, and especially to the trinitarian doctrine of three per-

* Mansel—*Limits of Religious Thought*.

sons; yet it does not follow that that is true and this is false, but only that the idea of God which the reason is able to form is not the whole truth respecting God, and of necessity cannot be. The reality or being of God must include more than the bare reason can hold as an *idea*—must include what shall even be contradictions to the understanding, as every supernatural truth or mystery does. And one truth or reality respecting Him is that which is the basis of Christianity and the incarnation, viz., the essential humanity of Deity, or rather of the Word, the second person of the Trinity. The divine mind is in one sense human in its thoughts, else we could not understand these thoughts. The divine heart is human in its sympathies, else we could not repose upon it or trust in it; else, too, there would be no truth in the language, “Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him;” and “like as a bridegroom rejoiceth over his bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee.”

Another evidence of this truth is found in the *theophanies* or human apparitions of God made in the Old Testament. What were they, and what do they signify? Being made *before* the incarnation, they indicate an essential humanity in the very being and nature of God. Whenever God *appears* as a person, he necessarily appears as a *man*,—not by the assumption of a foreign nature, but by the revelation of his own. The person who here appears is now called a man and now an angel—the angel of Jehovah—and was the same, as most orthodox critics admit, with him who afterwards appeared in the flesh. These theophanies differ from the incarnation in the fact that the form or body assumed was not a real human body, but probably a temporary phantasm. The Son of God was not yet organically and historically incorporated with the race by being *born* into it, but only approached it, and communicated with it from without.

One more argument for the essential humanity of the Word is derived from the fact, or at least the belief, which so generally prevails, that the humanity of Christ as it now is, including his glorified or celestial body, is to be eternal. If so—and the teaching of Scripture seems certainly to warrant if not to

require such a belief—it would seem to indicate that this humanity is not a forced union of a foreign nature to his own, nor an essential change of state, which we can hardly believe would be permanent forever—but that such an essential relation exists between his deity and humanity, that the human form, freed from its present limitations, is, and is forever to be, his *true* form of manifestation.

The Divine humanity, then, as revealed in the person of Christ, rests upon and supposes a prior truth, viz, the Divine Humanity as it exists in God. The incarnation, or God becoming man, visibly and historically, is not a violence done to the nature of God, except as any manifestation of the infinite in the finite is a violence and contradiction to our idea of the infinite; but the manifestation of a hidden reality in the Divine Being, viz, the humanity of Deity. Is it not a disbelief, or want of recognition of this great truth, that has stood in the way of a full reception of this doctrine of the incarnation? The Word, in coming unto man, whether before or in the incarnation, "*came unto his own*" in a higher and truer sense than we ordinarily attribute to this language.

Having thus found a basis for the incarnation in the nature of God and the nature of man, the transition to the *fact*, as revealed in the Gospel, is comparatively easy.

Respecting the *mode* in which this fact was accomplished, or just what is involved in that change of state by which the word became flesh, speculation is blind and helpless. It becomes us to know that we are here treading among deep and awful mysteries, and cannot go a step beyond the written word. But there is one passage of inspiration which seems to lift the veil from a portion of the mystery, which deserves to be specially considered. In the second chapter of Philippians, it is declared of Christ, "Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but *emptied* himself," for so the original reads, (*εαυτὸν ἔκδυσε*)—taking the form of a servant—being made in the likeness of men. What is here affirmed is that Christ in becoming incarnate emptied or divested himself of something which he had before. This was not his essential divine nature, or any portion of it, but the

divine *form* or condition in which he formerly was, as the co-equal of God, including the exercise of his divine attributes as distinct from the human, and that he took upon him the form of a servant, being made in the likeness or similitude of men. It is not declared here that he assumed human nature as something foreign to himself; especially is it not said or implied that he took a human soul, but only that he who was in the form of God divested himself of this, and took the form of a man, and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto death. As Olshausen judiciously remarks, "It is not the laying aside of the divine nature, nor even the assumption of the human, that is here spoken of, but that Christ's *forma* and *conditio* was first of a divine kind, and then of a human. Both the one and the other are forms of appearance and condition in him, who does not give up the identity of his divine nature, whilst he becomes a man, and is on that very account such a man as no other is."—*Olshausen, Com., Vol. v.*, p. 403.

The teaching of this passage is only an expansion of that contained in the first verses of John's gospel. *Being* God, Christ *became* man. He assumed the form, and became subject to all the laws and limitations of humanity, which he could only really do by having his divine and infinite nature *reduced*, as it were, and psychologically adjusted to its human form. Many persons cannot conceive the possibility of an infinite or divine soul manifesting itself in finite and human conditions, without supposing a *human* soul as its medium. But they do not consider that there is the same difficulty in kind, if not in degree, in respect to this or any spiritual nature manifested through physical organs. There is a contradiction in any case, while the supposition of *two* spiritual natures, instead of relieving, makes the contradiction twofold.

A human soul is not *measured* by the body in which it dwells, or by any physical manifestation; so the divine soul of Christ is much less measured by his human form and human actions, and yet is or may be as really *expressed* through them.

Moreover, the connection of a soul or spiritual nature with

a bodily organism, implies *limitation* and dependence, which we recognize in the phrase "emancipated spirit," as applied to a disembodied soul. If Deity then is to become incarnate, it can only be by a limitation of his infinite and divine attributes, and a subjection to the laws and conditions of humanity,*—all of which is implied in the language of sacred Scripture,—"Who, being in the form of God, emptied himself and took on him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men."

But Christ, it will be said, grew up as a child from infancy, increasing in wisdom as in stature; hence the soul or intelligence within him must be under a law of development, therefore a strictly human soul like others. But, infancy and mental development are *human conditions*, and we find no greater difficulty in supposing a divine soul to be brought under these conditions, and experiencing them, than any other laws and limitations of the human state. If the divine Word can become man at all, or reduce his divinity to the form and experience of a man, he may reduce it still further to the form and experience of a child, and this without any greater contradiction to his infinite and divine nature.

Still the question recurs, how God, *being God*, can become man, without either losing his divinity or assuming into union with it a human soul? We might reply, as has already been said, that on the latter supposition God does not *become* man at all, but is only united to a man, who cannot be called God, except in some remote and secondary sense.

And yet a human soul, in some sense, there must be in the person of Christ, else he is not really human; only it is not

* Since this discourse was written, our attention has been called to a pamphlet entitled "An Examination of the two Natures of Christ, in their relation to Physiology and Revelation," by P. W. Ellsworth, M. D., of Hartford, Ct., in which the question of the *kenosis* or human limitation of the divine nature in the incarnation, is ably and modestly discussed from the physiological point of view; and the conclusion reached is coincident with the view here presented, viz, that of a single spiritual nature in Christ, or that Christ was a *Divine Spirit in a human body, and with human attributes*. We commend this unpretending treatise to all who are interested in this greatest of all theological questions.

distinct from the divine, but one and the same spiritual essence, which is both divine and human, or the *identity* of the divine and human in one and the same personality. The possibility of this we have endeavored to show in the fact that the spiritual divine nature *includes* the human, or that there is an essential humanity in the bosom of Deity, which is the basis of the incarnation; that it is this Divine Humanity which appeared in the flesh and dwelt among us. Still, if any insist on finding a distinctively human soul in the person of Jesus, generated of his human parent, they are welcome to the discovery when it is made; only let them call it a discovery or inference of their own, not a revelation of Scripture. If it be a human soul distinct from the divine in its consciousness and activity, the unity of Christ's person is destroyed, and the very meaning and power of the incarnation is lost. As Dr. Bushnell has significantly said, "As to the man, the human soul, we see men enough, and meet with human souls enough elsewhere. The tenderness we rejoice in, as testified in the person of Christ, and under the type of a human feeling, is the tenderness of God, not the tenderness of the human soul, or of the distinct human substance of Jesus. What we feel so deeply is that God is with us, on our human level, and is drawn so close to our sympathy—not that man is. And the moment we find a human soul in him, distinctly conscious and distinctly active, we shall immediately draw ourselves to that, in the manner of the mere humanitarians, and having our sympathy with that, we shall be turned quite away from that which is the sole, or at least principal, object of the incarnation; viz, the manifestation of the life or the expression of God."

If, on the other hand, it be discovered that there is a human soul in Christ which has no distinct activity, "what then," in the words of the same writer, "is this soul to us? Is it anything? Can we sympathize with a soul that has no distinct consciousness? Indeed, have we not much to do, after all, to keep it from non-entity? And then, if we succeed in finding a place where non-entity will not overtake it, we shall want to know very much what becomes of it—whether it has any moral character of its own? Whether it rose with Jesus in his

resurrection? What place it will hold in a future world? Whether it is ever to be more distinctly human than it was here, or ever to have a distinctly human character? And suppose, after we have gone this round of problems, confusing thus all thought and feeling, so that for a great part of our life the manifestation of God in Christ and his passion is virtually lost, we come at last to the clear and fixed opinion that a human soul was in the person of Jesus, but was never distinctly active, and never will be. What, then, have we done? Why, we have discovered with infinite labor that a certain drop is in the sea—nothing more! The sea is not any larger, or purer, or stronger; for if the reality of Christ be God, and God is infinite, what more or better is he for this drop of humanity that is merged thus eternally in the boundless ocean of his nature?—so merged that, as regards its human existence, it shall never be distinctly active, or distinctly known?"*

Both these dilemmas may be avoided,—of either destroying or confusing the true idea of the incarnation, and, at the same time, a real and solid place be found for the humanity of Christ, by the explanation already given, of the *identity* of the divine and human in his person.

But dismissing argument, let us draw analogy to our aid, not to prove, but illustrate the truth here propounded, and render its conception more clear and intelligible.

It is one of the wonderful properties of genius in its loftier workings, to *become*, in a sense, the characters or beings it creates. Thus Shakespeare in his dramas not merely delineates the characters of Hamlet, Othello, Desdemona, and the rest, but he *becomes* for the time being Hamlet, Othello, and Desdemona,—merging as it were his own personality in theirs,—who, indeed, have no personality but in him. He, for the time, renounces or lays by his other attributes, his sovereign and independent consciousness, and *descends into* the person he creates—feels, thinks, and acts in and through him alone. And he is able to do this because, and only because, he possesses in his own mind or nature the elements of these

* *Christ in Theology*, pp. 94, 95.

characters, the constitutional elements and passions of human nature in all its myriad forms. He becomes, and is able to become, only that which he essentially *is*. What the poet does in imagination, and through the genial power of sympathy, God, or the Divine Word, may do in reality. He may really *become* man, identifying his divinity with humanity, his divine feeling and activity with the human, because he possesses in himself all that essentially constitutes humanity or a human soul.

Again, in order that the person of Christ may have its full power over us, it is needful that we conceive him not only as one person—the identity of the divine and human, but as the unity of two opposite natures. Just as it is a practical aid to our faith in God, to conceive of him now as one in the unity of his being, and now as three in the trinity of divine persons—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—so it is an aid to our faith in Christ to conceive him not only as a personal unity—the Christ—but a unity that comprehends a duality, viz, divinity and humanity. And there is no more of contradiction in holding the identity of these two natures in the one person of Christ, than in holding the identity of the three persons of the Trinity in the one Being of God. And this, beyond question, is the real meaning of the formula, “two natures and one person,” as essential to the doctrine of the God-man; only it was not seen how Christ could combine in himself two natures without a distinct human soul.

The analogy or symbol which most perfectly represents this truth to our thought, is that of polarity. Christ is one person with two poles, or polar-natures—the Divine and the Human. As the magnet is not the union of two kinds of metal, but one metallic substance manifesting two opposite powers, so Christ is one being, God, manifesting himself, and represented to our thought, in two opposite natures, the infinite and the finite, the divine and the human. And the transition from one nature to the other is not over any chasm or even line of division, but clear and continuous, as the transition from one pole of the magnet to the other; or as the transition from the foot of the

mountain, where it blends with the common plain, to the summit, where it blends with heaven.*

Christ is thus, as he tells us, the way to the Father, as a mountain path is the way to the mountain summit, by a visible *extension* of the mount of Deity into the plain of humanity. And as the eye of a traveler at the foot may slowly travel up the majestic slope till it is lost in the clouds or dazzling glories of the summit,—so the mind may contemplate Christ from his lowliest and most human traits, where he is one with the humblest human being, up beyond the highest reach and limit of humanity—“far above all principalities and powers, and every name that is named,” to that dazzling summit of glory, where he is one with God.

Christ thus fills up the whole interval between God and man, Deity and humanity, by *including* both in his own wonderful person, not by a union or conjunction, however close, but by an absolute unity or identification of the two.

Having thus stated what seems to us the true doctrine and conception of Christ's person, it remains to give a more practical verification of it, by showing how this view meets all the real conditions of the problem.

The first condition of the incarnation, which any theory concerning it must answer, in order to be true, is that God shall be really and personally *manifested*. “God was manifest in the flesh.” But God was not manifest in the flesh, if a distinct human soul was interposed between the Deity within, and what was visible without. What was seen or manifest in

* A more philosophical statement of the doctrine may be given in the technical language of the Polar Logic or Logic of Ideas; viz: Deity and humanity being regarded as Thesis and Antithesis, Christ, in his original divine form, as the *Logos*, is the *Prothesis* or Identity of the two, including both natures in his higher unity. Christ, in his human form, or the Word made flesh, is the *Mesothesis*, or Indifference of the two, being either in relation to the other, or both at once in different relations; e. g., Christ in relation to the Father, or the Absolute Deity, is a man; while in relation to men, or to human thought and worship, he is God. The common view may be represented as the *Synthesis*, or combination of the two, *a posteriori*; from which the doctrine here presented differs only in its contemplation of Christ *a priori*, from an interior and profounder point of view.

that case would be the feelings and actings of a man, like other men, not of the God-man; and the divinity behind would be a matter of inference or secondary faith, not of actual beholding. If the human soul of Christ acted by itself, apart from the divine, in what was most distinctively human in his experience, then a great part of the life of Christ loses its divine significance, and God was not manifest in that. If the Divine Spirit acted *through* the human in all its demonstrations, then Christ was only an *inspired* man, like other good men and prophets—though in a superior degree—as the Unitarians contend. In either case, it was not *God* personally and *manifestly* present in a human form, and living a human life, but God obscurely and partially revealed through the veil of the human.

But if, on the other hand, we can hold such a conception of Christ that all which we see in him, not his miracles and words only, but his human love and friendship, his tenderness and compassion and overflowing sympathy, is believed to be the very feeling of the divine heart, the feeling of God, revealed as directly and personally, separated from us no further than the heart and feeling of our dearest human friend,—and that this divine feeling and tenderness is not less divine because it is human, nor less really human because it is divine—we shall be able to say with a reality of meaning, “Great is the mystery of godliness; *God was manifest in the flesh.*”

Another condition clearly taught in the Scriptures, and which requires to be met by any true theory of Christ, is his *inferiority* to, and *dependence* on, the Father. This is declared in such passages as these: “My Father is greater than I.” “The Son can do nothing of himself but what he seeth the Father do.” “I can of mine own self do nothing.” “The Father who dwelleth in me he doeth the works.” “Of that day and hour knoweth no man, nor the Son, but the Father.” Even his divine prerogatives are declared to be *given* to him from God. “For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself.” “All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth,” &c.

In connection with these explicit declarations is the corresponding practice of prayer and worship which he habitually rendered to the Father. It cannot be denied that this is one of the greatest difficulties to solve consistently with the doctrine of Christ's real and essential Deity, and one which no theory yet propounded has seemed satisfactorily to answer. The Unitarians, it is well known, seize upon these declarations and facts as effectually disproving the true deity of Christ; to which the common Trinitarian replies that these limitations belong and are to be referred to his human nature, and are not applicable to his divine; just as it is proper to speak of man as mortal when the reference is to the body alone, and not to the soul which is immortal; so Christ was inferior and dependent in his human nature or as man, but not as God. But it is nowise clear that Christ means to distinguish in these declarations between the divine and human in himself. It is not the *man* Jesus, merely, but *the Son* who can do nothing of himself, and who is ignorant of that day: and the "works" of which he speaks are not mere human but *divine* works or miracles. And, furthermore, the *words* he spoke, which certainly are not mere human words,—he refers to the same source: "the words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself." "As the Father hath given me commandment, even so I speak." If it be said that he speaks here not absolutely, but relatively and in accommodation to the understanding of his hearers, before whom he appeared as a man, and that he means simply to assert the divinity of his words and miracles by referring them to the Father,—what shall be said of his acts of prayer and worship, which were often practised *alone* in the solitude of the mountain, and therefore could have no reference to others, but only to his own real and personal needs? This, if it be real, indicates a *real* and not a *seeming* dependence. Shall we admit, as the Unitarian declares we must, that prayer by Christ is no real prayer; for he is omnipotent and can need nothing? or shall we say that it is the *human* soul of Christ only which prays while the divinity within him slumbers, or stands aloof, unable or unwilling to grant that support which he supplicates the Father to bestow? This fact of prayer and

spiritual dependence is utterly inexplicable on any orthodox theory which supposes God to be *united* to a man, or a human soul, in the person of Jesus. But not so on the Scriptural doctrine that God, or the Divine word, *became* man; for here Divinity *is* Humanity; he who was in the form of God and who was God, self-emptied of his omnipotence and sovereignty, and reduced to the human and subject state, therefore subject to all the conditions and limitations of humanity.

And here appears one of the glories of the incarnation, lost sight of in the common view, viz: that it is a revelation not only of the true God, but of the true Man. Humanity in its true idea, as well as Deity, was lost out of the consciousness of the race, and needed to be restored; and both are restored and revealed in Jesus Christ. The dependence of Christ on the Father is based on, and is a revelation of, the great truth that man is incomplete without God. The true idea of man is not a self-existent or self-dependent, or self-righteous or self-knowing being, but a receptivity and organ for the Divine; made to be inspired, led by, and filled with the Spirit of God. Man lives only (spiritually) as the Spirit and life of God lives within him; he loves only as the love of God is shed abroad in his soul; he knows in the highest sense only as the light of God shines within him, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding. The Word made flesh verifies this truth in his own experience. The Son, *being* human, and not merely united to or clothed with humanity, is dependent on the Father, lives by the Father, prays to, and receives from the Father, according to this true idea and law of humanity.

The same view explains the *temptation* and suffering of Christ, as no other theory can. God as *God*, the absolute and infinite one, cannot be tempted of evil, neither can he suffer from it. But God as *Man*, the Word made flesh and subjected to the fleshly conditions and limitations of humanity, can do both.

When it is declared that Christ was tempted in all things, like as we are, yet without sin, it is very easy for logic to argue, that since God cannot be tempted with evil, therefore

this is an experience of the human soul of Christ, and proves a human soul distinct from the divine. But this explains neither the fact nor the import of the Saviour's temptation. The *fact* revealed is not that a certain *man* Jesus was tempted, but that a divine being, the Word made flesh, came under these human conditions. And the *divine* significance of this fact is that God claims no exemption from the law of duty on the score of his omnipotence and divine immunity from evil. The temptation of Christ shows the identity of divine and human virtue, or that God requires no more of man in the way of obedience and resistance to evil than he is willing to do and encounter himself. This, at least, is part of its divine import. Another part is that given by the Apostle : "For in that he himself,—this *divine* being,—hath suffered, being tempted, he is able also to succor them that are tempted :" able to succor them out of his own *experience*, as well as divine power.

The temptation of Christ has also a *human* significance, which is that *sin* is no part of human nature, or necessarily involved in a true humanity. Christ in his human aspect, or the divine humanity of Jesus, differs from our common humanity in this, that he presents in his person the true and ideal man which is sinless and perfect, while we present the *actual* man which is fallen and depraved. Hence he is styled the second Adam, in contradistinction from the first, or humanity in its actual and fallen state. As the first Adam was subjected to temptation, that he might develop a virtue which should be his own, and which could not be created or imparted, so the second Adam was subject to a similar but severer trial, that he might develop a divine virtue under human conditions, and by his victory over evil break the power of evil over humanity, and prepare the way for its complete and final redemption.

Again, as regards the *sufferings* of Christ, it is easy enough for logic to argue, that because the divine nature is impassable, therefore Christ suffered only in his human nature, and so to quite vacate this great tragedy of the cross of all its divine and real import, as the expression of God's real feeling in re-

gard to sin,—the revelation in time of what the heart of God suffers in eternity from the sins of men, *bearing* them in his pierced bosom as Jesus in his pierced and tortured body;—the revelation also of the patient and self-sacrificing love of God towards the sinner, and what he will do and suffer in order to uphold his law and reconcile its transgressors to Himself. But if we can once attain to a true conception of the unity of Christ's person, and of the Divine Humanity therein embodied, all logical reasonings and inconsistencies will melt away under the light and power of the Cross, as all speculations about matter and spirit vanish beneath the tearful gaze of one we love.

We anticipate two objections which may be urged against the view of Christ's person here presented, and these of a diametrically opposite character: one, that it denies his real divinity, the other, that it denies his true humanity. In asserting a single spiritual nature in the person of Christ, if that nature be divine, it will be said, it cannot be human: if it be human it cannot be divine. But this is a logical inference drawn from words, and based on a denial of the *identity* of the divine and human in his person. On the contrary, we maintain that the nature of Christ is both *more* divine and *more* human in this view than in the common theory of two natures severally distinct and only locally united. For here is only a *conjunction* of Deity with humanity, and all below the line of junction, or rather division, is *a mere man*. Jesus is divine, not in his *whole* person, but only in a part: while in this view he is *wholly* divine in all his attributes, and not the less so that he is truly human.

Christ differs from all other men in two respects: first, in the *origin* and *nature* of his humanity, which is eternal and divine, a humanity existing from eternity in the bosom of Deity, and only *manifested*, not originated, in time: secondly, in the spiritual presence and oneness of God with him in a more perfect degree than was possible for a mere man, or for the constitution of a creature to sustain. He is “the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father;” one with the Father. God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him:

for in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. This can be true of no other than a being essentially divine, exalted by an infinite distance above all mere created beings.

If any say that Christ was less really human, because his humanity was not derived, like his body, from his human mother, but generated directly from the eternal fountain of being, this is the very distinction we claim for him above all other sons of *men*. They exhibit humanity in its actual, depraved and partial aspect. Christ, as the Son of Man, exhibits its ideal and perfect divine type as the true image of God on earth. And this could not be, if he had derived it from human parentage, but only as he brought it forth in unstained purity from the bosom of the Father.* That declaration of Christ to the Jews, "Ye are from beneath, I am from above; ye are of this world, I am not of this world," was spoken and is true, not more of his divinity than of his humanity. Herein the humanity of Christ excels that of all other men, in that it is *from above*, a *divine* humanity, as it needs must be to possess any elevating and transforming power. For it is not that Jesus even in his human character is the perfectest product of the race, the consummate flower of a fallen humanity, (for who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? or a perfect thing out of an imperfect?) but that a *Divine* Man has descended, and inserted himself *into* the race, that he might lift it to a hight of glory and perfection beyond that from which it has fallen, and far exceeding what it is in itself to attain or to be. As it is written: "The first man, Adam, was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening Spirit. The first man is of the earth, earthly: THE SECOND MAN IS THE LORD FROM HEAVEN."

We have now finished the argument for the divine human-

* Hence it is that Christ entered the world not as other men by natural generation from two human parents, as he must have done if his humanity was *merely* human, consisting of a human soul and body, united to Deity, but by a *divine* generation, and from only one human parent, deriving his body from the mother, and his soul from God his true Father, according to the laws of physiology. Hence, too, the soul of Christ was free from the taint of natural depravity, which it could not have been, if it descended, like other human souls, from Adam.

ity of our Lord. Whatever weight or impression its reasonings may have, we earnestly desire that the comfort which this view of Christ's person has imparted to us, and the light it has thrown over the entire Gospel, may be shared by our readers. If it be a truth, it is a great and blessed truth, whose practical influence cannot but be inspiring and comforting in the highest degree. Let us, in closing, indicate in the briefest manner a few of its practical bearings.

1. And first, the *unity* of Christ's person is here restored to faith from the duality and division in which it has been held by the reason. The doctrine of a human soul distinct from the divine, has been a source of endless confusion and distraction to faith, and not less to any intelligent understanding of his life and actions. Practically, we have had not one Lord but two, between whom our love and reverence has been divided, and the several acts and attributes of his person have been parceled off and labeled, this as human, and that as divine; so that the question has been pertinent, "*Is Christ divided?*" The true answer to this which we have endeavored to verify, is that which every Christian really believes in his heart, whatever his creed may be—no. "*There is one body and one Spirit, one Lord,* one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." Whatever mysteries may be hid in that wonderful person—and mysteries unfathomable there must be in him in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily—yet it is something to believe, as we may, that there was but one will, as there was but one character pervading and actuating all his manifestations, whether of doing or suffering.

2. With the restoration of the unity of Christ's person, his *divinity* is extended downward to include those acts and demonstrations which are most intensely human; while at the same time his humanity is extended upward to include those which are most divine.

Not the least disastrous effect of the division of Christ's person, has been the practical separation of the divinity and humanity of his life; calling his miracles divine, and his ordinary actions human. But the eating and drinking of Jesus

Christ was not less divine than his raising of Lazarus from the dead; and this miraculous display of divine power was no less *human* in him than the former ; for this, like all his other miracles, was an act of *humanity*, and was invested with the most humane and tender sympathies. If such demonstrations are above the reach of *our* humanity, they were not above his, any more than weeping with the bereaved sisters of Bethany, or washing the feet of his disciples, was below his divinity. Nay, they are not above *our* possible humanity : for Christ himself has declared, “ Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also ; and greater works than these shall he do, because I go to my Father.”

And here we almost feel as if we had wasted words to *prove* what every Christian reader of the gospel must have *felt* in his contemplations of the Saviour’s life. We might appeal from the reasonings of logic, as embodied in creeds, to the truer intuitions of the heart. We *feel*, when we approach nearest to Jesus Christ, that he is *one person*—one mind and one heart—and that every act and word and expression of that wonderful being is *both human and divine* ;—*human*, because it *finds* us in the deepest and inmost places of our human soul, and awakens a sympathy there ; divine, because never *man* spake or did like this man ; because no merely human demonstration could so penetrate and subdue and awe the soul ; because the nearer we approach the humanity of Jesus, the more does it recede from all mere or human humanity, and declare itself to be superhuman and *divine*.

3. Our doctrine reveals the identity of the divine and human in Christian character. Christ is an example to us not only in his human but in his divine character ; and since these are identical in him they should be so in us, so far as we can be followers of Christ, or partakers of him. The divine and human are too much separated in our life and character, and hence our human character is not patterned after that of Christ, but after the world and its maxims, after the flesh and its lusts. It should be understood and never forgotten that true *manliness* is *Godliness*, and that true Godliness is

perfect and genuine *manliness*. A true manhood implies divinity, and it is impossible without it; if not essential as in Christ, yet derived from him and penetrating with its light and transforming with its power and purity all that is human into its own likeness. "That ye might be partakers of the divine nature."

4. A new light is shed by this doctrine upon the *example* of Christ, or Christ as our exemplar. The whole of practical Christianity is summed up in the duty of *following Christ*. "Follow me," is the command of the Saviour to all men. "He that saith he abideth in Him ought himself also to walk even as he walked." But a practical difficulty is felt by the mind in seeing *how* this precept is to be obeyed, or how Christ can be a perfect example for man, when he is so different from man in his nature, or the composition of his person, as the common theory of his person represents him to be. Is it the *divinity* or the *humanity* of Christ that is set before us for imitation? If the former, this is so far distinct and separate from the humanity with which it is conjoined that even the human nature of Christ himself cannot partake of it, or rise into its sphere. How much less then can *our* poor, fallen humanity hope to be like it, or to do anything which shall be *divine*? If it be the human character of Christ which we are to imitate, this is still practically impossible, because his human nature was mysteriously united with the divine, so as effectually to remove it beyond our reach and sympathy. Christ was not in our very condition, tempted in all points like as we are; or, if so, he had divine resources within him which we have not; and so his sinless virtue and example fails us in the very point where we most need it. But the doctrine here presented avoids all these difficulties and confusions, by making his divinity and humanity one and identical. Christ is our example as Divine, and also as human. His virtue is divine virtue, the very virtue of God, and yet it is human, and therefore level to and one with our own virtue, so far as it is true virtue or holiness. Because His divine virtue is also human, therefore *our* human virtue may be also divine. In this view there is reason and encouragement in the precept

otherwise so impossible. "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect."

5. Finally our doctrine reveals and restores the true relationship between Christ and humanity. Man is related fraternally to the *whole* nature of Christ, and not merely to a part. Christ is our brother in his *divine* as well as human nature; since these in him are one and identical. This, indeed, is involved in the fact, so little believed or understood, that God is *our* Father, as well as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. But this truth comes home to us as a new revelation when he that is the only begotten Son, who dwelt in the bosom of the Father before the world was, becomes man, and lives a human life, is crucified, killed, and buried; when he rises from the dead, and the first word after his resurrection—that miracle of miracles which would seem to separate him totally from the human—the first word is, "Go and tell my *brethren*, that I ascend unto my father and your father, to my God and your God." What does this word impart, but what the church rejoices to believe, that Christ is not less human now in his kingdom of glory than when here on earth; and certainly he is not less divine.

What, too, does his glorified humanity import, but that he is now reinstated with the *same* glory which he had with the Father before the world was—the glory of a divine humanity,—the only difference being, that now he is not only one with God, but one also with the actual human race he has redeemed; and therefore they are now, and are hereafter to be, more perfectly one with him, and to reign with him in his glory forever? "That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us."

ARTICLE II.—FREDERICK PERTHES.

Memoirs of Frederick Perthes; or, Literary, Religious and Political Life in Germany, from 1789 to 1843. From the German of CLEMENT THEODORE PERTHES, Professor of Law in the University of Bonn. Edinburgh: T. Constable & Co. New York: Charles Scribner. Larger edition, two vols. pp. 448, 491. Smaller edition, one vol., pp. 400.

IT seems but yesterday, although it was some seven years ago, that we saw in the publishing house of Andrew Perthes, at Gotha, Germany, a quantity of proof sheets of a forthcoming biography of his father. We were impressed at the time with the fine spirit of the son, his capacity for business, quietly shown though it was, and the noble aim which actuated him in the selection of works for the market, and the strong desire to mold, rather than to follow, the public taste. As he took his breakfast, a plain baker's roll and a glass of wine, he chatted pleasantly about an edition of Pliny that had long been in preparation, about a forthcoming work on Egyptian archaeology, and the many works which his father had planned and had left him to execute. But though we sat with the proof sheets of the father's biography on the table before us, and though we had long known the name of Frederick Perthes as the great publisher of modern Germany, we could gain no conception of the wonderful power and charm of his life, and little thought that before us was the record of a career so noble, so heroic, so abounding in all that is gentle as well as in all that is strong, that it would be to us hereafter like the biography of a new friend, that we should find in it more practical sense, more traces of domestic love, and as plain a seal of life, practical indeed and full of work, but consecrated to God and high ends, as we have ever met in the records of any other man's career.

The character of Frederick Perthes was so many-sided, his

relations to the world so numerous and so diverse, that the writer who attempts to give an epitome of his biography is at a loss which phase to touch first and which to present with the most fullness of detail. For Perthes was at the head of the vast book trade of Germany, and the relations of such a man to great authors must always be interesting. He was the personal friend of the most eminent Germans, saving Schiller, of the late period of great genius and great attainments; he was a man singularly happy in his family; he was one of the foremost among patriots in the dark days of German liberty; he was a thorough Christian, of the Arnold stamp; he was a man so singularly practical that we find it hard to think of him as a German, and so thoroughly German that we find it hard to believe that he could be so intensely practical.

Frederick Christopher Perthes was born at Rudolfstadt, the 21st of April, 1772. His father he never saw; his mother died when he was but seven years old. Under the care of a maternal uncle who was equally kind and poor, he spent the first years of his childhood. The boy had little aptitude for regular study; but a great passion for reading, which he was able abundantly to gratify. Several volumes of the history of the world in quarto, and the twenty-one parts of "Travels by Land and Sea," employed his time from his tenth to his fourteenth year. Of course he read Robinson Crusoe and then Don Quixote, which filled his imagination. The mass of knowledge which he gained was partially digested by the perusal of Schröck's History of the World, and by the care of his uncle he did not degenerate into a mere boy of books. In his fourteenth year his poverty made it necessary to choose a calling for him. His uncle Justus Perthes, a name familiar to-day to the purchasers of Sprüner's and Stieler's maps, was a successful publisher and bookseller at Gotha, and it was natural for his guardian to think of that business for the boy. Accordingly he was taken to Leipzig to seek a master. Mr. Ruprecht would have engaged him had he been able to conjugate the verb *amo*. But this was too much for young Perthes. Mr. Siegert thought he was "too shy for the book trade," but Mr. Böhme, a Leipzig bookseller, was disposed to take the boy,

but said he must go home for a year first. The year passed and Frederick returned, almost as young looking as ever, to live at Leipzig. With Böhme Perthes had a hard time. The mistress drank too much. Böhme himself was a stern, rugged soul, and the accommodations of Perthes in the garret were not all luxurious. He had one little room, up four flights of stairs, so filled with beds and stools, table and trunks, that the boy could hardly turn round in it. Tea and sugar, bread and wood were doled out daily as to prisoners. Perthes writes to his uncle, "I have a half-penny roll in the morning—I find this to be scanty allowance. In the afternoon from one to eight, we have not a morsel—that is what I call hunger; I think we ought to have something." On Sunday the boy had to go early to church, and to none but St. Peter's, and a couple of hours Sunday afternoon was the only time given him for freedom and recreation. Böhme had a beautiful daughter twelve years of age, and of course with her the poor boy soon fell in love. The devoted attachment which sprang up between them, as pure as it was ardent, was the only source of real joy to Perthes. Through the many years of penury, hard labor and solitude and loneliness of heart, and amid the seductions of a Leipzig life, his love for this amiable girl kept him pure. Then was the "Sturm und Drang" period of German life, and Perthes many years later, in a letter to one of his friends, attributes to this boyish love his preservation from temptation. Perthes was a genuine type of German youth, and we should love, should our space permit, to picture on these pages the development of thought, the true and deep sentiment, and high animal spirits that characterize the young men of Germany. His love for Frederica gained new freedom, a fondness for the beautiful developed itself with great strength, and his imagination kindled into great activity. He began to get an insight into the nature of the book trade; he became acquainted with the names of authors and the relative merits of scientific books, and from the orders continually pouring in, he began to form an idea of the literary necessities of Germany in general, and to gain some conception of the wants of various districts.

The time after nine o'clock at night was Perthes's own, and notwithstanding the fatigue of each day's work he tried to gain, so far as he could, a systematic education. He studied Kant, Reinhard's system of morality, and Doedelein's Dogmatic Divinity, but most of all Cicero de Officiis. From the reading of these books Perthes gained principles and motives of action that helped him much, yet they did not supply him with that vital Christianity which he gained so fully and used so well at a later day. About this time there appeared the first indications of the French revolution. The influence of the Jacobin party was felt in all the countries of Europe. The young men of Germany caught the craving for liberty, and Perthes, with his free and youthful spirit and deep sympathy with the advance of the human race, eagerly watched its progress. But the extreme measures to which the revolution led, at length disgusted him, and in his mature and later years he was a sincere monarchist. Perthes spent six years at Leipzig, and then a favorable opening presenting itself for him to settle at Hamburgh, he chose that as his permanent home. He was now entering on the mature years of his life. His habits were well formed, and by his honesty and his faithfulness he had gained many friends at Leipzig.

He carried his love for Frederika with him, and in his first letter to his Leipzig friends he says, "I still live wholly in the past and am now first aware how fondly I love Frederika; she is ever the center round which all my thoughts turn." His passion was deepened by a singular rivalry between himself and one of Böhme's clerks, singular in this respect that though Nessig and Perthes were intoxicated with love, their relations to each other were almost fraternal. Perthes wrote to Nessig in such noble strains as this: "You may have secrets from me, but nothing, nothing may you conceal of your thoughts and feelings *regarding* me. Here the least reserve would be the grave of friendship. Keep back neither doubt nor reproach; write all, even though it may cost me many a bitter tear."

The story of this boyish love is as fascinating in the memoirs of Perthes as is Goethe's love for Frederika, the old pastor's

daughter in the *Wahrheit und Dichtung*. The throng and tumult of business at Hamburgh could not destroy his love. At length he wrote frankly to Nessig, expressing all, and while awaiting his answer he employed a friend to break the matter to Frederika. Perthes and Nessig each made an offer of his hand. The choice was to rest with her, and the rejected one was to withdraw from the combat in peace, and in all fidelity to live and labor for the beloved pair. "Frederika," wrote Perthes, "listened without changing color, remained silent for a short time, and then with deep earnestness replied, 'I love Perthes, I love Nessig, but my hand I can give to neither.' " The whole future now appeared to Perthes empty and desolate. Hard though it was, he devoted himself with new energy to his business. He gained many friends, he was often in the society of the fair. At one time he writes, "How highly man is still favored by the gods; how love exudes from me at every pore! what is there in me to make every maiden believe that I am in love with her, and thus actually to bring it about? should occasion offer I begin to speak with them of what has a deep interest to me, and as I speak the interest gains strength, for they are so fascinating that a man believes himself in heaven; but this does not last long, I weary of them or they of me. It is a sad thing that these powerful natures will so seldom use their influence to make us better. If they were but disposed how wonderfully they might improve us, for we are ever ready to their bidding! But they have no such high object, and desire nothing from us but folly."

Perthes entered, almost contemporaneously with his coming to Hamburgh, into a thorough love for the book trade, and a thorough appreciation of its greatness and its capacities. He very soon saw that it could be made more than the means of gaining a livelihood, and he began to shudder when he saw booksellers make common cause with a crew of scribblers who hired out their wits for stabbing and provender. The whole course of his career manifested what he then conceived, and during his life the mere question of gain had little weight with him. Where a large conception of the nature of the

book trade did not exist, it seemed to him that learning and art were endangered by its operations. "If there be no blower," he would say, "the greatest artist would strike the organ to no purpose." In more than one district where literature lay dead he had seen it revive and flourish by the settlement of an active bookseller there. He had further observed that where a bookseller possessed an educated taste, works of a high character were in demand; and that when, on the other hand, the bookseller was a man of low tastes, and immoral character, a licentious and worthless literature had a wide circulation. No man in any profession or walk in life ever toiled with greater devotion to the interests of his race than did Frederick Perthes; and this he did while he was a mere bookseller, and not a publisher, and his life is a standing rebuke to those men who, because they are not clergymen, nor senators, nor teachers, nor authors, think that their life is for nothing more than the laying up of money, or the spiritual consecration of themselves alone.

Perthes had not lived long in Hamburgh before he began to be desirous to transact business on his own account. He needed at least five thousand dollars, but he had nothing. He was only four and twenty, but, as he wrote to his uncle, "more at liberty on that account to enter on a great undertaking, as I may look forward to ten years of labor without thinking of marriage." But Nessig, his old rival, was willing to become his partner, and to bring a capital of fifteen hundred dollars. By the help of generous friends he soon was in command of the necessary funds. He issued a circular soliciting the credit of the most eminent houses, and proved the value of his good name. He had to work hard; he fell into embarrassments, but by his energy, his tact, his noble social qualities, and the confidence he had inspired in all who knew him, he worked through them with comparative ease. He was the first bookseller who displayed a selection of the best works, both old and new, in all the various branches of literature, classified and arranged. His shop presented the appearance of a small, but well chosen library, and the addition of the periodicals of the day offered the means of gaining a gene-

ral review of the actual state of literature, its movements and its tendencies. Perthes started business in a stirring quarter of the city. "The house which I have rented," he writes, "for a thousand marks [about three hundred dollars] is quite a wonder in Hamburg, for from top to bottom all is literary. On the ground floor, book shelves; up one stair the same; up two stairs Dr. Ersch as editor of the newspaper recently set on foot; on the third floor Dr. Ersch as literateur and helper's helper to Mensel and his associates; on the fourth French booksellers in front and at the back the sleeping apartments of the young German booksellers; up five stairs a loft which may be used for a store room."

The business was now established with good hope of success. Perthes said, later in life, that it was a bold and adventurous undertaking, but it was founded on a correct insight into the literary life of the period.

The confidence which Perthes inspired was such as to give him all the capital that he needed. Still the returns for the first two years were so trifling as to cause a dissolution of the partnership in December, 1798. Having weathered the great commercial crisis of 1799, Perthes desiring to make the reputation of his house European, and knowing that Hamburg was an admirable central point for extensive business relations, sought an able and learned partner, and found him in John Henry Besser, the man who, for all the remaining days of Perthes's life, stood nearer to him than any one but his wife Caroline. Many of the readers of this review will remember the familiar name in not a few of the German books published early in the century—Perthes and Besser. Of his partner, Perthes once said, "It would be hard to find in any individual bookseller so extensive a knowledge as Besser possesses of the most celebrated books in all languages, their character and value; and there is no one who knows so well as he does where to find and how to procure them." From the time that this new partnership was formed, Perthes and Besser took an established and influential position in the German book-trade, and such was the confidence inspired by Perthes, that numerous families in the northwest of Germany employed

him to supply them with the works which he thought best suited to their respective characters and tastes—a duty which he performed with equal conscientiousness and success. Under the new management business thrrove. In 1805, Perthes writes: “I am still in occasional straits for money, but yet in a sure way of becoming rich. I desire fortune only as a means of freedom, and for the general good. God grant that I may one day be in a position to work with a more tranquil mind.”

In the effort to keep alive a thoroughly German spirit, in resolute opposition to tyranny, whether of monarchs or cabinets, and in thorough allegiance to the interests of Hamburg and the other free cities, Perthes was always distinguished. The noblest and the greatest around him were led astray by the seductions of France, or the flattering offers of German princes. But Perthes never swerved from his loyalty to freedom and the brotherhood of man, and when the spirit of German nationality seemed rapidly becoming extinct, and when the great historian, John Müller, accepted honors from Napoleon, Perthes did not despair, but bent his whole uncommon energies to keeping alive the love of liberty and the German spirit. What he could do he must do as a bookseller and publisher, for statesmen of his views kings would not accept, and authors of his views might write books which should lie in manuscript in some publisher’s desk. He recognized the power of an ably conducted newspaper, one that should say the right thing at the right time, one that should appear under the sanction of great names, one that should enlist the sympathies of all truly German hearts. Recognizing this, he issued the prospectus of the National Museum. He knew that it would be fatal to his project to make his journal the recognized organ of any political faction, or the avowed champion of German nationality. It must be read, and it must not be prohibited, yet its object and tendency must be evident to Germans; and so he began to send letters out to all parts of Germany wherever men lived of whose ability and patriotism he had knowledge. To induce them to write he used various motives; to one he urged the promotion of Ger-

man science, to another the influence of such a periodical over the German mind, to another the need of a scientific association as the only bond of union in Germany, while to a few, such as Jean Paul, he opened his whole heart. His purpose was to form an alliance made up from all the intellectual leaders of Germany, every man of whom should be a center and source of influence, and when the right time should come, he trusted that this scientific association would transform itself into a political alliance, possessing the strength and union requisite for action. In order to extend this union as widely as possible among the people, the literature of Germany was to be presented in all its aspects. The undertaking opened in a successful manner; he received encouragement from such men as Eichhorn, Savigny, and Marheineke, Schleiermacher, Plank and Stolberg, Frederick Schlegel, Steffens and Fonquè, Tischbein, Grimm, and Heeren, men who, for weight, and ability, and intelligence, stood in the foremost rank.

Goethe was the only leading man who declined participation. "I must," he writes, "though reluctantly, decline to take part in so well meant an institution. I have every reason for concentrating myself in order to meet in any measure my obligations. Moreover, the character of our time is such that I prefer to let it pass before I speak either of it or to it."

The Museum made its appearance in the spring of 1810. Jean Paul, Count F. L. Stolberg, Claudius, Fonquè, Klopstock, Heeren, Sartorins, and Frederick Schlegel, were early contributors, and the labors of such men were very effective in influencing the public mind. Perthes was one of the first who tried and proved the power of the newspaper.

During the troubled years that followed the coronation and the downfall of Napoleon, the property of private citizens was but little respected. Perthes was driven from the city, and dared not reenter it; but Besser faithfully kept his eye upon the large collection of books, and when quiet was restored, Perthes and Besser were enabled to commence business anew with strong hopes of success. The distress of Germany had been so great that its literary market would be dull for many years to come, so the partners turned their attention to En-

gland, and began to think and talk of the expediency of creating there a taste for German literature, and for supplying English scholars and English libraries with the rich fruits of German erudition. Besser had passed much time in England, and was complete master of the language. He went to England and he did what he could ; he made the acquaintance of the best men, he tried to work with the educators, he tried to work with authors and publishers. This was in 1815, and in that year Besser wrote to Perthes : "at present there is scarcely a German work to be found among the twenty great booksellers at Oxford." The results of this visit did not realize the most sanguine hopes of either Besser or Perthes, but to that visit may be traced, we doubt not, a large share of that fondness for German literature, and that appreciation of the results of German study which now characterize cultivated Englishmen. One great wish of Perthes's heart was to unite North and South Germany, Protestant and Catholic Germany, Austrian and Prussian Germany, in a national unity. He made his occupation subservo this wish, and he believed it to be the first and special duty of German booksellers and publishers to quicken the undivided national life. He tried to unite the booksellers and publishers in a league. He tried to break down the exclusive regulations controlling copyright in every separate state, and to guarantee it to authors and publishers throughout Germany. He drew up a memorial, and he made a tour through South Germany to enlist the sympathy of leading men in his plans. His memorial was favorably received by such men as Metternich, Hardenberg, and William Humboldt, and the Diet pledged itself to devote a part of its first meeting to Perthes's measures.

Perthes's career, as a bookseller, was an ever ascending career. He lost the confidence of no man, and by patient striving and by the development of Christian feeling within him, he became a stronger and a more influential man. In the midst of his prosperity he lost his wife, a woman of so many and such tried virtues, of such keen sagacity, vivid imagination and active intellect, that we are glad that a well known authoress of our country has culled the memoirs of

Caroline from the book before us, and given it to the public. The eldest daughter had married a merchant of Gotha, and Perthes, weary of his deserted home, was willing, in the fiftieth year of his life, to turn from Hamburg and to make a new start elsewhere. His business had enlarged to such a magnitude that he could not discharge his many duties without immense hazard of his health, and thinking that he could accomplish more as a publisher than a bookseller, he cast his eye over the map of Germany to discover the most favorable spot for the future conduct of his business. The settling of his eldest daughter at Gotha, the proximity of that town to the scenes of his childhood, its natural beauty, its central position, and its large circle of cultivated society, left him not long in doubt what place to select as his home. The Gotha of 1822, was not the Gotha of 1860 ; it was a quiet German town of twelve thousand inhabitants, its people a simple hearted, plain spoken race, adhering with no little tenacity to ancestral customs. The author of the *Memoirs of Perthes* has given a beautiful picture of simple village life in Germany, and we regret that our space will not allow us to quote it.

The intellectual life of Gotha was a distinct possession of its own, and the men who controlled its literary circle were very careful of their influence. The gymnasium of Gotha was distinguished, and Döring and Ukert were among the teachers. Jacobi, the philosopher, was librarian. Bretschneider, the eminent rationalist, was there. Encke had charge of the observatory, and Stieler, the geographer, had already begun his eminent labors there. About this time the celebrated Gotha Almanacs commenced their day ; and about this time Justus Perthes merged his bookselling business in that great geographical undertaking which has carried his name around the world. Perthes had made over his Hamburg business to his brother-in-law, Besser, and determined to establish a publishing business at Gotha. He was already the leading bookseller of Germany, but the years of his youth had passed, and having gained a clear experience of the trade, and thinking that the many and wearisome labors to which he had been subjected should be borne only by a young man, he was the more

willing to relinquish it to other hands. He had carried on the book business for thirty-six years, he had a clear if not a large capital, his credit stood high, he was on terms of friendship with the most distinguished men of the day, he was still healthy and robust, and having paid many a premium to experience he now knew what he could really do. And all this, he thought, constituted a pretty clear vocation to become a publisher.

Perthes had a great love for historical study, and a firm belief in the value of lessons drawn from history. Baron Stein had for many years been urging forward the learned men of Germany, but his well known undertaking had been put off from year to year, and nothing of importance had been done. Stein had frequently conversed with Perthes regarding this history, but now that the undertaking lay directly in Perthes's path, the matter was agitated anew between them. It enlisted Perthes's sympathies of course, for there was then no real history of Germany. The obstacles were known to be great, and probably no man living save Perthes would have had the energy to surmount them all. Many personal friends raised grave objections. Despite this, however, Perthes quietly and cautiously took the steps necessary for the accomplishment of Stein's gigantic idea. As the publisher, his duty was to enlist the best writers qualified to take the history of separate states, and to employ a man of the highest abilities as editor. He applied to Heeren to take the supervision of the work, and Heeren, though unwilling from his age to enlist his failing energies very actively in it, yet gave his name, and what was even yet better, his advice. The working editor was Ukert, the librarian of the Gotha gymnasium, and in the end of 1822, the plan was realized of a History of the States of Europe, edited by Heeren and Ukert.

The next step was to find leading historians. The list is not so striking as that other list which we gave our readers, of the contributors to Perthes's political newspaper, but in it we find the great names of Von Raumer, Menzel, Schlosser, and Eichhorn. In uniting men of very dissimilar habits of mind, Perthes was singularly successful. He was as many-sided as

Goethe, and whatever phase of character was lovely or good in any one who approached him, that phase was a common bond to the mind and heart of Perthes. In a letter to the Baron Von Gagern, Perthes says: "Your excellency will smile at my believing it possible to unite learned Germans in a common enterprise. I know the difficulties perfectly; but no one can influence the world by himself, and he who is too wise to be helped will never do great things in any department. I hope by this truth to overcome even the sensitiveness of the learned who wish only for good society, that is to say their own. I do not despair; I have the gift of uniting the dispersed, bringing the distant near together, and tuning any discord of heart and mind amongst right-feeling men. This is the plow that I have plowed with all my life." But in the course of this undertaking Perthes had this ability tried more than it had ever been before, and he wrote when the history was completed: "It is hardly credible what toil and trouble, what twisting and turning this undertaking has cost me for the last six years."

We have already referred to Perthes's eminently Christian character. He was a man who not only tried to live even with the highest level of Christian duty, but he was a faithful seeker after true Christian doctrine. He came to Gotha at a time when the philosophy of Hegel and the rationalistic theology had brought upon the common mind of Germany a dismal unbelief, taking away the high spiritual element of religion, and giving nothing to take its place. The evangelical school was just beginning to appear. Neander had published his Julian; Tholuck was winning his fame, and men whose names are now familiar to us were then beginning to speak against the heartless theology of the time. It was for Perthes to organize this movement; he felt it his duty; he found in it his pleasure. He urged Neander to write a detailed Church History. Of him he wrote: "God give Neander health and strength to finish the work; perhaps there is not one at the present time who can do so much as he for Christianity." Of Neander, Nicolovius once wrote to Perthes, "When I consider the strange individualities at work here—

when I look at this wonderful man of God with his inward dignity and outward helplessness, it often seems as if you and I were specially appointed to support him."

It had long been Perthes's thought that his times needed a selection from Luther's works, to be published in little handbooks for circulation among the people. Luther's name was popular with all, for one class regarded him as little less than a saint, and as one of the true fathers of the Protestant church, while men of a colder theology, although they could not accept his views, yet loved him for being a whole-souled, hearty, healthy man.

A sensible editor was obtained, and in the spring of 1823 a selection from Luther's works, in ten small volumes, was announced. It excited universal attention, and in some quarters dissatisfaction. One friend wrote to Perthes, "My first feeling was one of displeasure at 'the incongruity' of Luther in duodecimo. Is the age to be honored thus? Will not the feeling of reverence for the great Reformer be lessened by the neat, smooth, modern look of the volumes? Will Luther in a lady's work-bag continue to guide Protestants like a beacon?" Another friend writes: "Leave Luther his rights; do not weaken him; do not make a new mezzotint engraving of an original wood-cut; you should show the man as he was when God made an instrument of him." Men like Paulus, the rationalist of Heidelberg, opposed the publication because of their zealous opposition to Luther's theology.

But opposition of this sort stimulated Perthes as nothing else would have done, to render the work successful. He procured the names of ministers everywhere, the aid of Bible societies and such agencies, and of his extensive business relations, to give it success. He received some very comforting letters as a part of his reward. A minister in Weimar wrote: "As for us poor spiritual doctors and apothecaries, our patients have got delirious, and declare us to be quite superfluous. It is therefore very desirable to put what may cure them into their pockets, in small print, if haply they may, sometime, having nothing better to do, make a trial of it. Dear, good Perthes, my spirit is sad within me. I have been sowing for

eight years in unfruitful soil, and now, in the ninth, I am just at the same point as when I began. People consider me a weak-minded enthusiast; pity or ridicule is all that I get. The church is empty, and the school governed by the master, who is much praised by the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, on account of his enlightened system of education. There is not a single house in the whole town disposed to receive God's word. In short, I am alone, quite alone; but one thing remains to me, cheerful trust in our God and his blessed Son, so I look upward, take comfort, and begin anew."

A few years later Perthes commenced the undertaking of his life. He knew that a religious periodical was needed, and he felt it his duty to call it into existence. There were rationalistic journals already, but they only made Perthes feel the greater need of an evangelical journal. The chances of its success would be very uncertain, for he would need able editors, and, as he says, "Often enough news from the kingdom of God is mere waste paper to the world." He commenced an active correspondence as to the characteristics of the periodical. He felt that it should not be a popular journal, and, as he wrote to Lücke, "The laity should not be preached to in a periodical, but by their pastor; at least our periodical is not intended to work directly upon them, but by its thoroughly learned and scientific character to awaken and strengthen religious convictions in many pastors who have been led away by the pretensions of science and philosophy, falsely so called." He intended to make it a medium for conveying the highest science as well as common ecclesiastical intelligence. He would have no anonymous communications. "He who has not courage to give his name for the glory of God may keep away." He intended to employ in it his time, his energies, and his substance, in order to influence the age. He did not expect a pecuniary return, but determined to have it succeed.

Touching the theological breadth of the journal, Perthes acted like a man whose Christian feeling was only equaled by his catholic heart. He would draw no narrow limits, he gave men credit for seeking religious truth in different ways. He

acknowledged all as brethren in Christ who were content with Christ's gospel, and who did not seek to find in their own souls a gospel of reason; yet he determined that all seekers after truth should express their opinions in his journal, if they could do it ably, but that it must be closed alike against piety without talents, and against learning and talents without piety. Thus was commenced that famous journal whose name meets us in the foot notes of every theological work of eminence which the last twenty-five years have sent forth, the *Studien und Kritiken*. Ullman and Umbreit, Lücke and Nitzsch, were the first editors. Sack, Schleiermacher, Tholuck, Neander, Theremin, and Marheincke, were active co-workers. The Hengstenberg school held itself aloof. Perthes had no sympathy with their dark reactionism, but as his journal was open to Paulus, Wegscheider, and Bretschneider, he regretted that Hengstenberg, and Rudelbach, and Schmeider, should withhold their hand. Hengstenberg afterwards commenced the publication of a religious journal which had influence indeed, but never, as Perthes thought, a healthful influence. Evangelical as Perthes was, he could yet say, "Catholicism rather than Hengstenbergism;" but his dread of rationalism was greater yet, for he could also say, "A thousand times rather Hengstenbergism than Paulus-Böhr-Wegscheiderism." In this, Perthes differed from the other theologians, for the larger part thought that Christianity had more to fear from Hengstenberg's dark reactionism than from Bretschneider's cold, dissecting rationalism.

Our notice of Perthes's publishing career must draw to a close. From his well-known house issued a series of the most remarkable books to be found in German libraries. The articles in the *Studien und Kritiken* were expanded by their contributors into theological treatises, which Perthes issued in book form; and besides, such books as Neander's Life of Jesus, his History of the Church, Ritter's History of Philosophy, Umbreit's Commentary on the Prophets, Tholuck's Commentaries, Twesten's Dogmatics, Ackerman's Christian Element in Plato, and works by Sartorius, Olshausen, and Bunsen. Besides these theological works, Perthes published several val-

able histories of German states, and several biographies of eminent men.

Perthes had in Hamburg the reputation of being the first bookseller in Germany. And yet he never became noted for wealth, for he published many books which brought no return, and many books which were a real loss to him. His income was from writings of the belles lettres school. Perthes was never surprised by losses in business, but he did often-times meet loss. He was not anxious to be a rich man. He once wrote, "I am really a fortunate man, since every wish of mine that can be possibly satisfied by money is satisfied already. If I were to have a million to-morrow, I should be unable to purchase for my body or mind a single enjoyment with which I am obliged to dispense to-day." He had the pecuniary ability to pay authors well for their work, and about two thousand offers of manuscripts were found among his papers after his death. The most implicit trust was placed in him as to financial arrangements, and when any exception arose to this, he would at once break off all further negotiations.

Every one who has been in Leipzig has noticed the fine building called the Bookseller's Exchange. The formation of the guild of booksellers in Germany, as it exists now, was due to Frederick Perthes, and the building of the Bookseller's Exchange was the last act of his career in connection with his profession.

We have already remarked in these pages, that Perthes was on terms of intimacy with nearly all the eminent Germans of his time. Although he made no pretensions to be a thorough student of books, and had no claims to be regarded as a scholar, yet his insight into character was so quick and true, his imagination so vivid, his sagacity so keen, and his honesty of purpose so apparent, that he stood shoulder to shoulder with the most eminent men of his time. Niebuhr, his friend from youth, sent the first volume of the Roman History which came from the press, to Perthes, and the second to Goethe, and asked for their unreserved opinion of the book; and after

Perthes had replied, Niebuhr wrote in response: "Your opinion of the first volume of my book has been of inexpressible value to me. Do not take it as an overstrained compliment when I say that Goethe's praise and your feeling about it suffice, even if hostile voices be raised at Göttingen." Perthes retained a perfect ease of manner in his intercourse with the most distinguished men, and this because he must have known his power. In a letter to Müller, the historian, he thus expresses himself: "I know who and what I am, and am always anxious to reveal rather than to conceal my ignorance, in order to prevent waste of time. Don't, however, give me too much credit for modesty, for though I am aware that I *know* nothing, I am also aware that I can *do* much."

The glimpses of eminent Germans, which we find in the memoirs of Perthes are exceedingly pleasing, for they are very true to nature and the interest in their subjects has become world-wide. Perthes married a daughter of Matthias Claudius, and of course much is said of the Messenger of Wandsbeck. He was on terms of the nearest intimacy with Frederick Jacobi, and Jacobi and his opinions engage a fit share of the work. The Countess Gallitzin was a frequent correspondent, so was Stolberg, so was Goethe. The Baron Von Stein, a great name in Prussian history, was in constant communication with Perthes. He knew William Von Humboldt well, and after spending an afternoon with him, Perthes wrote, "Through all the light play of conversation with his wife, the real, actual greatness of Humboldt comes out, and I am confirmed in my old opinion, so often laughed at, that under an ice-cold exterior and a keen eyed sarcasm, this man conceals deep and warm feelings, and a lively interest in Germany."

We regret that space will not allow us to present even the briefest sketch of his interviews with such men as Voss, Schlegel, Jean Paul, and Niebuhr. The book is a gallery of famous portraits; and he who would study the literary history of Germany, during the past half century, will find these memoirs a valuable guide.

We have dwelt with the most detail upon the life of

Perthes as connected with the book-trade. Inexplicably to us, while this book is passing through edition after edition in Germany, and the same is true of its translation in Great Britain, it is unknown here. And if it shall be reprinted, it is to be feared that it may be in its reduced English form, which omits nearly all those details of the book business, which we have therefore tried in some measure to supply. We hope soon to see this book well known in America. The domestic life which it reveals is so touchingly beautiful that all national distinctions vanish before it, and the German wife of Frederick Perthes, and the German children of this publisher of books, become as near to us and as prized by us as the most affectionately remembered of our own countrymen. And although these memoirs have a great charm from the insight which they give into the practical working of one of the most fascinating branches of business; although they do so reveal the inner life of one who may be justly called a **MAN**; although they bring the history of Central Europe for the last sixty years close before our eyes; although they show the changing currents of theological belief, and mark the ebb and the flood of that tide, yet we can but think that men will prize this book rather for the domestic love and household wisdom that breathes within it, than for any other qualities. The life of Caroline Perthes, now before our people, contains, however, this part of the whole history of Perthes's life.

It remains to say but one word more of the literary execution of the work. The translation is admirable; not a trace of stiffness betrays that it is brought over from another tongue; while the biographer has executed his work in an almost faultless manner. A vein of thoughtfulness, or what we may call applied philosophy, runs through it all, and while there is no language of adulation, not a word of indiscriminate praise, the great souled, energetic, practical German, stands displayed as in a portrait of Denner or Van Dyck.

ARTICLE III.—HINTS ABOUT FARMING.

Outlines of the First Course of Yale Agricultural Lectures.
By HENRY S. OLCOOT. New York : C. M. Saxton & Co.

Our Farm of Four Acres, and the money we made by it.
Twelfth Edition. London : Chapman & Hall.

FOR the man who can afford to buy almost everything he needs, and sell very little that he raises, farming is a delightful amusement ; for the man who can afford to sell almost everything that he raises, and to buy little or nothing that he needs, farming is a lucrative employment. The agricultural writers must not be indignant if we put down, thus, in blunt style, a couple of propositions which yet do carry a great deal of homely truth with them. Of course there are exceptions ; of course we have all seen the nice array of statistics in the premium reports, which make it plain that corn which sells for a dollar a bushel, can be grown for some thirty cents ; and which seem to demonstrate that butter which will bring twenty-five cents a pound, can be made for less than the half of it. The Agricultural Journals, too, from time to time, think it worth their while to argue this matter with the public ; and to impress upon them the fact that farmers are, upon the whole, the most fortunate, and thrifty, and money-making people in the world. We must confess that this seems to us a sad waste of ammunition on their part. The world has a very keen scent for whatever business is money-making. The public is constantly on the alert for ocular demonstration ; argument makes too tedious a proof. If the managers of the Great Eastern Steamship, or of the Southern Michigan Railway, for instance, should issue a lively tract to show the great monied value of their respective enterprises, and their promise in way of investment, we should view the tract writing as both natural and needful. But if, on the other hand, the New York and New Haven Railway, or the next India Rubber Company,

were to argue with the public in that fashion, we should look sharply out for some new Norwalk damages, or a suspension of the Goodyear patent. The hens that lay golden eggs never cackle ; at least we never heard them.

It is our impression, looking from a New England standpoint it is true, that the wiry old farmers, who have stocking legs of Mexican dollars or other specie laid by in their cupboards, beside certain certificates of stocks, and may be, mortgages upon the farms of their less provident neighbors, are not very boastful of their profits. They love to croak rather ; they count their business a hard one ; they affect a tone of discouragement ; and it is very doubtful, indeed, if their economies have not added more to any surplus they possess, than their skill.

Your retired citizen, on the other hand, with some maggot in his brain about pomology, or the "*Quæ cura bonum,*" is always of a very sanguine temperament as regards profits. He loves to tell you, in a confidential way, what his last year's sales of butter amounted to, and how many tons of good English hay his reclaimed meadow will carry to the acre. He somehow seems to entertain the belief that every looker on thinks he is spending a great deal of money, with very little return ; and he is nervously anxious to talk down any such fallacy. Expenses are large, certainly ; but a great many of them go to investment, he tells us. Digging rocks is heavy business, to be sure ; but once out of the way, and the Michigan plough will not have its nose broken again. Trenching, too, is a thing of very saucy cost,—particularly where the soil is underlaid with hard pan, or with boulders ; but, then—what vegetables will come of it ! And yet the keen, wary country-bred man, next door, who has faith in seven inch ploughing and plenty of barn-yard manure, who works early and who works hard, shall very likely outsell his neighbor of the trenches. It is surprising how much energy and thrift will accomplish with very poor weapons ; and surprising what poor things good weapons are without them.

We have been led into this train of talk by a little book which has had great success in England the year past, and

which is called "Our Farm of Four Acres, and the money we made by it." The book has not much bigness of any kind; it is scarce larger than a child's book, and our readers may be curious to know that the MS. was offered for fifty pounds to a London publisher, and declined; another, upon urgance, consented to accept and issue it on the basis of "half profits;" the result has been a payment already to the authoress of something over four hundred pounds. We attribute its popularity very much to the general interest now a days, in the ways and means of country living; and more, perhaps, to its straight-forward, Defoe-like narrative of every day experience. When will the book-makers learn that the simplest way to tell a story, is the best way?

A London lady wrote the book; one who found herself unexpectedly compelled to seek a home in the country; her children require fresh air; the yearly accounts require a more economic footing; she hopes that little breadth of land (only four acres) may give both. There are a great many people, not in England only, who watch eagerly such a struggle as that. And the lady comes well out of it. There is a pony who does service between the station and the cottage; there is a gardener who is fag of all work; there is a paddock delightfully green; there is a spotted cow that kicks and gives anxiety as to *pleuro*, but finally subsides into a kindly and domestic career of curds and creams. There are hens that lay incontinently, and rabbits who die mysteriously, and do not figure upon the account of profits. Pigeons swoop in purple phalanx around the roofs of the homestead, and give luxurious finish to the country experiment in eggs and squabs.

But, after all, the question about Farming, which intelligent people have to consider now-a-days, is not compassed within the green covers of this Four Acre book; it is not whether a prudent gentlewoman, who is a notable housewife can make the ends meet by dint of curds, and sweet turnips, and a good flock of ducklings; but it is—whether Farming, upon the whole, is a profession warranting a certain degree of scientific culture, and giving room for its display;—whether it is worthy

to enlist the energies and the ambition of a young man who has a good life to live, and a career to make?

The other book, Mr. Olcott's excellent report of the last winter's Agricultural Lectures in New Haven, puts us naturally upon this new train of thought.

If you have a boy (we hope every grown man has one) in whom you have joy and pride, has it ever occurred to you that Farming was a profession in which his intelligence might find range, and his cultivation declare itself and his energy and labor meet with sufficient reward? Is it a trade which for its successful prosecution demands scientific attainment and skill, and will remunerate them; and if so, then what degree of attainment does it demand, and what is the measure of remuneration?

We shall answer these questions in our own random way by hints and intimations and hypotheses, from which our readers may fashion such reply as seems to them fitting.

A great deal of good work has been done in the world, and good farming among the rest, without any intelligent apprehension of the physical laws which govern the work. Chemistry instructs us about mortars and cements; but before the days when hydrates and ores of manganese were talked of, the Roman masons piled up the dome of the Pantheon; and there it stands in the little fish-market at Rome, with better cement in it than our master-builders mix,—holding steadfastly on its round shoulders the weight of eighteen centuries. They had fat crops, "*laetas segetes*," about Mantua in Virgil's time, though they knew nothing of Mr. Mapes's superphosphates. A man without the slightest knowlege of the botanical classification of asparagus, or of its chemical constitution, could rear a good bed of it, rank-growing, and tender, by following literally the directions of Cato, (*De Re Rust.* CLXI), who knew no more about asparagine or a tubular calyx, than we know about the market price of those famous shoots of Ravenna, of which Pliny says, three weighed a pound.

So old Crescenzi, whose discourse comes to us on the same middle-age vellum that smacks of the loves of Bembo, and the wickednesses of the Borgia, has given as good, and as jock-

ey-like horse-talk in his ninth chapter,* as if he had attended a course of Rarey, or made speeches at the Springfield show. And Lord Bacon, as long ago as when pomological learning disguised itself in quaint Latinity, gave the present received orthodox method of restoring old orchard trees : “*Quæ dñi steterunt immotæ, fodiendo et aperiendo terram, circa radices ipsarum,*” etc., if he did not express the whole theory of rotation of crops, in his “*Nimia proximitas alimenti erga alimentatum, non succedit,*” and “*Arvum, grano ex ipso proveniente, feliciter non seritur.*” From all which we may infer that the art of agriculture is not a new one, and that before the days of modern science, chemical and physiological, there were intelligent farmers who reared sleek horses, looked well to their fruit orchards, and ate good asparagus with their dinners. But let not any lovers of ignorance take any unction to themselves from this fact ; they may be very sure of one thing ; which is—that the best cultivators of any country or age have invariably wrought up to the topmost level of the science and information of their day. The best farmer then, as the best farmer now, is the man who has the largest practical familiarity with the great class of facts, whether scientific or experimental, which has a bearing upon his trade. This class of facts is enlarging every year. Here and there, in the old writers, is a maxim, or an injunction, which has perennial soundness and efficiency : asparagns, as we said, cannot be planted, or fed, better than by the rules of Cato ; but the Romans laid no draining tiles, (unless we except the rather heavy bore of *Cloaca Maxima,*) and knew nothing of the secrets of commercial superphosphates. There are errors in the new books, and there are good things in the old ones : but in all that relates to agricultural method and successes, the gain is gradual, positive and certain. We may indicate here, as representing the successive gradations of progress—first, the substitution of green crops for the old fallow, including the whole system of rotation ; second, the improvement of breeds of domestic animals, by which we have the growth of

* “*Di tutti gli animali che si nutricano in villa.*”

two years in a year's time; third, drainage, which has made cold, sour, and unprofitable lands productive; and fourth, a determination of the nature, proper application, and influence of the concentrated manures. Whoever does not recognize the importance of these things, and accept them, or the principles on which they rest, as the bases of any extended agricultural operations, has certainly somewhat to learn. He may arrive at them by a tedious course of experimenting, or by wide and close observation, or by proper course of instruction. But the possession of the leading principles to which the later and greater agricultural successes are due, will not of themselves make a man a good farmer, any more than thorough legal knowledge will make a man a successful advocate. There must be a practical tact, a sagacity about good farm management, without which, all the chemical and physiological cramming in the world, will not be worth the tailings of a threshing mill. In fact, we would go so far as to count a good chemist,—by which we mean an enthusiastic chemist,—the worst possible material to make a good farmer of. And why? Because he counts science better than a crop. He would rather put an acre of corn under a glass receiver, (if he could get it there, and see it wilt, and shrivel, and turn to ash, than to harvest ninety bushels to the acre of well-tipped ears. He would starve the best rank of cabbages that ever headed, if he could only induce them to steal a little nitrogen from the air, as they steal carbon. The combustion that supplies life bears no comparison in value (in his estimate) to the combustion that supplies a dainty modicum of ash. Again, materials which are alike in the eye of the chemist, being identical in the elements of their composition, may be totally unlike in their influences upon vegetation, and in the practical uses to which they may be applied. Starch and cellulose, for instance, (if we do not mistake,) are identical in composition: and yet, while starch makes up much of the nutritive matter in certain sorts of food, it must be a very hungry man that would thrive on cellulose: the one only stiffens our shirt collars, and the other stiffens the grandest pine trees on the Norwegian hills.

In saying this, we do not for a moment undervalue the im-

portance of chemical investigation as related to agricultural progress: we beg to give here full praise to the admirable lectures of Mr. Johnson in the reports before us; they were essentially the right lectures, in the right place, and to the right sort of hearers. But Mr. Johnson, uniting sagacity with his scientific attainment, knows full well that he can furnish no formula to any raw, earnest young fellow from the country, in virtue of which he may make thirty bushels of rye to the acre, as unerringly as the professor throws down a precipitate in lime water, with a puff of carbonic acid. He knows that very many of the relations of chemical law to vegetation, and to animal nutrition, are still undetermined; and furthermore, he knows that not only chemical laws, but laws of physiology, of meteorology, and laws of order, too, and of economy, have their bearing upon good farm management. A man can no more grow a good crop of Swedes because he has listened to a good course on chemistry, than he can make a good wheelbarrow because he has listened to a good course on industrial mechanics. But he will learn from a good course if he has kept his ears open and his brain active,—how to prevent waste, in a hundred ways,—how to regulate the fermentation of his manure heap,—how to vary the feed of his cattle, and when to rack his cider. The investigations of the laboratory will, moreover, be furnishing him from time to time a stock of facts in regard to the fertilizers of commerce, which it is very important he should possess, and which he could gain for himself, if he gained them at all, only by tedious and costly experiment.

Mr. Johnson, as we had ourselves good occasion to know, and as we see from the Reports before us, did a much better thing than to give his agricultural hearers purely chemical lectures; he made them eminently farm lectures. He tells us that the majority of lands need thorough working much more than they need any added chemical food. He insists upon proper mechanical condition, not only of the soil itself, but of fertilizers. Plants have small mouths, and are fine eaters: a careful nurse will humor their appetites. Indeed, it will be well if some ingenious mechanic could contrive

some economic way of triturating for us the whole gross contents of a farm yard : we have no doubt that the efficacy of the manure pile might be increased in this way three fold. Again, the direct mechanical effect of different dressings is not understated in the lectures ; a purely scientific man might almost be pardoned for ignoring such effect. Yet it is important that the farmer be familiar with this fact. It explains the occasional happy action of manures which analysis shows to be almost valueless. The vine growers of Medoc claim a great virtue for the pebbly debris which wholly screens even the famous vineyard of Lafitte. Doubtless they have reason ; yet the pebbles would hardly supply aliment to a corn crop. The poudrette of the famous Lodi Company is notoriously lacking in chemical fatness, yet a good handful of it will not unfrequently bring a yellow blade of fresh sprouting corn to its color. The strawy sweepings of a town stable, which adventurous farmers buy under the title of manure, if applied as top-dressing, owes half its efficiency to the kindly mulch it offers to the delicate grass roots.

Should a farmer know of botany ? Somewhat doubtless ; he cannot treat an animal well, and with intelligent kindness, except he know its habits ; how then with a plant ? It certainly is not essential that he know enough of this science to describe a flower accurately ; though this may serve him a good turn in case he has occasion to demand information of an expert ; but it is important that he know all the general facts about the structure of his crop plants, their relative tenacity of life, the laws of their germination, and their hybridization. He wants to know how he shall distinguish different grasses, at what stage of development he may cut them with least injury to the root—why one may be cut short and another long—why one shrinks little and another very much. He wants a clear and plain reason why he should prune his trees in one month, and not in another ; why he should cut his posts at one season rather than another ; why he should bud in August and not in June. Again, he wants to learn not only how to cherish, but how to destroy. The botanist must explain to him why the Canada thistle, and the wild carrot, and the johns-

wort, thrive so heroically in spite of bad treatment: he wishes to learn their weak points; where lies the heel of these Greeks; what degree of heat in the compost pile will destroy the germinating power of seeds; and is the law of one seed the law of another seed? All this botany must tell, and is willing to tell; and farmers should be willing to listen.

Again, we commend to the purveyors of the "Yale Agricultural Course," the importance of providing a little agricultural-demonstrative anatomy. Farmers want to know how their animals are built, where the bones lie, and what are their offices; they want some hints by which to determine the nature of this lameness or that lameness, and to provide an alleviation. In America, we are far behind hand in all that regards the veterinary art. A few horse-jockeys engross it; and a little cant about splints and spavins and ring-bones, (which is always a lie if you are selling, and not half the truth, if you are buying,) measures it. From Connecticut they send to Massachusetts to determine if a cow has the *pleuro*; and the Doctors' *dixit* leaves the matter darker than ever. Youatt is very well—for a book. But doctoring by a book, is very much like manuring with Professor Mapes: it may do; it may not do.

And now, supposing all is said that might be said of the sciences related to agriculture; supposing the neophyte to be possessed of all the more important scientific facts bearing upon his occupation, there still remains for his consideration the *business* of Farming. And a very awkward and expensive business it will be to him, if he brings only a little smattering of Chemistry and Botany to aid him in the mastery of it. He has his house to build may be; at any rate, he has his system to decide upon, his labor to engage and direct, his stock and implements to buy; and then—his crops to sell, his bills to pay, and his books to balance. Superphosphates, and Mr. Quincy's eulogy on American farmers, won't help him much at these things. Money may; indeed, no farmer can start fairly without it. We will, therefore, suppose our young friend, equipped with the due scientific courses and moderate funds: Dana's *Muck Manual*, and Youatt, and Stephens's *Farm-book*,

and Liebig's Letters, with Johnson's Muck Report, and files of the Country Gentleman and Homestead, are on his shelves. He looks with due commiseration upon the old-fashioned people about him who manure their corn in the hill, and who never heard of Mechi or Mr. Lawes. He fits up his barns ; he buys a few calves out of the sleek flock of Mr. Thorne, which, if they live, will some day come to the Herd-book ! (If one falls sick, he consults Youatt ; he physics by Youatt, and, ten to one, he kills by Youatt.)

Of course he has all the best implements, and a "swate broth" of a man in charge. The "swate broth" breaks the new Michigan plough on the second bout around the field ; this is bad, but seems a natural accident, where the stones are fixed, and (as stones are apt to be) hard. They can be dug out ; that is expensive. A rare seed corn is secured ; we will say Wyandotte, which gives fifteen ears to a hill, and is voluminously presented in a late Patent Office Report. It must have due enrichment ; what is quicker than guano ? And the "swate broth" gives the seed a strong steep of Peruvian ; it comes out "hulled corn," parboiled, chemically stewed. This is bad, but seems inevitable. Some fine morning the butter will not come ; and the neophyte reads to the maid a chapter out of Flint, (on Dairies;) and the maid says "oh," and "shure," and "indade," but at the end is flintier than ever, and "niver see the like o' sich crame." Will Youatt, perhaps, physic the cows into more malleable returns ? Then the hedge plants which have been so unhesitatingly recommended, (Patent Office Reports again,) are all eaten off some briak winter by the field mice. The field upon the hill-side which some eminent professor has analyzed, and declared to contain large resources for the development of pectic acid, and therefore charmingly adapted to the growth of *Bonne de Jersey* pears, shoots up all over in mulleins. What wretch has been sowing mullein seed in the dark ? This is bad again, but seems inevitable.

Finally, and this is a finality that every beginner hopes for some day, comes the time of sales. But the buyers are not urgent ; they do not throng at his door in coaches ; the Thorn-

dale calves, doctored according to Youatt, and booked by Mr. Allen, are on hand. The prices named, viewing the cost and care and "attention to the albumenoids and bone material" in the food, are ignominiously small. There may be a little doubt as to the relative amount of phosphates which have gone to make a given crop, or of the carbo-hydrates which have gone to build up fat and lean; but if the beginner have only an elemental knowledge of arithmetical science, there can be no doubt at all as to the amount of money that has gone the same way.

The profit and loss account is against him; largely, ponderously against him. He looks with feelings of less commiseration upon his old fashioned neighbor, who sells his sweet-bread and eats the liver,—who manures his corn in the hill, and who never heard of Mr. Mechi, or of Mr. Lawes.

This is bad, and seems inevitable. But is it so?

We have written this not in way of discouragement, but to show—what too many agricultural writers and talkers are prone to forget—that business tact, and energy, and shrewdness are, after all, at the bottom of all good farm management. There must be system, there must be prudence, there must be executive capacity; and without them, all the geologic, chemic, or other knowledges will be like the dry shreds of exegetical learning to a preacher who has no fire of faith flaming in his soul.

There are certain disabilities which are peculiar to American farming, upon which we shall venture one or two observations. First, however, let us distinguish clearly between farming in an old and civilized country, where previous waste is to be made good—where difficulties are to be overcome by skill and science, and farming upon a virgin soil, like some of our western prairies, where the seed corn is thrown with the furrow, the field left until harvest, the larger ears snatched away, and a drove of hogs turned in for gleaning. Such grain growing does not merit the name of farming. What have such corn-makers to do with phosphates and trenching? What have the Kanakas of Honolulu, who pluck bread fruit from wild trees for lunch, to do with grafting and Dr. Good-

rich's curenlio hammers and bed frames? With what ineffable scorn these swart fellows would look upon an autumnal gathering of pomological old gentlemen, tasting thin slips of pears, and laying down the law for humbler men's stomachs with their "good" and "best?" When we speak of farming, then, we speak of farming that demands, and that warrants, skillful management; management that shall not only carry land to its top limit of producing power, but hold it there; hold it there by system, by diversion of employ, by thorough tillage, by every resource which a sound science suggests and a trusty experience confirms.

We hinted at American disabilities: first of all is the labor question. Labor is dear, and it is untaught. Americans are apt and dexterous, but American laborers are not to be found; or, if found, they are too often the tailings of the crowd which is pressing the steam plough into the fat breadth of Illinois. American blood is fast, and fast blood is impatient with a hoe among small carrots. It is well enough that blood is so fast and hopes so tall. These tell grandly in certain directions, but they are not available for working over a heap of compost. The American eagle is a fine bird, but he does not consume grasshoppers like a turkey.

We fall back, then, upon the Irish. These demand high wages, and are uncouth, but willing and attentive to orders. They are untaught, save with the spade, the flail, and the sickle; and if apt and industrious, when once fully taught, they buy their own homesteads and become stiff competitors. Germans are good farm laborers; but they too grow into the American passion of unrest, and change their condition. As for the race of dairy-maids, we know of it now only through certain gilt-edged books, adapted to children. The American girls of the country are playing the piano, or working at Lowell. The Irish ones are trying silks, trusting to become (as they very likely will) the wives of New York Common Councilmen, and the entertainers of Celestial visitors at a seventy thousand dollar ball.

One of the most eminent chemists of the country, who is also a large landholder and sagacious manager, told us, some

three years gone, that he had given over all hopes of growing any farm crops at a profit, by reason of the cost of labor and lack of trustworthiness in the laborers. Yet we shrewdly suspect that if the Doctor had given one-half the attention to his "hands" which he gave to his physiological studies and his celestial photography, the case would have been different. We are glad the chemist failed for such reason; the farm world can spare Dr. Draper to science, better than science can spare Dr. Draper to farming.

Farm labor, to be effective, must have the personal oversight of the master. We cannot "job out" a corn crop, or a Durham calf, as a manufacturer may job out a thousand yards of denims, or a gross of cast-steel shovels. There is very little efficient working by the "piece;" and everybody knows the difference in the amount accomplished under "days' works" and under contract. Poor Richard's famous maxim about "holding or driving," in order to thrive, is only a very narrow truth. There is far more of breadth and significance in the old saying of Palladius, "*Præsentia domini provectus est agri;*" which may be literally rendered, "If you would push a crop through, look after it yourself."

Another difficulty in the way of extending and perfecting a good agricultural system, finds its root in our American love of change—change of property, change of home. A good farm system implies some permanence of tenure. Fifteen or twenty years is the least time in which thoroughly good farm management can develop itself fully upon neglected lands. Swift changes, too, in the valuation of property, incident to every growing country, increase and confirm this difficulty. A man of good intentions agriculturally, finds a manufacturing village springing into importance in his immediate neighborhood. The land for which he paid a fair farm value, and from which he works out a fair per centage, is suddenly doubled in market worth. His grief is that a valuable turnip field, or a fat meadow, is "prospected" upon for city lots. As the French piquantly say, *Il se plaint que la mariée est trop belle.* Of course he now slightes and undervalues his agricultural system, however good it may be. Why, pray, should a

man trench or drain lands, which next year will serve for cellars or a highway? It is a large commercial absurdity (and Americans are quick to recognize commercial absurdities) to be spending money and labor for a moderate percentage, where no such spending and no labor would secure a larger one.

We have in our mind's eye now a stiff old gentleman, (of the ancient school of farming, it is true,) whose lands a town has overtaken and trebled in value. He laments this, since his only appreciation of land is gauged by its productive capacity for corn, and any outside forcing of its value only increases his tax list. Most men who fish for minnows, would hardly distress themselves if a black fish took the hook.

In this connection comes into view the great question of *land management*, which is an entirely distinct one from that of farming. We must pass it by, however, with the single remark, that lawns and shrubbery, for which there is a growing appreciation on the part of those who are seeking building sites, demand as thorough cultivation for their full development as a crop of corn; and the farmer of any town neighborhood who guards his wayside trees, and the knots of harmless foliage in his pasture grounds; and who, by the order and neatness of his fields, arrests the attention and fixes the eye of those who are looking out for homes, is thereby adding possibly as largely to his pecuniary advancement as if he made premium crops.

Another difficulty with American farmers lies in the lack of regular and established market facilities. We have nothing corresponding to those market fairs, which are the great resorts and exchanges of European, and, to a certain extent, we believe, of Canadian farmers. With us, producers are at the mercy of the "middle-men;" while at the fairs we allude to, the farmer may deal directly with the consumer. The man who has a fine calf or cow, or a superior lot of seed-grain to dispose of, must be mulcted by the commission merchant, or watch his own chance of sale. If he has raised a superior colt, he is at the mercy of some jockey; and everybody knows what a jockey's conscience is made of, and how hardly

a camel can go through the eye of a needle. He finds nowhere, as at the market fairs* of Europe, a regular congregation of buyers.

It is true that agriculturists have the remedy for this matter in their own hands ; but, unfortunately, there is very little *esprit de corps* among them. Distances are great with us ; country people meet on election day ; they meet at the state or county fair,—possibly on Sundays. But there is not much associative energy among the farmers as a body. They do not put their shoulders together to carry out any extensive system of drainage, or to protect the game in their fields, or the fish in their brooks, or to guard against knavery in the manufacture of manures, or to establish an *étrepot* for their produce. They do not band together instinctively, as it were, or by a habit of the craft, to destroy vermin, or to stay a plague of any sort. If a Gloucester skipper is overhauled by some lawless craft and dealt foully with, the skippers all join like a man to pursue and to punish the pirate ; but a pestilent worm, or a pestilent weed, may overrun a farmer's fields, and not a neighbor's hand is lifted to protect him. There is too much of isolation ; and isolation will inevitably prey upon a farmer's purse, as it will upon his head and upon his heart.

Yet, again, it is a question if Young America is not afflicted with a growing disposition to shirk and to discredit out-of-door, manual labor. We are all gentlemen, of course ; and shall a gentleman take off his coat ? Only recently we have seen it gravely objected to a leading presidential candidate that "the more rails he may have split, the less worthy is he of the gentle, the polished, and the humane." Now "the gentle" and "the polished" may have conventional meanings ; but "humane" is a large word ! How a man can be less worthy of the "humane" for rail-splitting we do not precisely see. It is a rank, weak, and arrogant absurdity ; but absurdities, however weak, are sometimes harmful. The Chinese have a weapon of warfare with a bad smell and a bad name, which

* We are especially glad to see that Mr. Tucker, Jr., of the *Albany Cultivator*, who has recently published a series of very valuable farm letters from abroad, has called particular attention to this subject.

carries very little explosive power, but yet it is nauseous, suffocating, and disabling. We have no space or inclination to discuss here the dignity of labor; the orators at the annual fairs do that. One thing, however, we may say—that whoever is ashamed of his business, will be sure to make his business a shame to him.

And here comes up another consideration, which will, perhaps, have more influence upon the decision of educated young men than any other. The man of culture who undertakes agricultural pursuits, is brought into competition with many who are ignorant, though perhaps sagacious and successful. Will his culture secure to him the superior results which he is taught to believe is its due? In this respect, the chances are that he will find at first large disappointment and discouragement. For a man values his culture very much for its office in adding dignity and effective power to his pursuit or profession; and that pursuit loses value and interest, very naturally, just in proportion as he finds its successes and emoluments to be under the mastery of an ordinary sagacity, and of a rude energy. But let him reflect that all knowledge is not confined to books, and that what he may count ignorance of the principles on which good farm practice rests, is quite consistent with an adroit management of a great many very practical and patent truths; and that the bare shrewdness which can mold the raw material we have, in the shape of laborers, into effective helpers, will possibly count better upon the year's profits than the utmost familiarity with the theories of Dr. Liebig, or the experiments of Mr. Lawes. When a man can add this shrewdness, and the habit of close attention, to proper scientific acquirement, he may be very sure o success.

The difficulties we have hinted at, are, many of them, gradually disappearing; the labor question specially, is becoming simplified by the introduction of new and effective implements, which enable the farmer to reduce the number of his hands. But since they do exist,—and we think that our representations, though they may seem to show the shady side of the business, will be sustained by the testimony of practical

men.—it is best to meet the whole truth in this matter, whatever ugly faces it may wear. No man conquers a difficulty until he sees it plainly.

We think the orators of the annual fairs are disposed to give a little too much of rose color to their statements. One form of exaggeration is that which glorifies it as the primal business of humanity; which makes it not only elemental and of first importance, but endows it with romantic colors, exalts it with quotations from Cato and Columella,—with pictures of milkmaids that might be shepherdesses in Watteau's pictures,—with thatched cottages and purling brooks, and beds of pinks and pleasant odors *ad nauseam*.

The other form of exaggeration is to elevate it into the position of one of the exact sciences; to declare all its problems soluble by the retort of the chemist; all its topography traceable by the geologist; and to assume that all of its multiform operations are reducible to certain scientific formulæ, in virtue of which an accomplished student may grind out cabbages and barley and potatoes with as much assurance and completeness as a pedagogue would grind us a gerund.

The poetic aspect is rather the favorite one for orators—Fourth of July and other. People like to be told that the world rests on their shoulders. Country folk like to know that such grand old fellows as Varro and Palladius told the world in good Latin long ago, how much they loved the country and good cresses. It is pleasant to think that a Roman senator concerned himself in our business; it makes it highly respectable; it gives a toga-ish fling to the creases in our smock frock. And when Mr. Everett, or such like mellifluent speakers enlarge upon the subject,—although they put the stramonium in barren fields where it never grew; or like Mr. Ward Beecher make the female birds (in his “Papers”) chant us a gay carol,—we overlook special ignorance of detail. Why should such men trouble themselves to learn that stramonium loves only the fattest soils, or that mother birds (unlike mothers of the “Rights” movements) keep a modest tongue in their little heads, and chirp blessings, without ever warming to a “bravura?” When the great visitor comes, and pats our little boy on the

head, and says, " You've a fine girl here, madam," why correct him? It is such an honor that our bantling should be patted at all!

The misfortune about this farm rhetoric is the notable fact, that it is most persistently and persuasively indulged in by those who know very little about the practical drift and intent of farm life. *They* do not have the kicking cows to milk, or the corn to replant after the crows, or the bar-posts to re-set after an Irish teamster. They never reach to the core of the matter.

It is extraordinary, indeed, how a man of fine imagination can make a dazzling and fascinating thing out of only earthly materials. Goldsmith stewing in London chambers, strolling out of the dirty Strand for a steak, greasy and savory with onions, at his chop-house, can yet spin for us as pretty and deft rhyme, about "the loveliest village of the plain," and honest rustics, as one could wish for. And yet, if Goldsmith had lived among them they would have fleeced him just as surely as the landlady in the Strand. Not because they were worse people, but because they *were* people, and not shepherds and shepherdesses with pretty crooks and rosettes in their shoes;—not because rogues, but because struggling for such livelihood as their wits and work would earn them; and because country pursuits are, after all, no sufficient panoply against the devices of the Devil.

Oaks are fine things; and rivers are fine things; and so are sunsets, and morning-glories, and new-mown hay, and fresh curds, and spotted calves; but, after all, a farm and farming do not absorb all the romance of life, or all its stateliest heroics. There is width, and beauty, and independence indeed: but there is also—sweat, and anxiety, and horny hands, and a great deal of hay-dust in the hair.

For a man who is thoroughly in earnest, farming offers a grand field for effort; but the man who is only half in earnest, who thinks that costly barns, and imported stock, and smooth fences, and a nicely rolled lawn are the great objects of attainment, may accomplish pretty results, but they will be small ones. So the dilettante farmer who has a smattering of science.

whose head is filled with nostrums, who thinks his salts will do it all ; who doses a crop now to feebleness, and now to an unnatural exuberance ; who dawdles over his fermentations while the neighbors' oxen are breaking into his rye-field ; who has no managing capacity,—no breadth of vision,—who sends two men to accomplish the work of one,—let such a man give up all hope of making farming a lucrative pursuit. But if a man, as we said, be thoroughly in earnest, if he have the sagacity to see all over his farm—to systematize his labor, to carry out his plans punctually and thoroughly ; if he is not above economies, nor heedless of the teachings of science, nor unobservant of progress otherwheres, nor neglectful of such opportunities as the Yale Agricultural Lectures afford,—let him *work* ; for he will have his reward.

But even such an one will never come to his “four in hand,” except they be colts of his own raising ; or to private concerts in his grounds—except what the birds make.

ARTICLE IV.—MODERN WARFARE: ITS SCIENCE AND ART.*

IT is true, lamentably true, that war is not extinct. Its animating causes are too deeply lodged in nature and in human nature, to be soon eradicated or brought in subjection to higher and holier motives. Our paleontologists, fresh from the grand wars of antique saurians; our entomologists, familiar with the wiles of the spider and the aggressions of the scorpion; our ornithologists, studious of fly-catchers and birds of prey; our herpetologists, learned in the elaborate mechanism of poisonous fangs; our naturalists, curious in the teeth and claws of carnivorous mammals; all will tell us that nature is not, never has been, and never will be a member of the peace society. *Why* this is so, is one of those hard ethical questions which, when pursued, takes refuge in the regions of cavernous

* During the recent meeting, in August, of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Newport, Rhode Island, the Association was invited to inspect the fortifications in the neighborhood at Fort Adams, which are said to be unsurpassed in magnitude, except in a single instance, by any of our national works of defense. On the occasion of this friendly visit of such a body of scientific men, it was thought proper that some account should be given of the resources of modern warfare, and the relations between science and the military art. This duty was delegated by Capt. Cullum, now in charge of the fortification, to Capt. E. B. Hunt, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., who read a paper, the substance of which we have now the pleasure of laying before our readers. The views of so intelligent an officer, on a subject which is attracting a large share of the attention of the world, are deserving of attention, and will be received, we doubt not, with interest by the readers of the *New Englander*.

It may be well in this connection to state that "Fort Adams has been the scene of various researches, highly useful to the science of construction. It was chiefly designed and built by Gen. Totten, the present able chief engineer. He here largely experimented on limes, cements, mortars, concrete, and masonry, and his results have greatly influenced the building practice of the country. He here trained a superior school of masons, from whom the building fraternity has taken up higher ideas of its art. Major Brown, since well known as an honored representative of American engineering in Russia, here made, under Gen. Totten's direction, a set of useful observations on the expansions by heat of various building stones. The views embodied in our national system of defense here found one of their earliest expressions, and we believe that the most influential report on this subject was here elaborated."—ED. *NEW ENGLANDER*.

gloom, where "the origin of evil" dwells. Man, too, has his flesh-teeth, and his history gives sadly continuous evidence that he has never yet lacked power and will to use them. Enlightened Christianity may wonder and weep over human perversity, but it would seem as if ages must yet pass before its great millennial victory, and man, meantime, will be, as he always has been, a creature of passions, infirm in reason, unconsecrate in heart and life. So history teaches; so wise men must see; and, seeing, will strive by all means to defend him against himself.

The long peace which had preceded the London Exhibition, and the broad spirit of human brotherhood which that event betokened, inspired sanguine hopers to prophecy smooth things. Scarcely were the medals awarded, ere the Eastern question drifted three leading nations into gigantic battle around the bed of that "sick man," whom the world, now horror struck by Syrian massacres of the unarmed and defenseless, would most "willingly let die." The *feu d'enfer* of Sebastopol was scarce soothed to silence, ere insurgent Sepoys and Cawnpore massacres taught the world new horrors, and a sharp New Year's greeting ushered in that great war drama which culminated in the sublime slaughters of Magenta and Solferino. The after-piece has now progressed through its Palermo bombardment, truly styled "a horror," and harsh toned Sicilian vespers are perhaps heralding the fresh matins of liberty in Naples and united Italy. The present state of Europe, even to a peace optimist or enthusiast, can offer but little ground of hope, while to the political philosopher, its tokens are full of "storm and stress." Not merely from its diplomatic complications, but from its whole organic condition, obtrudes clear, unwelcome evidence of great wars to come, in which unborn generations will re-enact the military ritual. Europe has about four millions of soldiers, full one-half of whom are habitually on duty. The military budgets of the European states appropriate three hundred and fifty millions of dollars for military purposes, to which, if we add the value of time taken from industrial pursuits and other contingents, a total expenditure of about six hundred millions results, besides the great amounts lavished on navies. When we see a hundred and sixty mil-

lions of people, including the most enlightened and profess-
edly Christian on earth, bearing this burden, and year by year
augmenting it, we must either forego millennial hopes, or must
base them on some coming catastrophe to the military polity of
Europe, more complete than is written in the history of the past.
It is, indeed, a fair question of fact, whether the world's growth
in knowledge and Christian profession has thus far really con-
duced to peace. It seems rather to have solidified and system-
atized war, restraining it by a code of military ethics, but not
effectually checking the chronic tendency of kings to that bad
argumentation toward which they are proverbially prone.

Ours is a favored nation, but not so favored that we can
wisely assume for it perpetual exemption from war's evils.
Our rapid growth and enlarging foreign relations, our restless
energy, our national apostleship of free institutions and com-
mercial liberty, together with a constitutional lack of na-
tional meekness, are elements prolific in possible causes of
future quarrel, and they can only be controlled to peace by
great and habitual good sense and good feeling. A British
peer has pronounced us the most military nation on earth. In
defensive war, or in resisting foreign aggression, this dictum
would probably prove a true one, after some months of sharp
disaster had schooled us; but we hope and believe it quite
untrue that we have any such eminent appetite for war, in it-
self considered, as that we should seek it without just cause.
The nation is not so bad as to love manslaughtering dialectics,
and the curse of war-scheming rulers could only befall us
abnormally. Certainly honorable, blessed peace should have,
and we believe has, no more downright practical advocates
than those whose profession makes them familiarly acquainted
with the horrors and desolations of war. Yet, we say, because
man is as he always has been; because we, like other nations,
must judge of the future by the past; because our peers
among nations live under arms; because, in short, war is for
us too, a possible event—therefore let us be prepared for
national defense, when the day of struggle comes; let us guard
our vital points, and, forecasting the teachings of bitter expe-
rience, let a wise genius of prevention rule our policy. What-

ever enhances our security of property and person in war, takes from the hope of spoil and success in attacking us, and thus is an argument for peace. This is the silent speech of all our walls of defense. They advocate reconciliation when European cabinets glow with antagonism, and if their prayer is unanswered, they have another voice of avenging fire. These battlements go forth on no mission of attack; their vocation is to defend homes, and it will be for soldiers fresh from firesides to call their inanimate powers into action.

Here let us speak out a plain word for military education. Nowhere is knowledge more truly power than in the conduct of military affairs. War is a science, using, on a grand scale, all the powers of men and matter. Success is wrought out by the right formation and use of the *personnel* and *materiel* of war. The fabrication and service of its munitions demand a high order of special skill. Invention expends its robust strength in bodying forth profound and intricate ideas in processes and mechanisms, such as only experts can use aright. The military tendency of our mechanical age is strongly toward the formation of a system of war-munitions such as only the best manufacturing capacities can fabricate, and the most trained military adepts can use with full effect. Matter, molded into and propelled by instruments of precision, which are in turn under the guidance of that special skill which only grows out of appropriate study and training, is steadily replacing the supremacy of brute muscle in determining the issues of strife. In war, as in peace, mind is the great magician of matter, teaching it the tricks of Proteus, and animating it with the fire of Jove's thunderbolts. Here dullness is defeat, ignorance is imbecility, and lack of special culture is lack of luck and loss of life. The providence of battles has, no doubt, a favoring fondness for heavy battalions; but it has a still livelier liking for warlike wit and nerve. Nor is the worth of military mind confined to the higher or directing grades. Its value is equally genuine in rank and file. The days of pipe-clayed, mechanical soldiers are gone by, and we may well rejoice to see, in the excellent system of training at Hythe, proof that even conservative old England has grown wiser of late. The highest mili-

tary ideas of the present foster strongly the manliness of the soldier, and train him to be an effective, self-reliant person. Rifle practice rests wholly on trained personal skill, and certainly nothing exacts more perceptive power, more controlled and inspirited energy than the chasseur, bayonet and zouave drills and tactics, which are to be the formative systems for troops hereafter. All rests on individual life and personal capacity. Let us have no more mechanical, wooden-headed soldiers, fit food for powder, but let the mentality, the manhood of rank and file be roused and trained, so that if soldiers are to continue machines, they shall at least be rational, conscious instruments of precision. Such is the clear demand of the time, and let us trust that rifle, chasseur, bayonet and zouave training will answer this requirement.

Our own military strength must largely rest on military education. The facile, docile, energized, but persistent American mind, when informed with real military science, need fear no foreign competition, whether in directive power or in executive skill. If left untrained, its individualism will breed an anarchy more fatal, because more energetic, than the chaos born of obtuseness. Our military greatness ought never to be based on large military establishments; it should rest exclusively on military education and on material preparation. Our safety is in timely provision for speedily transforming masses of live minded citizens into effective defenders of their homes, furnished with the best arms and munitions, and the best defensive covers for their use. This quick transformation can only be wrought by an extensive provision for military education, which, unhappily, does not yet exist. The very men who are to use the armaments of our sea-coast defenses, are, in the main, wholly uninstructed in all that special knowledge and practice which alone can enable them to give effect either to their own powers or to this grand but inert artillery. The Military Academy is the educational school for the army, and it is barely equal to this function. Our army is mainly consigned to custodial duties, in small detachments on our Indian frontiers, where all its strength is expended in a disheartening struggle to hold fast civilization amid barbarous surroundings.

Thus but slender opportunities for professional culture are afforded to the mass of our officers, and almost no chance to prepare for and execute the high duty of military instruction either among themselves, or (as it is right and natural they should) in behalf of the grand National Guard, which is our ultimate reliance.

A complete system of military education, for a nation of irregular soldiers like our own, would provide for the special instruction and training of all those on whom war would devolve high and responsible functions. This should be done, not by a conscription, diverting them from civil pursuits, but by bestowing on them as much preparatory education as probable emergencies would require—and as much more as practicable without serious detriment to individuals. Whether this should be done by an expansion of our military schools, and a system of volunteer pay cadets, or by circuit schools of training and practice, which should in rotation give instruction at each important locality, or in each state division, or by both systems combined, is a question requiring cautious deliberation. It is, perhaps, more needful for us than for any other nation to learn the art of combining legitimate personal freedom with strict organized discipline. We are born to so large a measure of individual liberty that we have peculiar need to learn how great and good a thing is high-toned discipline. A stronger infusion of this virtue into our manifold industrial organizations and associations of capital would add greatly to our prosperity, and would correct a large portion of the social and public evils under which we labor. Why should selfish party managers be the only ones to benefit from that augmented force which organization and discipline give to human masses? We forego no right use of individual reason, freedom or will, by taking our place in organizations to execute our assigned parts, however humble, provided we secure intelligent and honest direction. Who supposes that any one of those Western Zouaves, whose skill has recently elicited so much admiration, is any less manly or effective in his domestic or business relations, because he has freely and intelligently undergone a long, strict, formative discipline, under

an absolute but limited government? It is also worthy of notice that rightly conducted military instruction is a great physical blessing. It not only makes the *physique* more effective, but to a wonderful extent guards it from sickness. During the seven years that the writer of this Article had a personal knowledge of the Military Academy, not a single case of consumption—that special foe of Americans and students—occurred; and he has heard of but a single such case in the corps of cadets, usually numbering about two hundred and fifty. How this contrasts with the experience of our colleges and academics, the readers of this Quarterly can judge for themselves. We believe superior physical training and regimen to be the great cause of this exemption, and the inference is obvious in favor of educating the body and mind in concert.

In army organization, the same doctrine of specialties, according to which men of science single out and define their particular fields of research, must for like reasons prevail. In all organized beings, each function has its special organ, and it is characteristic of the advance towards structural perfection among animal species, that functions are multiplied, and the appropriate organ for each is set apart for its single use. So, moreover, as science progresses, specialties multiply, and exact the strict appropriation of individual minds to their culture. In arts and manufactures, progress towards perfect skill and workmanship is consequent on and commensurate with the minute and precise subdivision of labor. In all the elements of high civilization, the principle of specialty governs, and general cultures are not permitted to overgrow and suppress the limitations of each special art, trade, culture or calling. When but little is known or done, one man may know or do it all. Many must concur in co-operative association and subdivision, when knowledge and industry have grown great. The military art lays under contribution well nigh all sciences and arts. In well-studied military organizations, this amplitude of scope has been fully recognized in the formation of a group of well-defined military specialties, and in a definite and permanent assignment of particular functions or duties to special bodies of officers

and men. The great functions of paying, transporting, lodging, feeding, clothing and medicating armies, of furnishing them with military munitions, erecting temporary and permanent defensive works, reconnoitering, bridge building, road making, mining, &c., each goes to its appropriate and trained corps; while the duties of artillery, infantry, dragoons and siege troops, are erected into grand specialties of universal prevalence. The wisdom which is in nature and in art lends endorsing sanction to this system, and civilization finds its culmination in a parallel ordering of specialized groups of learners and workers.

The subject of military administration is one fitted to tax to their utmost the best mental powers, even though trained by long experience. When it is considered how vast are the movements of munitions and supplies of all kinds, required for maintaining large armies in full activity and progress, under circumstances constantly varying and always aside from the self-help of domestic life, it will be obvious that only a high order of administrative talent, combined with a thorough knowledge of the traditions of experience and the requirements of emergencies, can insure that order and system on which the well being and success of armed forces so largely depend. In grand armies, unless administration attains the rank of a science, starvation becomes a probability, waste a certainty, want of needed munitions an habitual experience, and little miseries grow so great that health declines, good cheer departs, and defeat and grand disasters, in due sequence, come upon troops already worn, enfeebled and despairing. It is in this department of military polity that irregular troops are most lacking, and a large excess of sickness and mortality is one penalty they suffer. None but the highest soldierly *morale* will bear up kindly and firmly under the sufferings and annoyances resulting from bad administration. The natural result is a demoralized army, which has not only lost the spring of great deeds, but has become a curse to itself and to all it can touch. War has no ethics for troops in whom the virtues of discipline are undeveloped, or broken down under ignorant or depraved administration.

Foregoing further discussion of the many important and tempting questions concerning the education and polity of the personnel of war, we must glance at the military uses of matter, and discuss some leading problems of what may be called military physics and mechanics. In war, men are but users of material means. The philosophy of military *materiel* rests on a strict physical basis, and battles are fought by using the physical properties of matter logically for special ends. War is indeed but the applied science of destructive projectiles. The arrow, the spear, the sword, and all the balls, shells, rockets, &c., to which gunpowder gives wings, proceed on their death-dealing courses in trajectories strictly conformed to the physical laws expounded in text books and lecture rooms. Were the lives of states pending, the fatal missile, once sped, would not turn a hair's breadth to right or left of its mechanical course. The same forces which rule celestial spheres and falling rain-drops, rule unchanged amid the shock and din of battle or bombarding hail. In studying the direct instruments of war, we must consider projectile force, projectile mechanisms and projectiles.

Time was when, in war as in peace, human muscles were the sole repositories of projectile force. The war club, the boomerang, the javelin, the sling, the sword, the battering ram, in all their many forms, swept their orbits under the direct impulse of the human arm. Bows and cross-bows, catapultæ and ballistæ, converted muscular force into elasticity of solid materials, and then at once gave forth the garnered power in hurling missiles on mechanical paths. Such agencies fought the world's fights, until time was ripe for that caged spirit of strength, which, once touched by fire, bursts all material bonds, and leaps forth, a freed elasticity. Thus the knightly Moorish army, in full caparison, waits, statuelike, in its cave of silence, the utterance of that talismanic word which shall release in a twinkling every nerve and muscle of the spell-bound host. Gunpowder now rules as autocrat of projectile force. Lodged in its black grains is a strength immeasurable, but meekly obedient to skillful governance, whether in amusing children on a holiday, in state trials of rifle precision, in tear-

ing asunder solid rocks, in overturning Dover cliff, in the rush of battle, or in a bombardment of Sebastopol, which even phlegmatic Russians could not but call infernal. And is this all? Has chemical science no other gift of yoked power even more compact and docile? Schonbein's gun cotton, Perkins's steam gun, the prodigious rending power of fulminates, the fresh candidate just announced in England as of proved excellence in blasting, all teach caution in prophecy. We do not, indeed, ever expect steam guns to ripen for war's exacting service, and gun cotton has not yet been made so safe as gunpowder. The fulminates, so useful in percussion priming, explode so instantaneously that no guns can endure their strain, even though they are feebler projective agents than the slower gunpowder. We need no greater projectile force, though it were well could it be got in less volume, without smoke or corrosion. It seems unlikely that gunpowder will be greatly improved, though some of its faults may be remedied. Piobert, almost the best of French artillerists, has proposed to guard against magazine explosions by mixing stored powder with enough charcoal dust to fill the void spaces between grains. Accidental combustion would then be not explosive, but progressive. The powder would be winnowed for use. The suggestion is admirable and timely; for we have need to look to new securities for magazines in these days, when Mallet bombshells penetrate over twenty-seven feet into Woolwich marshes, carrying down 200 lb. charges of powder. Perhaps, too, chemistry may provide some coating for powder grains, which, without hindering combustion, will be waterproof, and thus arrest the tendency to absorb moisture. This now causes powder to cake if left too long unrolled, and, by making its condition variable, is destructive to accuracy of range in artillery practice. Might not a collodion bath serve this use? Geology and chemistry may, by joining hands, disclose fresh sources whence sulphur and nitre may be economically procured for powder making. Our present system of importing these ingredients, and packing them away for emergencies, should be supplemented by the discovery of fresh sources of sure supply within our own borders.

In considering projectile mechanisms, we can skip cross-bow times, despite Folard's and Carnot's fancies that this arm is superior to the musket; nor need we dwell among catapultæ, balistæ, moving towers and battering rams, or the various defensive counter-devices. The great problem of gunpowder mechanisms is of extreme complexity, and has been slow to reach good practical solutions. The early fertility in devices was frustrated in great part by feeble powers of mechanical exection. Many of the best fire-arm ideas are old, but, being born out of due time, had to wait the more perfect modern workshops. If we except the steam engine, there is probably no question in physical mechanics which has commanded more ingenuity, skill and experimental research, than that of the best gunnery mechanism. It is still but imperfectly resolved, both as to hand arms and cannon. We cannot yet pronounce any model of fire-arms absolutely the best, and rival cannons have by no means yet succeeded in stopping each other's mouths. The question of superiority between Armstrong and Whitworth will probably stand unadjusted until some coming man shall, by superior combinations, outdo both. It is certain, however, that a true revolution in arms and ordnance has begun, is progressing, and will be completed. Smooth bores must all be sold out to the Fejee islanders. It would be the shallowest of follies hereafter to rest content with blundering, short-ranged roundheads, when we know that full thrice the range, precision and effect is attainable with a good rifled system. If Whitworth has, indeed, with a three-pounder, weighing only 280 lbs., (Dr. Winship would almost toss it over his head,) with $8\frac{1}{2}$ oz. charges, at 35 deg. elevation, ranged 9,688 yards, with good accuracy, we are under no obligation to rest content with a 12 inch Columbiad, weighing 15,400 lbs, which, at the same elevation, with 25 lb. charges, ranges, with less accuracy, only 5,400 yards. Rifled guns are the only ones which can look science in the eye. Perhaps the most vigorous known proof of generic stupidity is that Brown Bess and its congeners for nearly half a century survived the New Orleans proof of what the American rifle could do. To stand out now against rifled cannon would be a less excusable

blunder. Whether rifled guns are practicable or preferable, is not the present question : it is simply—What rifled system is best adapted to service requirements? Common sense says, “ Go earnestly to work, and by a complete, orderly, exhaustive series of experiments, determine the elements of the best service models.” Something is being done here towards this end, but quite too little, and without such system as the case requires. To fix models of rifled field, siege, and garrison ordnance, requires the correct determination of numerous data ; yet this requirement urgently presses upon us. No nation needs the completion of this research more than ours, for every fort on our immense seaboard demands the augmentation of its power which a rifled armament would give. This result will not be reached by leaving individuals, unschooled in the science of artillery, and little conversant with service needs, freely to try their crotchetts at the public expense. The problem must be solved systematically on scientific principles, and not by rat-trap ingenuity. Let devices be most liberally tried, if they have any sense in them, as only about 30 out of 1976 submitted to the recent select committee on ordnance in Great Britain were found practically to have. We possess the ingenuity to devise, the money and skill to execute, and the artillery science to test and judge whatever the case requires. Yet the question sleeps, or if its true solution is ripening among us, the signs thereof are not public.

The question of breech-loading arms and ordnance seems, even now, as unsettled as ever. The gaining twist is still problematic. Wrought iron is still in bad repute for guns. Despite Capt. Rodman’s singularly beautiful experimental researches, and process for interior cooling of cast guns ; despite the tests and trials described in our ordnance volume of “ Experiments on Cannon ;” despite all the English and other foreign experiments, cast iron guns are still untrustworthy friends. Our big guns persist in the unpleasant fashion, quite out of place in such solid individuals, of occasionally splitting their sides when least expected. At Sweaborg, seventeen British thirteen-inch mortars took this facetious view of the case, to the great disgust of the allies, whose purposes were thus seriously cur-

tailed of performance. If we may trust what is so well vouched concerning Prof. A. K. Eaton's new process for converting cast iron into steel, by the regulated action of a hot bath of carbonate of soda, which also removes from the immersed masses of iron their phosphorus, sulphur and silicon, we may hope, in course of time, to have trustworthy cast guns of iron or steel. Capt. Rodman's researches will help to settle a more rational system of cooling large ordnance, by consideration of the varying circumferential strains of the concentric layers. Chemistry must, however, learn to make cast iron a purer, more constant material, before its use for the heaviest ordnance will be truly safe. Rifled cannon of large calibre, combining long range, extreme precision in direction and elevation, maximum penetrating power, and intense explosive and inflammatory capacity of projectiles, are now the urgent requisites for our seaboard defense. What *has* been done shows clearly enough that what *can be done* will add enormously to the defensive strength of our fortifications, both by enlarging their circles of action, and by intensifying their effects, within those circles. Hence we have special reason to urge on the solution of the great rifled projectile problem. Increased penetrating power is required to crush steel-plated batteries; and this may come either from the 450 lb. shot of Rodman's big gun, or from sharp-pointed, massive rifled projectiles, with or without bursting charges. Here, again, experimental investigation is required, as soon as the maximum service power of rifled ordnance can be brought to test. The ranges of rifled guns remain to be determined for service use, and the relations of charge, elevation and range fixed for each calibre and species of projectile. The experimental field opened by this predestined change of ordnance is truly immense, and the highest skill and judgment should be brought to bear on it. Major Barnard's and Professor Rood's recent Articles on the theory and practice of small arm projectiles, give glimpses of how much remains to be done before all the important questions of projectile science shall be closed. Poinsot's theory of rotation has new work to do here. The effects of drift and the earth's rotation must be appreciated by science and military art combined.

art. No power of treating mechanical questions can transcend the demands of projectile theory in the case of rifled projectiles in a resisting medium, and a strict equation of this trajectory will probably never be attained.

The fabrication of projectiles is no small item in these days. At Sebastopol the British batteries expended 253,042 shot and shells, and the French batteries about 1,100,000; to which it is supposed that at least an equal number of Russian missiles responded. There is no knowing, either, when these emissaries will get their growth. Mallet's mortar has thrown 36-inch shells, weighing 26 twt., and containing 200 lbs. of powder. Rodman's gun is to fire a 450 lb. shot, and a 320 lb. shell. Besides, shells are to be filled with such terrible combustibles, such intolerable asphyxiating compounds, such glowing hearts of molten iron, &c., that there will soon be no living with them. Science has shown singular malignity in stuffing their maws with all kinds of horrible contents, so that Greek fire and pots of serpents now pass for mild fancies of the outside ancients. Vauban recommends using hives of bees for defending a breach; but their stings will probably hereafter give place to some terribly named chemical of the cacodyle species.

The manufacture of ordnance and ordnance stores gives scope for the best mechanical ingenuity and skill, and also for a very high order of administrative capacity. In such great armories as those at Springfield, Harper's Ferry and Watervliet, or the British establishments, at Woolwich, Enfield and Waltham Abbey, all the resources of the mechanic arts should be employed, not only for economy, but to provide a large reserve of producing power for war's emergencies. Machinery should do all it can do well. This principle creates a special demand for inventive capacity, and for an enlarged and liberal administrative judgment, which can correctly estimate the value of new things, and the balancing of all the parts in these large establishments. England during the Eastern war, found a vast advantage in importing from this country various machines which had grown up in our armories. She has repaid this debt by the fine examples of organization for military

manufacturing, so worthy our study and imitation, now presented by the vast establishments at Woolwich and Enfield, which, in this emergency, sprang into mature strength. In the gun carriage department, England has an old name of honor. While Gribeauval trails still lumbered up Napoleon's trains, Wellington's field artillery had carriages much after the present model. A noteworthy and praiseworthy progress is now going on in our service, by the substitution of wrought iron for wood in all our sea-coast and garrison carriages; a change giving not only greatly increased strength, durability and security, but even an economy.

Military engineering would, perhaps, on this occasion have special interest, but time will only permit brief glimpses of this large theme. When artillery superseded battering rams and undermining, as the means of breaching walled towns and castles, the art of defense suffered a signal decline. Vauban and others, by introducing the system of flanking and of masking all defensive walls by earthen covers, did much to restore the preponderance of defense over attack. Again, Vauban, by the invention of regular parallels and by ricochet firing, gave unprecedented strength to the attack, so that ever since, the fall of the best regulated defenses has been a definite question of time and means. Thus stood matters when the sieges of Silistria and Sebastopol occurred. These events served widely to diffuse an impression that the defense has again attained a preponderance over the attack. This idea is doubtless correct to some extent, for the use of increased calibres and especially of large shells, and the remarkable accession of power to fire-arms, greatly aggravate the difficulty of conducting siege trenches. Years ago, General Rogniat showed that the full sap had become almost impossible, and so long as the besieged can maintain an effective artillery the besiegers will make slow progress.

The attack on Sebastopol has also served to give wide currency to the idea that our present system of fortifications is obsolete, and that earthworks should banish masonry from defensive combinations. Here let us say, what we believe most judicious students of military art will fully endorse, that

in these matters the world is in a fair way to be imposed upon. One thing was clear to the allies before Sebastopol, and that was, that for eighteen months they had decidedly a hard time. This was no nice Antwerp siege, with the end known from the beginning. What caused the difference? Earthworks, cried the Fergusonians—a grand principle, now first introduced. It must be so echoes “The Thunderer,” for British valor cannot be impeached, and something new must be at the bottom of these reverses. It seems to have been overlooked that Sebastopol was not besieged at all; that, up to the last day of the struggle, no investment, which is the first and most essential element of a true siege, was ever effected. Supplies and reinforcements went in without hindrance, and if anything was besieged it was the Russian empire, and not Sebastopol. It little mattered how briskly Dame Partington plied her mop over the cottage floor, so long as the ocean was not shut out. Russia sent up men and supplies in a constant stream; and as for guns, there were enough and an excess in this great naval arsenal, and those of the largest calibres. To Woolwich alone there were sent 1,079 iron, and 94 brass trophy guns. How absurd, then, to compare the siege journal of a Metz front with this protracted leeching of an empire at its extremities!

This was in truth no siege, but it was rather an eighteen months' *battle* between opposing lines of entrenched artillery. Here were two armies, not very unequal in strength, bending all their powers to building and serving batteries against each other. One army was supplied by sea from two empires; the other by land from one, counting seventy millions of people. The balance of resources being, in the long run, on the side of the allies, they at last out-battered the Russians. Such is the substance of the great artillery battle of Sebastopol. It involves no mystery, no new principles. So far from the lack of masonry defenses having given the Russians any advantage, it was their great and fatal weakness. Had they possessed scarpes and casemates, the contest might still have raged. General (now Marshal) Niel, who, as engineer-in-chief of the French army on the spot, knew the whole truth better than any other man, says: “If the *enceinte* had been provided

with good revetted scarps; if it had been necessary to breach these, and subsequently to penetrate through difficult passages, in rear of which the heads of our columns would have met an army, *Sebastopol would have been an impregnable fortress.*" He ascribes its chief strength to an armament such as could only exist in an extensive maritime arsenal, and to a large army, which always preserved free communications with the interior of Russia. He says that at the date of the last assault the allies, after the greatest effort, had only executed the siege works preceding the crowning of the covered way, and "had not entered on that period of siege operations which is the most difficult and dangerous," being saved that necessity because the ditches and parapets were not insurmountable, as with a masonry scarp they would have been. He remarks that the Russian army was obliged, because of its not being protected by masonry scarps, to keep strong reserves constantly united and exposed to the concentric fires of the allied batteries, to repel the assault which was constantly threatened. How much the shelter afforded by well arranged casemates would have spared these reserves, is obvious enough, even were we not told that they were "decimated day and night by the concentric fires of the allied batteries." Some well arranged casemates along the fronts of attack would not only have spared the Russians the severe labors of establishing blindages, at best but imperfect shelters, and only of limited possibility in most besieged works, but they would have spared the sacrifice of many hundred lives. He must have a most imperfect conception of siege warfare who does not see that casemates for the shelter of men and munitions were always of the first importance, and that now, when bombardments are so much more resorted to and are so much more formidable, it would be sheer madness to forego this indispensable source of security and strength. This were indeed to leave us naked to our enemies. When scarps and casemates are subtracted from the masonry of fortifications, the remainder is scarcely worth controversy. The pretence of argument against masonry in forts, drawn from such cases as Bomarsund, in which walls were left wholly exposed before distant shore batteries, according to a quixotic sys-

tem never accepted by sound military minds, can have no weight in any intelligent quarter. No masonry is to be seen in Fort Adams exposed to distant land fires, but every gun in the siege batteries, before the crowning of the covered way, will look on earth and earth only. This principle Vauban taught and applied, though Cormontaigne had a partial departure from it to correct in the plans of the great Marshal. It is sheer defiance of all sound defensive ideas to expose masonry to distant siege batteries, and no argument can be drawn from such perversity. The abuse or absurd use of masonry in forts is no valid reason why we should rush to the extreme of denouncing its right use.

There is no evidence that the highest military authorities in any civilized country, consider permanent fortifications, when properly placed and planned, as obsolete or of impaired value. Fortresses for the defence of inland frontiers are indeed questioned, and rightly so, in certain instances, because they were injudiciously located or designed. This method of occupying really appropriate strategic points is clearly now as wise as ever. The treaty of Villa Franca attested most directly the value to the Austrian arms of the Venetian Quadrangle. An interesting question of military engineering was apparently coming to the test of experience, when this treaty cut operations short. The controversy of almost half a century, between the well-tried French or bastioned school, and the untried German or polygonal school of fortification, has thus far waited a decisive verdict from the actual siege of a polygonal work. Villa Franca postponed this trial. The Germans have so largely departed from the bastioned trace and profile in their numerous defences erected during the last forty years, that their interest in this issue is very great. No fair and competent engineer will deny to each system peculiar merits and defects, but it is likely to continue a debated question which system has the greater strength and total of advantage.

The value of seaboard defenses is now unquestioned by sound military authorities, and each year's experience adds proof of their importance. The Eastern war and the fear of

French invasion have effectually disabused the English mind of that previous bias or bigotry in favor of wooden walls as against stone walls, which has filtered at second hand through some American strata. The naval proceedings before Cronstadt and Sebastopol taught a lesson not easily forgotten. The conclusions as to the value of sea coast fortifications, which French, German, Russian and American engineers have expressed in their numerous harbor forts, are now, under the pressure of apprehended invasion, taking strong hold of the British nation. The recent special Commission on the Defenses of the Country, has recommended the expenditure, in four years, of nearly sixty millions of dollars, on a few sea-coast fortifications.* The single sum proposed for Plymouth (fifteen millions one hundred thousand dollars) exceeds one-half the cost of our entire system of fortifications to the present time, and the total recommended by the Commission is about double this cost. Our latest European advices announce the adoption of this report by the government, in its recommendation of an appropriation of forty-five millions of dollars for fortifying the dock yards, to be raised by a thirty years' loan, ten millions of dollars being required this year. There are besides, the old British defenses and the colonial defenses, which have drawn largely on the exchequer. General Burgoynes, Inspector General of Fortifications, has also, in a recent Article, strongly advocated a system of detached forts around London, at an expense of two and a half millions of dollars—an estimate much below what a reliable protection would demand. How Cherbourg and other French ports have been recently defended, the military world well knows; also that in Germany, Russia, &c., like views prevail. All this looks very little like the superannuation of fortifications; and the system of defense which Fort Adams exemplifies, with some modifications of detail, stands in principle more firmly

* "The amount of our special estimate is £10,890,000, of which sum £1,885,000 is for the purchase of land; £7,005,000 for the fortifications recommended for erection; £500,000 for the armament of works, and £1,000,000 for floating defences. To this must be added £1,460,000 for works already sanctioned and in course of execution—the whole amounting to £11,850,000."—*Report.*

established than ever before, and no less adequate to its proposed objects.

Some military incidentals have much scientific interest, and draw largely on the resources of chemistry and physics. The uses of the electric telegraph for firing mines, for the Navez ballistic pendulum, for communicating intelligence between armies and their bases, and for sending orders on the battle field, are slowly ripening, and are already among established military agencies. Whether torpedo warfare will be made a safe reliance in harbor and river defense, is a fair question for systematic investigation, but it has not yet reached any such trustworthiness. The use of balloons for military purposes clearly ought to be reduced to system. After the important influence on the issue of the battle of Fleurus, which observations from a balloon on the movements of troops actually did exercise, it has been a just matter of wonder that, in so proper a case for using this resource as the Sebastopol operations offered, it should have been untried. Siege operations would be specially advantaged by balloon observations steadily maintained. One element, which has hitherto been lacking, would, we conceive, greatly conduce to success. Were the cord by which the balloon observatory is held captive, a telegraphic wire, with a finger key in the car, instant reports of all observations could be made at headquarters. The use of telegraphic captive balloons, in a shore cordon, to report the approach of invading fleets, would, we fancy, grow promptly to perfection in this country in case of war. By sending up these sentinels from swift vessels, far to seaward, we should much enlarge our sphere of supervision; and it is possible that balloon telegraphic observatories may be found serviceable in time of peace for reporting the approach of steamers and sailing vessels. The observers should, of course, be aided by the greatest serviceable telescopic power. Siege and harbor warfare have need to press into service the intense lights of modern scientific origin. An electric or Drummond light, arranged to sweep the surrounding ground, or to show the movements of vessels, would make the night almost like the day. Artillery and rifles furnished with telescopic sights

could thus be fired with nearly the same precision at midnight and noonday. This would render nightwork in the trenches nearly as hopeless as daywork has now become under the action of modern arms and shells. Fleets would thus be shorn of every inducement to run by forts during darkness.

We cannot more appropriately conclude this Article, than by briefly presenting some items of military progress during the short interval since "the first week in August." The question of Whitworth's gun has been decided by the Select Commission on Ordnance, adversely to its claims, because of its unfitness for service and its inferior accuracy. Armstrong's gun is being very actively manufactured and introduced into the British service, and his one hundred pounder has been tested with such reputed success as to have been adopted. The trial of Captain Rodman's fifteen inch gun, weighing forty-nine thousand and ninety-nine pounds, and mounted on a wrought-iron carriage, constructed by Captain Dyer, is now progressing at Fort Monroe, Old Point Comfort, Va. A very coarse grained powder is being used to save the gun from the usual severe strain while the ball is starting from its bed.

The movement for the defense of Great Britain, has gone forward with rapid strides. The recommendations of the Special Commission were ably advocated before the Commons by Lord Palmerston, in his speech of July 24th, and a bill appropriating for the current year, the sum of \$10,000,000, "for the defense of the royal dock-yards and arsenals, and for the forts of Dover and Portland," proceeded rapidly and with overwhelming majorities through all its parliamentary stages. The Premier cited as precedents for this expenditure, the appropriation by France in 1841, of £13,000,000 for fortifications; £5,000,000 expended for the defenses of Paris; £8,000,000 on works at Cherbourg; £4,000,000 at Toulon; £3,000,000 at Coblenz and Rastadt, and 7,000,000 francs at Alessandria. This act of appropriation is a substantial adoption of the policy of sea-coast defense, as defined by the Commission for the dock-yards, and leaves but little doubt that after completing the works thus inaugurated, England will attend to the special defense of London and of the various re-

maining harbors along her coast, useful to an enemy for landing men and *materiel*. The Commission refers to both of these cases as being excluded from their special consideration, and they are thus merely kept in waiting till the more urgent demands of the dock-yards and arsenals can be met. We ought to see in this fresh history a new and strong stimulus to hasten on this same defensive policy along our own immense and exposed ocean frontier. It is a powerful substantiation of the soundness of the principles on which our defensive system rests. It is, too, an admonition that our exposures to attack are genuine, and that the results would be most formidable should we be assailed while our panoply is incomplete.

ARTICLE V.—DR. ALEXANDER'S LETTERS.*

Forty Years Familiar Letters of James W. Alexander, D. D.
Constituting, with the Notes, a Memoir of his Life. Edited
by the surviving correspondent, JOHN HALL, D. D. In two
volumes. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860.

In one of the earlier letters of this correspondence, Dr. Alexander says:

"A letter, as the thought just now strikes me, should be as nearly as possible the transcript of one's common talk; or perhaps a better description of a good, that is an acceptable letter, would be, that it is a soliloquy in black and white, penned with the freedom of a private meditation, yet written for the eye of another, with whom the disclosures it contains are just as safe as in their native bosom."

This passage furnishes a key to the seemingly hasty and varied style of these letters, their abrupt transitions from one subject to another, and the freedom of their criticisms upon men and things. But it also contains a reproof to the friend who would lay before the public thoughts and feelings which were poured into the bosom of friendship with unreserved confidence. To whom can we give our confidence, if not to our friends?—and to what friend can we give it unreservedly, if, the moment the grave hides us from view, it is to be blazoned forth to the world? No amount of public interest felt even in the smallest sayings of a good or great man, should justify his friends in revealing what, from close association with him, it was their privilege to know of his inner man. The sanctuaries of friendship must either be religiously guarded from the scrutiny of those who do not stand within the portals, or they must be torn down at once and be forever demolished.

* In the last number of the *New Englander* we briefly expressed our views of Dr. Alexander's Letters: but the present Article, not written from a theological point of view, but coming from the pen of a lady who was a parishioner and friend of this honored divine, will serve as a complement of our criticism.—**ED. NEW ENGLANDER.**

Yet the character of Dr. Alexander shines forth from these letters as a Christian divine, a laborious and faithful pastor, a man of generous and discriminating mind, and an enlightened scholar. To the people of his charge they are full of interest, as they behold the pastor whom they loved, in every line. To those who were not privileged to come within the direct sphere of his influence, they are interesting, as, since his death, his fame has been in all the churches.

That ardent and intense love of souls, which was manifest in his preaching, seems to have thoroughly possessed him at an early age. He entered upon the work of his life with a joy and whole-heartedness which were not disturbed by the periods of profound melancholy to which he was always more or less subject. He describes these moments in an early letter :

"Forebodings of future pain or misery are not often the subject of my thoughts, but there comes over my soul, I can no otherwise describe it, a cloud, a blackness, a horror, which tinges every object without or within, with a certain indefinable, vague, and terrific darkness; which absorbs the powers of the soul, and seems to concentrate all the faculties upon some hideous something, or nothing, and waste the mental energy in empty musing." Vol. I, p. 44.

Elsewhere he says :

"I find religion and religious thoughts, not the causes or the concomitants of melancholy, but its surest remedy."

God undoubtedly suffered him to walk in these gloomy paths that he might be able to lead away others whose feet were in danger of going astray there.

His humility was great. No man was ever more conscious of his own imperfections, or consequently more charitable towards the imperfections of others. Even when he was the idol of a large congregation in the Fifth Avenue, the love and reliance which his people felt towards him seemed only to make him more conscious of his awful responsibility towards them. He says :

"Some of the things which, I dare say, people think tend to elate me, have a quite contrary effect; especially the worldly increase of my cure. Seldom, if ever, have I had any private exercise more solemn, than in the whole progress of this matter."

He was eminently a Bible student in order to be a Bible teacher. His favorite method of studying the Bible he gives in these letters :

"I have just been reading over, at one sitting, the Epistle to the Colossians. I have done so many times within a month, both in Greek and in all the translations I have, which are more than ten. This way of frequent re-perusal, continually, I learned of my father, many years ago. It is well to intermix it with critical study of the same portion. I like to confine myself to one book at a time, and, as it were, *live in it*, till I feel very familiar. I usually find great satisfaction during such a period, in preaching from such a book thus studied."

He was strongly in favor of much Bible study among the young. To his correspondent, then editor of the Sabbath School Journal, he writes, in 1834:

"Let me beg you to take it as a prominent, perpetual object of selections, &c., for your Journal, to hold up the great truth, that *the Bible is the book to educate the age*. Why not have it the *chief* thing in the family, in the school, in the academy, in the university? The day is coming; and if you and I can introduce the minutest corner of this wedge, we shall be benefactors of the race. I can *amuse* a child about the Bible; I can teach logic, rhetoric, ethics, and salvation, from the Bible. May we not have a *Bible School!*" Again—"I am filled with enthusiasm about having the Bible more taught. Instead of a mere *reading book* in schools, it must be taught after the Sabbath School fashion; geography, archaeology, and all. All our girls must read the Greek Testament. I mean to teach a few on the plan of Locke. By an interlinear version any merchant's clerk may learn Hebrew." Again—"I am a little wild on the subject of making the Bible the grand organ of mental and spiritual development. Suppose one knows the Bible, and from it as a center radiates into the thousand subsidiary knowledge, will he not know all he needs?"

He was also much interested in the work of Missions, and, indeed, his fertile mind was continually employed in seeking different ways to advance Christ's kingdom among all classes and ages of men. All the channels through which religious literature flowed in upon the public, were swollen by his pen :

"I endeavor to have as many plans as I can, thereby I find work for all moods of mind."

He wrote much for children, impelled to that work by an extraordinary fondness for them, which was one of the most

prominent traits of his heart. Those who have had an opportunity of witnessing his winning ways with children, could not fail to observe that his power of gaining their affections and confidence arose from that love which they are always quick to perceive. By that love, his grief, as four of his own children were one by one removed from him by death, and the strength of his Christian faith in its triumph over his intense afflictions, can be measured.

He was greatly opposed to acrimonious dispute on theological or other questions. In all the relations of life, both public and private, love was the principle which ruled him. He says, in one of these letters, "The greatest heresy is want of love." And again—

"As to the Assembly, I really know not what to think, or to say, or even to wish. What would I have? Certainly peace; if possible, unity of doctrine; then unity of organization; if we cannot be *τὰ αὐτὰ φρονεῖντες*, we may at least be *τὴν αἱρῆν ἀγάπην ἔχοντες*, and the way to attain this seems to be *ἀλλιλοες ἄγονενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἐστῶν*. Alas! who does this?—certainly not I; for which I desire to humble myself, and to seek greater measures of self-renunciation and self-neglect. My sentiments are changed since last Assembly; not so much as to men or measures, as spirit. I do not recognize in Mr. ——'s denunciations the spirit of Jesus; nay, nor even of the ardent Paul. Mr. ——, and Mr. ——, I try to bless God for it, do not preach 'another gospel,' and I hope to meet them in heaven, where we shall wonder and smile (with new light) when we look back to see the time we have lost from a glorious work in comparing the trowels, and quarreling over the hods and mortar of the spiritual temple." Vol. I, p. 180.

Again—"At times I am almost converted to the extreme doctrine of 'no controversy.'" Again—"O for a cycle of peace! O for a breathing spell from these unnatural contentions! I feel as if I could join with any who would humbly unite in direct and kind efforts to save sinners, and relieve human misery. Cannot a poor believer go along in his pilgrimage heavenward, without being always on military duty? At judgment I heartily believe that some heresies of heart and temper will be charged as worse than heavy doctrinal errors. To you I may say this, because you understand me as holding not merely that the tenets of our church are true, but that they are very important. But I see how easy it is to 'hold the truth' in rancor and hate, which is the grand error of depraved human nature; yea, and of diabolism itself." Vol. I, p. 227.

We must not look in these letters for any adequate proof of his excellence as a pastor. That is to be found in the hearts of those who were the subjects of his labors. Many who have passed through the furnace of affliction can tell of his ever-

flowing sympathy, his ready tact, his eminent gifts as a son of consolation, and his tenderness of heart through which he seemed to take their burdens upon himself. He always felt it his peculiar work to minister as a pastor to Christ's people. During the term of his professorship at Princeton he says:

"I have always sat in my present chair with a feeling that it was right only as a refuge during ill health." And again—"I desire to be a parish minister wholly and with all my soul."

Even when he felt his health declining under his immense labors, it seemed to him that his duty allowed him no rest:

"I am very soberly apprehensive of failing under my burden, and that before long. I generally lose my rest on Sunday night, and on the last had the addition of a vomiting. In no winter have I had more of nervous tremor. But I try to disregard these symptoms, as I see no way out of my present duties."

And in 1857, two years before his labors ceased, he says:

"The ring of irritation, phlegm, and strangle in my pipes, remains much as before; I mean, D. v. to speak &c. exactly as if it wasn't there, till something decisive stops me."

After many years of pastoral life, he writes:

"No dreams of mine respecting the social happiness of the pastoral relation have failed to be realized; in this I compare it to marriage."

Although he was obliged to traverse great distances in visiting the members of his congregation, none were personally unknown to him, and all found in him a counsellor and friend. His house was constantly sought by many who did not properly come within the circle of his pastoral care, drawn thither by his reputation as a wise leader of the blind. To such his ear was always open and his ready advice or aid given. Yet, with all these occupations continually pressing upon him, he found time for unremitting study and composition. In fact, more work was pressed into the fifty-five years allotted him, than fills up the four score years of many a life.

Dr. Alexander lived among his fellow-men with the eyes of his mind open. Dr. Talmadge, President of Oglethorpe Uni-

versity, Georgia, who was fellow-tutor with him in the college at Princeton, says, in a letter included as a note in these volumes:

"I now saw much of his inner life, as he disclosed it but to few. He had grown graver in manner, and somewhat prone to pensiveness of spirit. To the public eye he seemed retiring and apparently distant. But when, with a friend, in a retired walk, or in the *abandon* and intimacy of private personal intercourse, he was the most cheerful of companions, abounding in playful remark and discriminating observation. He had a keen relish for the humorous, and a nice appreciation of the virtues and defects of his fellow-men. He had a perfect horror of cant, pretension, bigotry, exclusiveness, and was himself remarkably free from all these failings, thus imparting an irresistible charm to his intercourse with friends." Vol. I, p. 45.

These characteristics remained with him through life. He was one who judged his fellow-men, but who "judged righteous judgment," because his stand-point was love. His conclusions, as expressed in these letters, are sometimes hasty, but he is free to acknowledge them so. During a summer residence of several years at Newport, he seems to have formed an opinion somewhat derogatory to New England preaching; but in expressing it he says, "I own my survey has been somewhat narrow."

It was thought, by some, that his views were pro slavery because he declined to bring the subject forward in his preaching or conversation. Many passages in these letters show that he was opposed to the extension of slavery, and acknowledged the evils of the system; but he seems to have doubted the practical benefit of so much agitation of the question. His residence and family connections in the South caused him to see the impracticability of any immediate emancipation scheme. He writes (1826) with regard to slaves:

"They are, no doubt, maltreated in many instances; so are children: but, in general, they are well clad, well fed, and kindly treated. Ignorance is their greatest curse, and this must ever follow in the train of slavery. The bad policy and destructive tendency of the system is increasingly felt: you hear, daily, complaints on the subject from those who have most servants. But what can they do? Slavery was not their choice. They cannot, and ought not to turn them loose. They cannot afford to transport them; and generally the negroes would not consent to it. The probable result of this state of things is one which philanthropists scarcely dare contemplate." Vol. I, p. 93.

In 1835 he says:

"I am tending towards a middle ground which neither party will allow : i. e. I abhor Slavery, and think the public mind should be enlightened, and every lawful means immediately taken for an eventual and speedy abolition; but I also approve of the plan of Colonization, on grounds altogether distinct from the question of Slavery. Thus I open my mind to the full legitimate impressions of all the anti-slavery arguments." And again: "In the progress of mobs, I see everything portentous: worse this by far than abolition. And though I conceive the Anti-slavers to be rash and pragmatical, yet I think the arrogance of the South is palpably their worst policy. This wedge is in, and drives deeper year by year. And I rejoice that you and I are not laden with negro souls and bodies." Vol. I, p. 234.

Again, writing from Virginia in 1842, he says:

"My mind has been, and is filled with the negroes. What I say on this point, I say with, I do believe, as much love for the race as any man feels; and with an extent of observation, perhaps, as large as I can pretend to on any subject; having seen the worst as well as the best of their condition. And the result of all increasingly, is, what you, I am sure would agree to, if you were on the spot, that the *average physical evils* of their case are not greater than of sailors, soldiers, shoeblocks, or low operatives; while their *moral evils* are unspeakably great. My point is this, then, the soul of the negro is precious and must be saved. Aim at this, at this first, at this directly, at this independently of their bondage, and the other desirable ends will be promoted even more surely than if the latter were made the great object. A gradual emancipation is that to which the interior economy of the North-Southern States was tending, is tending, and will reach; it is desirable; in my view it is inevitable; it is craved by thousands here: but an emancipation even gradual may arrive in such sort as to leave a host of blacks to be damned, who, by other means, may be Christianized, while their essential freedom is not less certain. It is the salvation of the slave which is infinitely the most important, which moreover Southern Christians can be led to seek, and of which the very seeking tends very strongly to emancipation. I say this on the obvious principle that when the owner by seeking the salvation of his slave, gets (as he must) to love him, he will not rest (I speak of the mass) without trying to make him a freeman." Vol. I, p. 354.

In 1843 he writes:

"I pray against the annexation of Texas, it would spread slavery over Mexico, and I fear add a century to its existence in the United States. In 1845: "You see that Texas is all but annexed, "and the 'area of freedom' widened: N. B. *Area* is the Latin for threshing-floor!" In 1854: "The Nebraska Bill has passed. I have never opposed it, but feel very sad at the prospect of increased slavery." In 1856: Dr. Hodge has most admirably stated the slavery doctrine in his Ephesians. Inter alia: "It is just as great a sin to deprive a slave of the just recompence for his labor as to keep him in ignorance, or to take from him his wife or child, as it is to act thus towards a freeman? How nobly this clear enunciation of a scriptural principle towers above all the extravagancies of both sides!" Vol. II, p. 225.

Passages of this kind might be multiplied. He held the doctrines of his own church with a peculiar heartiness of belief, but his attachment to form and system as such was small.

"It seems to me in looking over the history of the Church that the real progress of religion has been in a very small degree dependent on the spread or permanency of any external form of polity. The external form has shot out great branches and taken root, while at the same time the spirit of religion has become almost extinct; witness the Romish Church, the Anglican Church under Queen Anne, and in Virginia. The external form has, on the other hand, been violated and trampled on, while the spirit of religion, taking a larger view, has made immense progress; witness the early Reformation; the Moravian offset from Lutheranism, and the Wesleyan Reformation in England." Vol. I, p. 289. Again: "I look on a system as a mere *report of progress* in understanding Scripture, at a given point in history." Vol. II, p. 170.

His view of the corner stone of the Bible structure is distinctly given.

"The universal offer of a present, free salvation, to every son and daughter of Adam, for Christ's sake, is what I hold for *Gospel*." Vol. I, p. 358.

With regard to the doctrine of limited atonement, he says:

"I do not profess to have the clear view which some have on this point. I offer Christ to *all*, because this is plainly and undeniably in the ministerial commission."

As a scholar, Dr. Alexander's attainments were varied and rich. His command of many languages opened to him fully the inexhaustible mine of knowledge. Instances of the appreciative delicacy of his mind, as displayed in criticisms upon authors and their works are very numerous in these letters.

"I will go so far, as with more than ordinary earnestness, to recommend you to get, *own*, put on your table and study, a book with this title, 'Letters Practical and Consolatory, Designed to Illustrate the Nature and Tendency of the Gospel'; by David Russell, Minister of the Gospel, Dundee, 4th Ed., Edinburgh, &c.' Who this Russell is, I know not; probably a Scotch Dissenter. But I have read no human production which comes nearer my views of Calvinism. It is theology without one shred of scholasticism; orthodoxy without one film of mystification; purity, without one note of ecclesiastical harshness." Vol. I, p. 214.

"Turretine is, in theology, *instar omnium*; that is, so far forth as Blackstone is in law. I would not have you concur in all his scholastic distinctions; but the whole ground is traversed, every question mooted, and even where hairs are split, the mental energy and logical adroitness with which the feat is achieved, present one with an exercise of reasoning equal to anything in Chillingworth." Vol. I, p. 181.

Of John Howe, the eminent non-conformist clergyman of the seventeenth century, he writes:

"I have at last fallen in with Howe's works, and find myself possessed of a rich mine of truth and piety. He is profound, and (for the age) elegant, and his spiritual flights are the most sublime and sustained I have ever read. The latter part of his 'Living Temple' is among the most original, striking and impulsive works I have ever seen. Above all, I wonder at his singularly Catholic spirit, in an age when the 'mint, anise and cummin,' were deemed so weighty." Vol. I, p. 155.

In one of the early letters he writes:

"George Buchanan's Latin poems, of which the great Scaliger said 'Buchananus unus est in tota Europâ, omnes post se relinquens in Latina poesi.' His version of the Psalms is probably the most elegant that ever was made in any language. But in his other poems the real character of his mind shines forth. His satire is at once bitter and ludicrous, and in his attacks upon the Franciscans, I discern the boldness of his countryman and acquaintance, John Knox, united with Virgilian elegance, and a power of invective all his own. It has been said of the three Roman satirists, 'Horatius ridet, Juvenalis verberat, Perseus jugulat.' Now Buchanan does all three in regular succession; he taunts, he scourges, he annihilates. I had no idea of the enormous and unutterable vices attributed to the monks, until I read his poems." Vol. I, p. 186.

Of Baxter he says:

"I have come to the conclusion that Baxter's style, which is not at all obsolete now, is the best extant, in respect to clearness, Saxon purity, vivacity, directness, strength, and pungency; it is not always elegant, or concise, or tender, or melodious." Vol. I, p. 284.

Again:

"I think I would rather write Baxter's English than any I know, though I would not wish to write always what he has done. He well describes his own style, 'may I speak pertinently, plainly, piercingly, and somewhat properly, I have enough.' (Premonitions to Saint's Rest.) He was not afraid of idioms, the real strength and glory of a language, and especially of ours. The quality of plain straight-forward market English is rare in books. It is somewhat dangerous for us cis-atlantics to attempt, for in becoming idiomatic we become provincial, witness *Finney*. But read Bunyan, Fuller, Swift, Cobett, Hare, (Sermons to a Country Congregation, 1838,) and you will see what I mean. This was, after all, what was meant by *attic Greek* as distinguished from the *ρωμαϊκὴ διάλεκτος*: and *attic salt* was the very sort of wit which circulated among Athenian hucksters and which we find in Fuller and Charles Lamb. There was great wisdom in making the speech of the people the standard of good Greek, and great advantage in being so small a state. If you have never done it, don't fail to read the 'Rest,' the 'Call,' and the 'Gildas Salvianus,' as he wrote them, and free from the emasculations of Methodist abridgers. With all my admiration of

Baxter's parenetic writings, I must say that he seems to me never to get upon a *doctrinal* point without doing mischief. Except in the schoolmen (whom he greatly studied) I have never seen such subtlety of distinctions." Vol. I, p. 308.

His expression of thought is often condensed and forcible. "Among many commentators whom I have to consult, I find none like Calvin—he oftenest beards the real 'difficulty, and oftenest knocks it down and drags it out."

In his letters from Europe, his estimates of noted English and Scotch preachers are valuable. Of Spurgeon he says:

"He has none of those captivating intonations which we remember in Summerfield and others; neither should I judge him to have any pathos. His voice is incomparable, and perfect for immense power, sweetness, and naturalness. His pronunciation is admirable with the never-failing *cÿ-ther, knôwledge, wôrth*, &c. Though very like his likenesses he becomes almost handsome when animated. His gesture is sparing and gentlemanlike. I detect no affectation. The tremendous virtue of his elocution is in outry, sarcasm, and menace, and his voice improves as it grows louder. I seriously think his voice the great attraction. His prayers were concise and solemn; a shade too metaphoric. His short exposition was so so in matter, but well delivered. He preceded his sermon by a shot at Lord Lyndhurst's late remarks on the Obscene Print Bill, and said 'Holywell, &c., had at length found an advocate in Westminster Palace.' He requested the people in the gallery (there are three, one over another) not to lean forward. He said you could tell a Dissenter in church, by his sitting down before the hymn was over. During the sermon he described broken-down preachers spitting blood, going to the continent and traveling at other people's expense. This did not please me, for

"Who e'er felt the halter draw,
With good opinion of the law?"

"He told a very funny story of a minister with a rich wife. He was very severe on the establishment, and rather intimated that the gospel was very little preached. In this part of the discourse he preached himself. Notwithstanding all this, and his dreadful onslaught on written sermons, I think his work here matter of the greatest thankfulness. He preaches a fine gospel, in the most uncompromising manner, with directness, power, and faithfulness; and he preaches it to hundreds of thousands, to beggars and princes. I am at a loss to say what they come for. They seem to be led of God. All strangers go. Some of the nobility are always there. Church ministers abound in every assembly. I ought to have said there is nothing that savors of the rude or illiterate. Such a building, I would beg a year to have in New York, for some stentor. It is the beau-ideal, being the theater of Surrey Gardens, where Julien has his concerts. It will hold ten thousand seated. Every aisle and corner was filled by a dense mass of standing persons, numbering perhaps a thousand. The attention was unbroken. What struck me was the total absence of the ill-dressed classes. A

person behind me pointed out actors, Waterloo officers, noblemen, &c. Old Hundred, by about ten thousand voices, was really congregational singing. His sermon was fifty minutes, Ezek. xxxvi, 87—on the connection of prayer with blessings. 1, Fact. 2, Reason. The first head was admirable; as simple, scriptural, chaste, direct, winning, and full of Christ as one could wish. Only I wondered all the while it drew the masses so. Then he began to suffer with the terrible heat; said so; and evidently lost his strength of body and mind. The application was common-place, but his felicitous language and glorious voice will carry along anything. I am persuaded he seeks to save souls, and believe that he is as much blessed to that end as any man of our day. . . . In many points of assurance, dogmatism, conceit, and sarcasm, he reminds one of —, to whom he is greatly superior in gentlemanlike bearing, and absence of nasal twang, while he falls far below him in learning, original illustration, and, I think, inventive genius. But Spurgeon preaches the blessed gospel of the grace of God." Vol. I, p. 248.

Of Dr. Guthrie, of Edinburgh, he says :

" He preached from Isaiah xliv, 23: 'Return unto me for I have redeemed thee.' It was fifty minutes, but they passed like nothing. . . . —An impetuous freedom of motion, a play of ductile, and speaking features, and an overflowing unction of passion and compassion, which would carry home even one of my sermons; conceive what it is with his exuberant diction and poetic imagery. The best of all is, it was honey from the comb, dropping, dropping, in effusive gospel beseeching. I cannot think Whitefield surpassed him in this. You know while you listen to his mighty voice, broken with sorrow, that he is overwhelmed with the 'love of the Spirit.' He has a colleague, and preaches only in the afternoon. As to manner, it is his own, but in general like Duff's, with as much motion, but more significant, and less grotesque, though still ungraceful. His English, moreover, is not spoiled so much. The audience was rapt and melting. It was just like his book, all application, and he rose to his height in the first sentence." Vol. II, p. 267.

He heard Dr. Bruce, of Free St. Andrews', Edinburgh :

" Sermon on Christ's two quellings of storms, in Matt. viii, and xiv. General doctrine, that afflictions are ordered not only to try our faith, but to try our utmost faith; in the second case Jesus let them go alone. It was a profound piece of experience, viewed philosophically; strong meat; dense; witty at times; unexpected turns like Foster; no elegance of manner, but immense impression. The prayers were almost inspired. Oh, here is the true *Eutaxia*, without printed worship! . . . I have no remembrance of any preaching so analytically experimental as Dr. Bruce's, except my own dear blessed father's. At each step he seemed to assume all that an ordinary preacher would have preached, and to go on beyond that. His prayers were the same; so searching in confession, that I winced, and so paternal and pastoral in intercession, that I could not but fancy his hand feeling all around and gathering sorrows out of every heart to bring

before God. His sternness in no degree modified the graciousness of his gospel freedom, as I have too often seen to be the case with vigorous casuists in America." Vol. II, p. 287.

Those who have heard Dr. Alexander pray, at the head of his congregation, will instantly be struck with the fitness of this description as applied to his own prayers. His great heart flowed out in eloquent beseeching for the needs of his flock, and he seemed to lay the case of each individual soul before God.

His preaching was the result of much study, and cultivation of his naturally fine intellect, much mingling with human nature, and understanding of it, and much love for Christ and the souls he died to save. His own rich Christian experience attuned his sermons in the latter part of his life to a perfect harmony.

He had sometimes looked forward to the hour of death with dread, from the apprehension that in the final struggle his faith would fail. But his mind remained unclouded to the last moment; and the realization of the great truths upon which his soul had been nourished brought his life to a serene and triumphant close. Such a man is a precious gift from the Lord to his church. We must mourn his departure, while we are thankful that he lived.

ARTICLE VI.—PRIMITIVE EVANGELIZATION AND ITS LESSONS.

THE work of Foreign Missions seems likely to stagnate in its first successes. By that periodicity which pertains too much to our religious zeal, a high missionary enthusiasm is followed by the inaction of a spent force. But for the timely occurrence of the Jubilee, it would have been impossible during the current year to have paid off the debt of the American Board, or to have awakened any adequate interest in the perilous crisis which that debt had produced. The most hopeful condition of the missions themselves and their most urgent wants, have failed to evoke from the churches a fit response of financial contribution. The re-opening of Japan to the intercourse of Christian nations; the signs of religious inquiry among the Mohammedan population of Turkey; the exploration of Africa from every side; the increased security and facility of Christian labor in India; the enlargement of the sphere of missionary operations in every land—all this, which would have fired the souls of Mills, Hall, Newell, Judson, like the opening of the last seal of prophecy, and the call of angelic voices to join the victorious word of God—kindles hardly a perceptible enthusiasm in the churches, and excites little more than common-place remark at the Monthly Concert. It is regarded as an affair of the Missionary Boards and Societies, whose province it is to see that the world is duly and methodically evangelized.

Yet, at this very time, we have seen these Boards and Societies embarrassed in their finances and disturbed by questions of organization and policy;—this Jubilee of the American Board overhung by a thick cloud of debt, which at one time seemed almost impenetrable; ecclesiastical organization insisted upon as the only Scriptural agency for missions—and this by some who once renounced that very principle for the sake of voluntary association; a vague, unreasoning distrust of

incorporated and routine methods of Christian benevolence ; perhaps even a growing skepticism as to the obligation and urgency of missionary effort—a skepticism nourished by Millenarian views of prophecy, and by theories of the salvability of the heathen without the Gospel ; of a probation for such after death, or of the annihilation of the wicked at the close of the present dispensation.

In many minds, also, a too sanguine expectation from certain modes, agencies, or occasions of missionary effort, has been followed by suspicion and despondency as to the success of any mode or agency of propagating the Gospel. The revulsion of John Foster in this respect was by no means peculiar. "No one," he says, "who did not witness it, can have any adequate conception of the commotion there was in susceptible and inflammable spirits when the missionary enterprise was commenced. The proclamation went forth, 'overturn, overturn, overturn,' and there seemed to be a responsive earthquake in the nations. The vain, short-sighted seers of us had all our enthusiasm ready to receive the magnificent change, the downfall of *all* old and corrupt institutions ; the explosion of prejudices ; the demolition of the strongholds of ignorance, superstition, and spiritual, with all other despotism ; man, on the point of being set free for a noble career of knowledge, liberty, philanthropy, virtue, and all that, and all that. These elated presumptions so possessed themselves of the mind as to prepare it to feel a bitterness of disappointment as time went on through so many lustrums, and accomplished so negligardly a portion of all the dreams." Then, in that vein of despondency which was the morbid habit of his later years, he adds, "a little cool arithmetic will suffice to dispel the dream of the conversion of the world in our generation, and to show us that at the rate of the progress hitherto of genuine Christianity on the globe, thousands of years may pass away before that millenium can arrive." Such despondency, as the reaction of the mind from early missionary enthusiasm, may be a secret cause of much of the delinquency or rather the insufficiency of the churches in the missionary work. There is *too much* "cool arithmetic"—too much of the calculating spirit

of mere finance—too little of the energy of faith, too little of that spiritual discernment that detects alike in the rapid and startling changes of human society, and in the seeming retrogression of the world, divine forces of Providence and grace that cannot be weighed, or measured, or counted, but which are guiding and controlling all things according to the counsel of God's perfect will ;—a faith that does not shiver and grow pale even in the time of greatest obscurcation—when the earth and sky take on the hue of death, and nature is silent with dread of some great catastrophe,—but which finds in the very eclipse an omen of the stability of the ordinances of heaven, and waits for the rising of another morn upon the chill and pallor of the first.

Explain it as we may, the providential enlargement of the field of missionary operations is immeasurably in advance of the agencies and resources now available for the occupation of the field. Nor shall we ever gain possession of that field if the thoughts and energies of the churches are to be divided between paying off the debts of voluntary societies, and assuming the bonds of ecclesiastical boards.

One chief course—perhaps the chieffest—of the tardiness and inadequacy of missionary enterprise, as compared with the missionary field, may be found in a chronic routine which has fastened itself upon the churches—a *reliance upon established forms and modes of missionary agency*, as if these were perfect and ample—as if to keep a certain machinery for missionary operations in fair running order were equivalent to evangelizing the world.

But we should not forget that the world was once widely evangelized without many of those agencies which we now regard as essential and almost self-accomplishing ; that many former centuries have been centuries of missionary activity according to the geographical knowledge, the ecclesiastical ideas, or the evangelical spirit of the times ; that by the sixth century, the Nestorian Christians, though branded as heretical, had dispersed themselves as missionaries of their faith, not only among the Bactrians, Medes, Persians, Armenians, who had received the gospel two or three centuries before, but

also in parts of China, and in the Indies to the coasts of Malabar and Ceylon; that although the Teutonic tribes were successively converted by coming in contact with "the concentrated influence" of Christianity upon a conquered soil, yet the forests of Germany early witnessed the labors and sacrifices of missionary zeal; that Gregory the Great, who as a monk would fain have undertaken the re-conversion of Britain—then a pagan slave-mart whence Roman Christians imported beautiful and fair-haired boys—when he became Pope, instead of encouraging the slave-trade by way of Christianizing our ancestors, sent the abbot Augustin with forty trusty monks to preach the gospel to the Anglo Saxons; that Gibbon finds in what he styles "the iron age of Christianity," from the ninth to the twelfth century, "the triumphs of apostolic zeal" renewed in the conversion of barbarians; that even Jesuitism had its missionary vow, and has furnished noble examples of missionary virtues; that Xavier in ten years of his missionary life in the East Indies, the Moluccas, Cochin, Japan, evinced a self-sacrificing devotion to Christ that his own hymn so sweetly breathes,

—Sicut Tu amasti me,
Sic amo, et amabo Te;

that from the day when the sight at Copenhagen of two baptized converts from Greenland and a pious negro from St. Thomas, stirred the heart of Zinzendorf for the world, within sixty years the United Brethren had mission stations from Greenland to the West Indies, and from Tartary to the Cape of Good Hope.

The work of missions, the distinct attempt to evangelize the world, is as old as Christianity, and has renewed itself with more or less of purity and power in successive stages of the Christian history. Let us go back, then, to the most marked period of missionary enterprise and success—the era of Primitive Evangelism,—that by surveying its principles, methods, and results, we may gather lessons of practical wisdom for the work of our times. It is with no reverence for mere traditional or historical authority, and with no idea that *whatever* was wise and efficient in the primitive administration of Christianity should be stereotyped for all ages—that we propose to test modern methods of evangelism by those of prim-

itive times; but in order that with the elements and causes of the early triumphs of Christianity distinctly in view, we may apply to the present whatever in those early methods was of the nature of a permanent principle. The principle of relying upon the courage and enthusiasm of the people for national defense, instead of committing that defense to a hired standing army, does not require that England should revive the use of the cross-bow, but that she should drill her *yeomanry* in the use of the rifle; should enlist the whole nation in the army of volunteers; should recognize the manhood and the patriotism of every Englishman by putting into his hands the means of defending his native soil; should transform the ancient Bowman into the modern riflemen—with the same practised eye and steady hand, and the same invincible prowess upon the field. We go back to primitive times not for the bolt and the cross-bow, but for the organizing spirit, the all-conquering life, that then made Christianity a power in all the world.

, In the three and thirtieth year of our era the founder of Christianity was publicly put to death as a malefactor. For three years previous he had openly borne the character of a teacher of religion; but though at times his followers had been many, his actual disciples were few. He committed nothing to writing; published no system, organized no school. All his collected sayings would not make a tract of a hundred pages. He never traveled beyond the limits of Syria. He held no office of public influence; he had neither wealth, nor power, nor party, nor organization to propagate his opinions. The number of his true disciples scattered among the cities and villages of Palestine, perhaps did not reach a thousand at the date of his death. The largest number mentioned is five hundred to whom collectively he appeared after his resurrection, and probably by appointment, in the mountain district of Galilee. The enthusiasm of such an interview—to see and hear again in the body the Master who had been crucified and buried—could summon from all quarters only five hundred pledged disciples.

In Jerusalem itself, only one hundred and twenty men and women could be gathered together as the disciples of Christ,

even after the miracles of his resurrection and ascension had reassured their faith; and these were persons of little influence, meeting in a private chamber. A Pharisee, or a pagan governor, if asked, within thirty days after the crucifixion of Christ, what had become of the doctrines and the followers of Jesus of Nazareth, would have answered, with a sneer, "The whole thing is dead." So Caiaphas or Pilate might have said, on any day between Passover and Pentecost, in the year 33.

Yet before his death, Jesus had said to his disciples, "Ye are the light of the world." After his resurrection, he commanded them to "go, make disciples of all nations;" and on the very morning of his ascension, he said to the eleven, "Ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and to the uttermost part of the earth." About the year 110, some eighty years after the crucifixion of Christ, the younger Pliny, the pagan governor of Bithynia—a district in the northern part of Asia Minor, bordering on the Black Sea—wrote to the Emperor Trajan, at Rome, for instructions how to deal with those who professed Christianity. 'This contagious superstition,' he says, 'is not confined to the cities, but has spread through the villages of Asia Minor, so that the temples [of the pagan gods] are almost deserted, their sacred solemnities suspended, and the sacrificial victims find no purchasers.' Although persecution had led some to renounce Christianity, and to renew their worship of the gods, yet Pliny, being at once wise and humane, hesitated to urge on the persecution, since it must involve "great numbers,"—the Christian faith being embraced by "persons of all ranks and ages, and of both sexes." The historian Tacitus, the bosom friend of Pliny, and like him a humane and enlightened pagan, wrote at about the same time, his *Annals of the Roman Empire*, in which he thus alludes to "the persecution of Christians at Rome by Nero": "Christ, the founder of that name, was put to death as a criminal by Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea, in the reign of Tiberias: but the pernicious superstition, repressed for a time, broke out again, not only through Judea, where the mischief originated, but through

the city of Rome, also." He adds, that "a vast multitude were convicted as Christians." (R. xv, c. 44.) These are impartial witnesses. Romans, pagans, scholars, men in public life, with every opportunity to know the facts, they testify that within eighty years after the death of its founder, Christianity had spread in Asia Minor to such an extent that the pagan temples were deserted, and the pagan festivals omitted, although these pertained to the national religion; and that in Rome itself there was a great multitude who had embraced the Christian faith, and were ready to suffer martyrdom on account of it.

About A. D. 150, a little more than a century after the death of Christ, Justin Martyr, a noted apologist for the Christian faith, wrote: "There is no people, Greek or barbarian, or of any other race, by whatsoever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or agriculture, whether they dwell in tents or wander about in covered wagons, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered in the name of the crucified Jesus, to the father and creator of all things."

Fifty years later, Tertullian, of Carthage, wrote in reply to those who charged Christians with enmity to the state: "If we were enemies, we should not lack numbers and forces to defend ourselves from persecution. We are but of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you—cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum. We leave you nothing but your temples. We can count your armies: our numbers, in a single province, would exceed them. . . . Almost all the citizens of almost all cities are Christians." These sayings, like an anniversary report or a platform speech, are to be taken with some allowance for the enthusiasm of converts to a new and controverted faith. But they are substantially corroborated by the pagan writers already cited, by fragments from other early Christian writers which have come down to us, and by the memorials of the persecutions waged at intervals against Christians, from the bloody outbreak under Nero, A. D. 64, to the edict of toleration, in 312. Upon

the annals of the Roman Empire in these two hundred and fifty years, the history of the church of Christ is largely written, in lines of fire and blood. The frequency, extent and violence of these persecutions, argue the rapid growth and the indestructible vitality of Christianity, in that period, and confirm the saying of Tertullian, "Our number increases, the more you destroy us; the blood of the Christians is their seed." Lucian, the rhetorician, who has been styled "the Voltaire of Grecian literature," while ridiculing Christianity, admits that his native Pontus was filled with Epicureans and Christians. This was about A. D. 180. Setting aside all extravagant claims of tradition, it is matter of accepted history, that in Apostolic times Christianity gained a footing in Egypt, whence it rapidly spread over northern Africa; and that, in the second century, it was firmly established in the metropolitan capital, Edessa, had found a lodgment in Persia, Media, Bactria, and Parthia, and possibly had penetrated even to India. In A. D. 177, the churches of Lyons and Vienne, in France, wrote a letter to the churches of Asia Minor, giving an account of the persecutions they had suffered. There is evidence that the gospel was preached in Germany, and also in Britain, before the close of the second century. In the first part of the third century there were flourishing churches upon the Danube and the Rhine. The emperor Maximin, (A. D. 235-238,) in an edict against the Christians, declares that "almost everybody had abandoned the religion of their ancestors for this new sect." The Christian faith had greatly prospered under the benignant policy of his predecessor, Alexander Severus; yet Maximin thought to exterminate it by another persecution! A few years later, Origen, the greatest Christian scholar of his age, wrote, with the calmness of faith, "The more emperor, governor, and the populace, have endeavored to destroy the Christians, the more powerful have they become." He further testifies that among the multitude who had become Christians, might be found men of wealth, and of high stations in the government, and rich and noble women; and he predicts that Christianity is destined one day to have the supremacy, "since the divine truth is continually

bringing more souls under its sway." At the beginning of the fourth century, Galerius, who was co-regent with Diocletian, and who prompted the last and bloodiest persecution of the Christians,—which spread over the whole empire, with the exception of Gaul, Spain, and Britain—issued a decree of toleration, in which he declared that "the purpose of reclaiming the Christians from their willful innovation, and the multitude of their sects, to the laws and discipline of the Roman state, was not accomplished; and that he would now grant them permission to hold their religious assemblies, provided they disturbed not the order of the state." As Dr. Schaff graphically describes it, "This Diocletian persecution was the last desperate struggle of Roman heathenism for its life. It was the crisis of utter extinction or absolute supremacy, for each of the two religions. At the close of the contest, the old Roman state religion lay dead." Constantine inaugurated Christianity in its stead. Even Gibbon admits that one-twentieth of the population of the empire were then Christians; but a juster estimate would register them at one-tenth, and this after centuries of persecution, and their attempted extermination under Diocletian.

We have, then, with sufficient fullness and evidence, this great fact in the history of Christianity and of the world; that the religion of the despised and crucified Nazarene, confided at his death to a few weak and lowly disciples, did spread with rapidity and constancy throughout the Roman empire, till it became the light of the world. Christianity was acknowledged by the bearer of the highest Power, by the Roman emperor himself, as the only power upon which the life of a human society could be based, after culture, science, poetry and art, religion and state, had all fallen to pieces, and even the power of the legions had proved a weak and uncertain cement, which could no longer sustain the falling fabric."* What gave to Christianity, in the first three centuries, this world-wide diffusion and power?

In the sketch of the propagation of the gospel given in

* Hoffman.

the book of Acts, and the occasional hints on that subject scattered through the Epistles, we are struck with the prominence of individual agency and the agency of local churches, and the absence of anything like a central and controlling ecclesiastical or missionary organization for this work. The propagation of Christianity dates from the martyrdom of Stephen. Up to that time, the greater part of the converts to the gospel had remained in Jerusalem, waiting upon the instructions of the apostles. But the persecution which then broke forth, dispersed the disciples throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria; and thus scattered abroad, they "went everywhere preaching the word." Two things are noteworthy here; *first*, that these gospel propagandists were not commissioned preachers, sent forth by any Church, Board, or Society, but private Christians, driven forth into the world by the violence of their enemies; and *secondly*, that since the apostles, for the time, remained at Jerusalem, the primitive work of evangelization was not an *Apostolic* function, but a *Christian* obligation. Without commission or sanction from any human source, the first Christians, in the providence of God, became missionaries by virtue of their discipleship. Wherever they went they carried the light of the gospel. Individuals having special gifts, such as Philip and Barnabas, became prominent in this work of evangelizing. And the apostles sometimes followed in their steps, as when Peter and John went down to Samaria. When Saul was converted, he found already a company of disciples at Damascus. These had either heard the gospel at Jerusalem, during the Pentecost, or had received it from some traveler visiting their synagogue. Peter's visit to Cornelius, and Philip's conversation with the Ethiopian eunuch, had begun the application of the gospel to the Gentile world; but at Antioch, a great center of mixed populations, Christianity was first fully proclaimed to Greeks as well as Jews. But this was done, not by a formal missionary deputation, or an *Apostolic* commission, but by individual disciples, scattered by persecution,*—who, driven forth by violence, went not as fugitives, but as witnesses.

This then is *the* fact of prime importance in the early propagation of Christianity—that the first general proclamation of the gospel was the work of individual Christians in their capacity as disciples. Some find it difficult to conceive of the propagation of Christianity in the beginning, except under the idea of a formal organization, which they call *the church*, extending itself outward from Jerusalem as a center. Most ecclesiastical historians start with the conception of an organism, a structure, a corporate body, to be developed and expanded, instead of the simple New Testament account of a truth, a system, which by being preached, proclaimed with the power of the Holy Spirit, wrought itself into the minds and hearts of men, making them disciples of Christ, and these coming together into Christian societies, became churches of Christ. The theory of ecclesiastical historians is a theory of church extension, the organic occupation of new territory; as when the Federal Government sets up a new territory, to be peopled afterwards; the New Testament fact is the spreading of the gospel by word of mouth, preaching, making converts first, and organization coming afterwards—the pre-emption of souls through grace, and *then* the organization of a body corporate. The church at Jerusalem, though gathered about the apostles, and so having all the dignity of the first, and as yet only Apostolic church, did not extend itself organically by establishing a branch in Samaria, and another at Antioch; it did not appoint a deputation or commission, to carry the church into new regions; but disciples, converts, went from Jerusalem proclaiming the good news of the gospel, and they made converts to the truth, and these new converts in Samaria or elsewhere, were not received as a branch of the church in Jerusalem, and under its jurisdiction, but were recognized as a church of Christ. These disciples, who went everywhere preaching the word were not even sent out as representatives of a missionary body. They not only did not go as a church deputation, to organize branches of the Apostolic Jerusalem church, but they were not sent by an organization or association, and they did not go as the result of any consultation at Jerusalem. They were driven out from

Jerusalem by their enemies. The blasts of persecution "scattered them abroad." They went forth suddenly as a measure of personal safety ; they did not go collectively or advisedly for the purpose of extending the church, but as they went, and wherever they went, they preached the word, proclaimed Christ crucified, as their Lord and King. Still further it should be noted, that the preaching by which the gospel was first spread, was not an *official* act. It was not done by any ecclesiastical authority, or any human authority whatever ; it was not the act of selected and consecrated persons—for the noteworthy thing about it is, that the Apostles had no part in it. For some wise reason they continued in Jerusalem, meeting there the storm of persecution, while the disciples who fled the city went up and down the country preaching Christ. "There was a great persecution against the Church which was at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, *except* the apostles : and they that were scattered abroad,—these unofficial church members, these individual Christians,—went everywhere preaching the word ;"—unordained, unlicensed, unconsecrated preachers doing this first missionary work ;—nay, their warrant of ordination was, "go ye into all the world and preach my gospel ;" and their consecration was, "the power of the Holy Ghost," which had come upon them. As Baumgarten states it, "The hunted and persecuted Christians enter upon the work and office of the Apostles ; no one had called them ; no one had instituted them ; no one had given them their commission ; and yet they preach the word, while the apostles are silent ; the Spirit, with which all Christians had been anointed and filled, made every simple member of the brotherhood at Jerusalem capable of this high dignity of preaching Christ."

At Antioch we have the first mention of an organic movement in the work of evangelization. By a special call of the Holy Ghost, Barnabas and Saul were there set apart for a missionary tour. The leading men of the church at Antioch represent its cosmopolitan character. Barnabas was a native of Cyprus and a Levite. Simeon was called Niger—which

some "evangelical Christians" now-a-days would spell with two gs—*black* Simeon, as Wiclit translated it. Lucius was from Cyrene in Northern Africa. Manaen was foeter-brother of the late tetrarch Herod. Saul was a Hebrew of the Hebrews. Such was the missionary committee of the church at Antioch. The first tour of Paul and Barnabas resulted in the conversion of many Jews and Gentiles, and the forming of churches in the principal cities of Asia Minor. Returning to Antioch they gathered the church together and rehearsed all that God had done with them. From this it appears that the Apostolic method of propagating the goepel was not to establish permanent missionary stations, with resident superintendents, but to plant the gospel in various places and leave it to grow and to propagate itself. By and by Paul and Barnabas of their own motion, each with a companion, went the round of the churches which they had planted, to look after their prosperity. Paul also crossed over into Europe, and preached the gospel in various cities of Greece. But the work of founding churches in that region was not exclusively his. On arriving at Ephesus, for example, he found disciples who traced their conversion to the preaching of John the Baptist. The eloquent Jew Apollos, who had received some knowledge of Christ at Alexandria, coming at this time to Ephesus, was now fully instructed in Christianity, and then went as a volunteer evangelist into Achaia, carrying with him as his only commission, letters of commendation from the Ephesian brethren. When Paul was taken as a prisoner to Rome he found there Christian brethren who gave him a cordial welcome.

Thus in the apostolic age the Gospel was widely diffused with almost no visible missionary organization. The special labors of apostles, activity of individual Christians, the zeal and liberality of particular churches—these are all the missionary agencies that come to light in the first century. The churches made contributions to aid Paul and others in their missionary journeys; but local churches also made themselves the light of their own districts, centers of a voluntary missionary agency. Thus Paul writes to the church of the Thessalonians—"from you sounded out the word of the Lord

not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place your faith toward God is spread abroad."

Still the question recurs, how was it possible for the primitive Christians, with no general ecclesiastical organization—for they had no organization beyond the local church—with no missionary society, no common treasury, no detailed system of operations, to spread the gospel over so wide a region, against the hostile influence of Judaism and Paganism, of government and people. Was there in their mode of evangelizing the world anything that we can now imitate with advantage, after due allowance for the changes of government and society?

There were certain facilities for their work which we cannot have. First among these was the fact that the Roman empire by its extensive conquests had mixed together people of diverse nationalities and religions, thus affording the missionary in his travels ready access to the world at large under one form of government. Every principal city of the empire was a kind of world's-fair, where, as at Pentecost in Jerusalem, men out of every nation under Heaven could be reached. The facility which this unity of empire gave to the early propagandists of the Christian faith is obvious at a glance. Paul could go anywhere as a Roman citizen, and could plead his birth-right in his own defense. Until the reformatory character of Christianity excited jealousy and persecution, Christians could take advantage of Roman toleration; and the peace of the world which Rome had secured, and the great imperial highways, made traveling easy and safe.

The wide diffusion of the Greek language facilitated this intercourse with men of every country; and the special gift of tongues—which seems to have continued through the Apostolic age—enabled Christians to converse with strangers even when Greek was not a common medium. The primitive evangelists lost no time in acquiring a language, a process often tedious and difficult for the modern missionary, and except in cases of rare linguistic aptness, requiring a long preliminary training in the laws of grammar and speech.

The Jewish synagogue, which already existed in almost

every city, afforded a point of contact for the new religion. The Jews had Moses and the prophets; a belief in one God, and the expectation of the Messiah; and the translation of their Scriptures into the Greek tongue had diffused among the Gentiles a knowledge of their faith. There were also synagogues of proselytes who had renounced idolatry. Every synagogue furnished a preacher's stand, at least until the advocates of the new doctrine were expelled; for the Christian faith grew out of the Jewish Scriptures; and any well accredited Jew had the liberty of exhorting in the synagogue. Hence Paul always went first to the synagogue—not as an apostle, but as a Jew—and “reasoned from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ.” And Apollos, the gifted Jewish convert, went from synagogue to synagogue, and “mightily convinced the Jews from their own Scriptures.” This vantage ground no modern missionary can have—except, perhaps, among those of the oriental churches which have kept the Bible comparatively pure from the traditions of men.

But all this does not fully explain the rapid diffusion of Christianity at the first. There was no press to take advantage of the universal language of literature for the publication of the gospel. There were, indeed, catechetical schools at an early day for the instruction of inquirers and converts; and in the second and third centuries there sprung up pastoral schools of theology, as at Alexandria, Antioch, and Edessa, for the training of preachers; but these could hardly have sufficed to furnish missionary teachers for the wide area over which the gospel was actually diffused.

The key to this almost universal dissemination of Christianity is to be found in the *unorganized missionating of individual Christians through the channels of commercial and social intercourse*. The commerce of antiquity was migratory. Merchants were travelers. They often accompanied their ships or caravans, and made their own sales and purchases; and they went from place to place in quest of a market, or “seeking goodly pearls.” This locomotive habit of merchants was followed by the Jews “of the dispersion.” James recognizes it in that common saying of business men, “To day or to-

morrow we will go into such a city, and continue there a year, and buy and sell, and get gain." The modes of business did not ordinarily require a large stock and extensive warehouses; but the merchant, being often nothing more than a peddler on a large scale, moved readily from place to place. The Christian merchant, then, became a missionary at his own charges. On the deck of the ship, in the long march of the caravan, in the bazaars and fairs of the ports and cities he was accustomed to visit, he could spread the knowledge of Christ. Probably then as now in the East, traffic was conducted with a dignified leisure; and an oriental could talk over the whole gospel while waiting upon a customer.

The social habits of the age, also, gave facilities for propagating the gospel by word of mouth. As the news of the day could not be read at home where there were no journals, nor gleaned at the post-office where there were no mails, the people were accustomed to gather at the bazaars, the forum, the theatre, the city-gate, for inquiry and discussion. In all the East, an out-door life, whose physical wants were supplied with little toil, gave leisure for neighborly chit-chat upon the topics of the day. Hospitality was extended to strangers; and thus a Christian traveler could find an audience at even-tide at the city-gate, and accepting one of many invitations for the night, could lodge the seeds of the gospel by the way-side and in the house. There are, even in the New Testament, hints of this conversational way of propagating the gospel.

But the secret of early missionary labor and success was that the high vocation of the Christian as a king and priest unto God, and a representative of Christ in the world, had not yet been obscured by huge ecclesiastical organizations, or curtailed by the assumptions of a hierarchy. Christianity was a life and not a machine. It reached the masses of society, and it went everywhere, because every Christian felt himself to be commissioned and required by Christ to make known the gospel to every creature within his reach.

Celsus, the first Pagan writer in opposition to Christianity, reveals the secret of its social power when he says with a sneer, that "wool-workers, cobblers, leather-dressers, the most

illiterate and vulgar of mankind, were zealous preachers of the gospel, and addressed themselves, particularly in the outset, to women and children." There lay the strength of the new religion; plain, simple-hearted men, feeling in their own souls the power of a new life, infused that life into the very sources of human society. The world was regenerated by the every-day talking and living of the disciples of Christ. This was largely true in the first two centuries. With the growth of centralization in the church came restraints upon this free and personal working of the disciples, which checked the diffusion of their spiritual life.

There is a great lesson here for our times. We say it deliberately, as the result not only of long reflection, but also of much inquiry among missionaries, and some observation upon missionary fields, that if the world is to be evangelized, we must resuscitate the idea of the New Testament and of primitive Christianity, that to propagate the gospel is not a special function of officers and organizations, but *an essential and permanent obligation of Christians as such*. To them simply as followers of Christ—not primarily in any organic or collective capacity, not as churches or denominations, as ecclesiastical or Missionary Boards—but primarily as disciples, is addressed that declaration of our Lord, which carries with it the weight of a command—"Ye are the light of the world." They may use organizations, ecclesiastical or voluntary, to diffuse that light, but they themselves *are* the light, and are bound to see continually that the light shines. We have quite inverted this Scriptural order of responsible agency for the conversion of the world. We look upon the missionary work as pertaining to church-organizations collectively, or to missionary societies exclusively; and we *help* that work by contributing to these. But the work belongs to Christians; the responsibility is theirs; it comes upon them not by the appeal of organizations to them as helpers, but by the command of Christ to them as disciples; institutions and boards are but minor agencies to help them for the time. If a Board or Society fails to satisfy the Christian public in its administration, if it grows into a great overshadowing organization, smothering or obscuring the

light it was designed to show forth, no Christian can, on that account, excuse himself from the missionary work. The Society is not Christ's institution but man's invention. If it does not work satisfactorily we must improve it, or find something that will work better. If the light is hid we must take off the bushel. We *must* give forth the light of Christianity. If we shut it up within ourselves, it will go out there. We cannot keep it, if we will not let it shine. For the spread of the gospel, both the constructive and the diffusive power are with Christians as such; they can construct agencies, they can diffuse the light, and to do this is their unceasing obligation.

Economy, convenience, and the highest efficiency in the missionary work require some combination among Christians for that end. Boards, societies open a channel for the contributions of those who cannot go in person upon a missionary service; and by supervising the whole field, they make a more wise and economical distribution of means than could be made by individual Christians or local churches—acting independently. As voluntary associations of Christians they are admirable; as ecclesiastical machines they are cumbersome and dangerous.

Organization for the work tends also to give permanence to plans and labor which require much time and money for their prosecution. Translating, printing, education, church building could not go forward without some permanent, reliable source of supply. The most comprehensive and efficient coöperation, and the highest intellectual training are needed in the work of missions. We cannot dispense with either. No work pertaining to the Christian ministry in the most cultivated community of Christendom, no work of education in the highest institutions of Christian learning, requires a higher order of talent or a higher degree of discipline and culture than is needed at *some* point of every missionary field. A Henry Martyn, an Eli Smith, a David Stoddard, is not a rare ornament of the missionary service, but a specimen of the talent and culture which that service at certain stages imperatively demands. Well-furnished minds should be selected by missionary boards as the nucleus of each particular

mission. As their responsible agents in the foreign field the churches do not want the remnants of college-classes, after all the home-professions have had their choice;—least of all do they want the smaller patterns of intellect, though stamped upon a good ground-work of piety. Yet to rely solely or even mainly upon such well-trained and carefully selected missionaries for the immense details of the work, would be to postpone the evangelization of the world for a thousand Milleniums. We might as well think of clothing the natives of the whole continent of Africa according to the proprieties of civilized life, by landing a hundred sewing machines at the Gaboon, as look for the conversion of the masses of heathen society by the setting up of a few seminaries and printing establishments at intervals upon heathen soil. A myriad hands must do the work which a few minds plan and direct with their higher force and culture. Hence the older missionaries rely more upon the creation of a native agency, who shall act in the free individuality of the primitive Christians, than upon the permanence of foreign missionary stations recruited by an educated ministry from Christendom. In this view, the success of missions thus far is not to be computed by the number of converts registered at the several stations. Five thousand native helpers, pastors, teachers, evangelists, colporteurs, laboring under the auspices of Protestant missions, is a more significant number than two hundred thousand living communicants in the churches of those missions. The ground has been prepared, the seed has been sown, languages have been reduced to writing, the Scriptures have been translated, a generation has been trained to read, and in that training has received Christian ideas, and these converted and educated natives are the reapers who shall gather in the harvest a hundred fold.

It is the testimony of one of the oldest missionaries at Constantinople that if every foreign missionary should be driven out of Turkey, the evangelical reformation of the Armenians is secured beyond any human contingency. It is no longer a work of mission houses, schools, and presses—but a work of grace in the hearts of the people. It is the testimony of a world-wide traveler, that one does not need even in

the wildest spots of Hawaii those weapons of self-defense, which are indispensable in the mountains of California. "I found no hut without its Bible and hymn-book in the native tongue, and the practice of family prayer and grace before meat, though it be over no more than a calabash of poe and a few dried fish, and whether at home or on journeys, is as common as in New England a century ago."* Christianity has become indigenous to the soil of the Sandwich Islands, and is thence sending out its shoots over all the isles of the Tropic seas.

The witness just quoted brings into view another feature in the process of evangelization which is in exact harmony with the principles of this Article. The missionary himself becomes a preacher as a man, and an organic power through his family, before he can speak with fluency the language of the people to whom he goes.

"The missionaries to the Sandwich Islands went out in families, and planted themselves in households, carrying with them, and exhibiting to the natives, the customs, manners, comforts, discipline and order of civilized society. Each house was a center and source of civilizing influences; and the natives generally yielded to the superiority of our civilization, and copied its ways; for, unlike the Asiatics, they had no civilization of their own, and, unlike the North American Indians, they were capable of civilization. Each missionary was obliged to qualify himself to some extent as a physician and surgeon before leaving home, and each mission house had its medicine chest, and was the place of resort by the natives for medicines and medical advice and care. Each missionary was a school teacher to the natives in their own language; and the women of the mission who were no less missionaries than their husbands, taught schools for women and children, instructing them not only in books, but in sewing, knitting and ironing, in singing by note, and in the discipline of children. These mission families, too, were planted as garrisons would have been planted by a military conqueror, in places where there were no inducements of trade to carry families; so that no large region, however difficult of access, or undesirable as a residence, is without its head quarters of religion and civilization. The women of the mission, too, can approach the native women and children in many ways not open to men, as in their sickness, and by the peculiar sympathies of sex, and thus exert the tenderest, which are often the most decisive, influences."

All this was accomplished by them not as foreign missionaries, in any official character, but as resident Christian fam-

* Richard H. Dana, Jr.

ilies, giving the light of Christian knowledge and civilization through a well-ordered household. In addition therefore to that native agency which under the guidance of the trained missionary must be the right arm of this service, a powerful auxiliary is yet to be brought into the field in *the uncommissioned agency of Christian emigrants* going forth at their own charges, or by private aid, to plant themselves in pagan lands as living representatives of Christianity. Under the law of discipleship, the Christian is not only bound to carry the light of Christianity wherever he goes, but is bound to go wherever he can carry the light of Christianity to the best advantage. In laying out his plans for life, in choosing his occupation and residence, every Christian should ask himself, Where can I do the most in my lifetime for the cause of Christ and the salvation of the world? If the answer to that question, in the light of divine providence, would lead him to Minnesota, California, Oregon, or to Africa, to India, to Japan, he need not wait to qualify himself as a missionary in the technical sense; he need not seek the sanction of any Board or Church whatever; let him go as an artisan, as a merchant, as a physician,—in whatever calling he would remain at home—let him go, on his own responsibility as a disciple of Christ, or with the help of friends who may privately assist him; let him go to support himself by honest labor, and to let his light shine by good works. His commission is given in the fact that he is a Christian; his authorization comes from Christ himself. Why should not scores of young men now go to Japan as citizens, as merchants, as manufacturers, as physicians, there to set the example of a Christian life, and to diffuse the light of Christian knowledge, without asking the sanction of any ecclesiastical or missionary organization? and that because a real living Christian is the true source of power, behind and above churches and boards.

The veteran missionary Rebmann lays it down as a general proposition that a missionary to Eastern Africa should be accompanied by a good doctor and some useful mechanics, and by married men and their families in preference to unmarried ones. His argument is as follows:

"These tribes, at once sensual and destitute of all the conveniences of life, should have Christianity presented to them not only in sermons and teaching, but realized and embodied; exercising its influence on every-day life, especially in the married state and in the bringing up of children. People out here do not believe us, or at least not rightly, when we tell them that in our country the land is so much better cultivated than theirs, that their cultivation appears by contrast a mere nothing. When we tell them that with us oxen and cattle are used in the tillage of the soil, they know not what to make of it. They must be led to see with their own eyes that the people who follow the Christ whom we preach to them really understand better than they how to cultivate the soil, and can do a great deal else that is not less desirable for them to know. Families, families,—Christian families, really converted fathers and mothers, with well-nurtured children, are the tools which are chiefly needed for missionary work in Eastern Africa. Once surround the missionary with families who present in living and visible reality 'muscular Christianity in life and death, in labor and repose, in marriage and education, in public worship, in common prayer and psalmody, in devout listening to the word of God'—then will our poor and careless Wanike easily and clearly understand to what a blessed condition out of their present destitution, to what life out of death, to what light out of darkness, to what joy in the Holy Spirit out of the present dread of evil spirits, to what love out of selfishness, to what genuine peace out of worldly security we are helping them. The problem solved by such Christian communities would be to render not only themselves, but missionaries, independent of any society at home in regard to outward support; but, to effect this, these little communities must be prepared to sacrifice all that they possess; for in the service of Christ we must be content with food and raiment, which will never fail us, if first we seek the kingdom of God and His righteousness; for He has promised that then all these things shall be added unto us."*

In the same vein the missionary Erhardt writes touching the prospects of the Wanika-Land: "So long as our missions are not embodied into a community, however small, so long will Christianity be unable to reveal itself in its complete form, and produce that impression which has always hitherto attracted the heathen. . . . Our duty and self-proposed labor, as missionaries, should be to rouse the natives to be more diligent in agriculture and in cattle-breeding; to impress upon them the advantages of both; to point out to them such articles as are most profitable; and finally, to place within their reach such animals and seeds as can be usefully introduced for their benefit."†

It is better, however, that labors so distinctly secular

* *Researches in Eastern Africa*, pp. 199, 200.

† Krapf, pp. 405, 408.

should be performed by others than the trained and accredited missionaries of religious societies. The time, talents, and energies of missionaries proper—"the sent" of the churches—should be concentrated upon the spiritual wants of the field. But that moral influence which proceeds from a practical Christian civilization, should be added to the distinctive labors of the missionary, by the voluntary consecration of private Christians to the work of living for Christ, and of illustrating his gospel in pagan lands, while there pursuing the ordinary avocations of life. A wisely conducted school of agriculture in Palestine, would do much for the enlightenment of Jew, Christian, and Mohammedan, of Arab, Turk, and Druze, as to the scope and benefit of a true Christian civilization. The little colony of Wadi Urtas, though it has failed in the impracticable design of converting the transient Jews of Palestine into an agricultural people, has nevertheless, under the judicious management of Meshullam, exerted a benign influence even upon the Bedouin of the wilderness beyond. There is room in Palestine for intelligent Christian farmers to labor for the physical, social, and spiritual regeneration of the land, whenever adequate protection shall be given to the life and property of American residents. Livingstone calls loudly for Christian mechanics, farmers, merchants, and manufacturers, to second his missionary labors in Southern Africa. We are sure that the missionaries at the Gaboon would be greatly assisted in their work by a Christian physician, who might derive his support in part from the American consulship, and give much of his time to labors of love. These are but indications of a line of subordinate missionary enterprise which we would encourage until Christians in every walk of life shall feel that the foreign missionary field is as freely open to them as to the commissioned representatives of Societies and Churches. American genius, enterprise, science, capital, invention, is in demand, the world over, at remunerative prices. Why should not Christian wisdom and love take advantage of this national prestige, and use it, not for lucre, but for the benefit of mankind?

There is no conflict between such a spontaneous unofficial

missionary movement, and the organized, systematic operations of missionary societies. The assumption is, that the secular laborers who go as volunteers into the foreign field, will be men and women of the true Christian spirit of self-sacrifice, and that, in addition to their personal labors—as conversationists, exhorters, “Bible-readers,” tract-distributers, exemplars—in diffusing the knowledge of Christ, they will sustain the regular preacher and missionary, wherever found. As we have shown above, this was emphatically the manner in which Christianity was propagated at the beginning. “Commencing generally with the large cities, it was carried forward, not so much by organized missions, as by ordinary social intercourse. It became powerful as a popular element, prevailing most among the lower classes, but by means of slaves and women, it had penetrated, as early as near the end of the second century, every order of society.”* All classes of men were personally occupied in the work of spreading the gospel.

There will be none the less need of trained missionaries; and those who are to be supported by the churches, as special agents for the higher departments of missionary labor, must be selected and approved. Christians must have organizations through which to act to the best advantage ; yet Christianity is not an organization, but is itself *organic*; it molds, appropriates, organizes whatever agency comes within its reach, and uses this for its own ends. Why should it not, then, appropriate for its missionary service the migratory, colonizing, cosmopolitan tendencies of this age ? Nay, what were this, but to reproduce both the spirit and the method of primitive evangelism ? Why should not one, *any* one, go any whither upon Christ’s errand of good news to men—not waiting to be sent, but bearing his light as a Christian, and helping the appointed missionary upon the field just as he would help a pastor at home ?

We are sure that progress in the world’s evangelization must lie largely in this direction ; in getting back to the first principles of the New Testament, that Christians, *as such*, are

* Hase, *History of the Christian Church*, p. 54.

vested by Christ himself with all prerogative and power for the promulgation of the gospel, and that the obligation to this work rests primarily and always with the whole unorganized body of believers. Since writing the above, we have met with views quite similar, where one would hardly look for them,—in the correspondence of a distinguished divine in that branch of the Presbyterian Church which makes a zeal for its own organization and its ecclesiastical boards almost a test of orthodoxy. The late Dr. J. W. Alexander, in one of his familiar letters published by Dr. Hall, propounds these queries touching existing church and missionary machinery. “1. Whether we do not sometimes account the engine, (board or scheme,) as almost apostolic, and essential to church progress. 2. Whether it is not probable that God will allow all our present enginery to decay, with the circumstances which reared it? 3. Whether the conversion of the world will not result, under God, from an action more individual, more cheap, and more flowing from great affections in every church, and every member of it? 4. Whether such is not the New Testament missionary work, as we read it in Scripture?”

Such is the New Testament missionary work, as we read it in Scripture, and such must be our missionary work in action, if we would hasten—nay, if we would ever accomplish, the evangelization of the world. The characteristic feature of primitive evangelism is individual spontaneity in distinction from concentrated organization. Dr. Addison Alexander, in commenting upon Acts viii, 4, remarks: “As in verse 1 the writer said that all except the twelve were scattered, he now says that all who were thus scattered preached the word. Some would infer, from this, that none but preachers were expelled; but it is far more natural to understand the verse as referring, not to preaching in the technical or formal sense, but to that joyful and spontaneous diffusion of the truth, which is permitted and required of all believers, whether lay or clerical, ordained or unordained.” This “joyful and spontaneous diffusion of the truth,” invites all who love Christ and his cause. The strength and success of designated

missionaries must be in "great affections toward their work in every church, and every member of it." Their highest culture, their individual preparation, will still be needed, and all the more needed for the wisest direction of the means and agencies of evangelization when a spontaneous movement of uncommissioned volunteers to every missionary field, shall multiply these agencies a thousand fold. If missions are to grow, we must come back to the true seat of responsibility for the evangelization of the world—its perpetual obligation upon the disciples of Christ, as such; and when this shall again be felt, as it was felt in the beginning, we shall witness a Christian crusade before which the powers of darkness will flee, astonished and confounded. The spirit and method of primitive evangelism will finish the work which modern organization has prepared.

Are there not peculiar reasons for such a movement as this in the review of hopes and discouragements suggested by the Jubilee of the American Board? Is not the way prepared for it? Does not the work linger for lack of it? Twenty-five years ago, Dr. Lyman Beecher, then a veteran, was wont to kindle the enthusiasm of missionary assemblies with his magnificent pictures of the millenium. The day of the Lord seemed just at hand. The grand drama of the Apocalypse was in its closing act, and the curtain was just falling upon the doom of Anti-Christ to rise upon the perfect peace and glory of the Redeemer's reign. And yet, to-day, a son of Lyman Beecher stands battling with sin in a central city of Christendom, foul with pagan crimes and profligacy, the fountain of social corruption for the land, the foster mother of that accursed traffic in human flesh which makes pagan Africa the hunting ground of Christianized America!

The old man, happily unconscious of the change, still weaves his gorgeous dream of the millenium, while others toil with conflicting hopes and fears. But is it, after all, a dream? When the Declaration of Independence was signed, John Adams wrote, "This day will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America; to be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival, commemorated

as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty, from one end of the continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore. You will think me transported with enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure that it will cost us to maintain this declaration and to support and defend these states. Yet, through all the gloom, I can see the rays of light and glory ; that the end is worth all the means ; that posterity will triumph in that day's transaction, even though we should rue it, which I trust in God we shall not. The furnace of affliction produces refinement in states as well as individuals. I submit all my hopes and fears to an overruling Providence, in which, unfashionable as the faith may be, I firmly believe." Shall our faith fall behind his? Nay, though the night yet lingers, we take up the song of faith and hope—

" A night full of stars! O'er the silence, unseen,
The footsteps of sentinel angels, between
The dark land and deep sky are moving. Is heard
Pass'd from earth up to heaven, the happy watchword,
All's well; and up bay after bay of the night
Ripples in, wave on wave, the broad ocean of light.
While the great gates of heaven roll back one by one,
And the bright herald angel stands forth in the sun."

ARTICLE VIII.—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND CO-OPERATION.

ONE year ago we had occasion to invite the attention of our readers to the matters in dispute between the controlling party among the New School Presbyterians and the American Home Missionary Society. Since that time, action of a decisive character has been taken. In the resolutions of the General Assembly, passed at its meeting in Pittsburg, the question of continued coöperation, so far as the denomination, as such, is concerned, has been settled; and although multitudes of individuals, with churches not a few, will, in all probability, still hold fast to old friends and to the voluntary system, yet the broad and comprehensive coöperation of past days is, obviously, at an end. Nothing now remains but the slow working apart of the two denominations which have longest clung, and with so much of mutual affection, to the principle, of the systematic and organic subordination of denominational interests to those of the kingdom of heaven. The Assembly has determined that hereafter, for itself, the latter must be merged in the former.

The importance of this decision is not likely to be overestimated. Happily, the process of separation, which it sanctions and ordains, promises to be achieved without the pain and shame of outrageous conflict, and with as much of charity and of dignity as the infirmities of human nature would ever allow us to anticipate. These old friends are parting, not, indeed, without mutual censures; that could not be; but with no abiding bitterness, and more in sorrow than in anger—words of blessing, even, mingling sometimes quite touchingly, amid complaints and rebukes. God give to us all more and more of that spirit of brotherly love, which is a spirit of wisdom and a sound mind; that even if we must withstand each other to the face, we may do it without unchristian acrimony,

The present time invites us to a review of the past—to such a comprehensive survey as will show us the forces which have been operating this change, and will help us to correct judgments and wise resolves.

The two portions into which the Presbyterian church was divided in 1837, both expected to prosper and to grow. Stung with a sense of injury, and strong in a consciousness of right, the Constitutional body anticipated an increase by no means inferior to that of the party that had been guilty of the excision. And even with the loss of the institutions and the prestige, torn from them by a legal decision, the injustice of which is now generally conceded by fair minded men, they were not without grounds for such a hope. For, through all their conflict, the heart of New England had beat responsive to their own; and they trusted that her homes and her schools would continue to replenish Presbyterian churches and pulpits. But, with a strange aggravation of their misfortune, the very wrong that they had suffered, while awakening the warmest sympathy with them personally, had given rise to serious questionings with regard to the tendencies of the Presbyterian system; and from that hour is to be dated an awakening of a fresh interest, on the part of the sons of the Puritans, in their ancestral polity, and the gathering of the New England emigration into Congregational churches. But unhappily, the very beginnings of this movement were resisted by New School Presbyterians,—resisted with upbraidings and direct opposition. For, by a practical misconstruction of "The Plan of Union," it had long been assumed that Congregationalists coming West were in duty bound to become Presbyterians; Congregational ministers were not permitted ordination over Presbyterian churches; churches retaining a local Congregational government were expected to come "under the care of Presbytery;" —to send delegates, to "submit their records to be revised," for approval or censure, to seek the consent of the Presbytery in calling or dismissing a pastor, to have appeals—of itself and its members—made to the Presbytery and not to a Council, and the formation of purely Congregational bodies was

felt as a violation of the compact. It had even been held, that the action of a majority of a church, withdrawing it from the care of the Presbytery, was only a secession of individuals. The "Plan" itself furnished no ground for such demands; but the indifference of the one party, the desires of the other, and the seeming expediences of the hour, favored their silent assumption and concession, until they had acquired a hurtful authority. It was natural that Presbyterianism, of such sort as was now more plainly exhibiting itself, should be anxious to possess the whole land; for Presbyterianism, strictly interpreted, is a system of distinct authority and dominion; and it is ever the attribute of power to seek its own increase. It was natural that Congregationalists should, at first, be regardless of such aims, and thoughtful only of the kingdom of Heaven; for Congregationalism is not a system of authority, but merely a method of communion and co-working. It was most natural, again, that Presbyterians should have been disappointed, when they found that they could no longer depend upon receiving the great New England emigration. But, however consonant with infirmities of human nature, it was neither right nor wise that they should allow their disappointment to go to the extent of a distinct opposition to the formation of Congregational churches. The very "Plan of Union" to which they made appeal, was *based* upon the expectation that churches of the two denominations were to exist side by side, on terms of equality. Such opposition found, indeed, a certain palliation in the fact, that some of the churches that early took the Congregational *name* were the fruits of "Radicalism;" and others, of the one sided theological movement centered at Oberlin. But these abnormal developments, however they might afford an excuse to ignorance, could not justify the very general opposition on the part of prominent individuals and ecclesiastical bodies to the existence of genuine, regular, orthodox, *New England* Congregationalism at the West.

Here, in our view, was the *first sin*, daughter of that "original" which inheres in the nature of all consolidated systems of church power. This opposition delayed, but also intensified the movement of Congregationalism, created a needless and

increasing friction—heart-burnings, suspicions, and conflicts—and awakened a strong determination in many New England minds to insist upon the liberty to enjoy their own polity wherever in all the land the sons of New England might go. In 1846, a Congregational Convention met at Michigan city, and made a luminous and effective protest against the long continued abuse of the "Plan of Union;" and "*The Puritan*" newspaper, under the editorship of one of the leaders in the Convention, followed up its action with characteristic vigor. All these appeals, however, wrought but moderate results. New England cared but little for these things. The divergence between the denominations was still slight; and with wise management, at this juncture, on the part of Presbyterians, need not have increased to the permanent damage of the coöperative system. Congregational churches would have multiplied, indeed, at the West; but what sort of coöperation would that be, which should insist on the annihilation of one of the parties? Associations would have been formed alongside of Presbyteries; but Presbyterians who should join the churches connected with them had their rights secured by the "Plan of Union." In a word, the "Plan" would have been, for the first time, fairly carried into effect. In such prospects, there was no real ground of complaint. Nevertheless, the grand fact was staring New School Presbyterians in the face, that the Old School—who, by all that was just, it would seem, ought to have been experiencing decay and disaster—were positively gaining upon them; and with a prospect of a greater relative gain, in proportion as the Congregationalists increased. Not reflecting that their own relative loss involved no real loss to Christ's kingdom, nor remembering that members of their branch of the church had been wont to identify Congregationalists with themselves and to count the gains of each as substantially the gains of both, certain Presbyterians began to feel the prickings of acute disappointment, and their denominational sensibilities were greatly roused.

No reader who has thoughtfully considered the statements already made, needs to be told what course these Presbyterian brethren took. Had it been their purely Christian zeal which

had been awakened, in view simply of the desolations of Zion, and of the multitudes of their fellow countrymen starving for lack of the bread of life, we should have seen them throwing themselves with new energy in the work already begun—reinforcing the Home Missionary cause with an Apostolic devotedness, blowing the trumpet of their pious enthusiasm among sleeping churches in the East, organizing fresh Auxiliaries, perhaps, and stirring Presbyteries and Synods, at the West, to a more methodical and effective and loving coöperation with their Congregational brethren. The General Assembly would have heard their voices lifted in rebuke of mere sectarian ardor, and in arguments and fervid appeals for pushing forward with such vigor as the times demanded, the combined host under the one banner of the Cross. Not doubting that Christ would take care of Presbyterianism, so far as he needed it, and not forgetting that the gains of their partner were their own, they would have drawn the denominations closer and closer together, till the two had come in reality to be and appear—as they had long been accustomed to feel themselves—substantially one.

But, as we have seen, the interest actually awakened, though a Christian interest, was primarily Presbyterian. The cry was, *We are not doing for ourselves what we ought. We are neglecting our denominational vineyard.* We have duties, “as a church,” “in our organic capacity;” and must look after our own interests. It was in 1847, that this voice was first heard in the church’s highest judicatory, and it has been gathering volume ever since. The reactionary movement which restored annual Assemblies and the appellate power, in 1850, warned Congregationalists against indulging the fond imagination, that in the “New School,” the Presbyterian system had permanently relaxed its strictness, or permanently lost any of its characteristic traits. It reinforced the impression made by the conflicts of the Excision, discouraged any hopes for a fusion of the systems, already so closely allied in their spirit, in principles, and in forms, and advertised such as were in a position to read the handwriting of events, that the two were hereafter, in all probability, to remain distinct.

There can be no doubt that the reaction which was thus showing itself among New School Presbyterians, making them emulous of the Old School, even in their denominational ardor, operated as a powerful persuasive to Congregationalists, to adhere faithfully to the polity of the Puritans, and to give it free course to the shores of the farthest sea.

And here let us pause, to say, that in this awakening of Presbyterian enthusiasm, we discern something to approve. It contained a genuine Christian zeal—which is always admirable; and the form which this took, through the commingling of a partisan zeal, was in the likeness of patriotic ambition. It is ever, to a certain degree, pleasant, to see men proud of *their own*, proclaiming its virtues, singing its exploits, prophesying its coming triumphs, scourging up the zeal of the indifferent, and, with whips of pathetic or lofty words, flogging the slothful into activity. We like to find a man faithful to old friends, to the land and to the principles of his fathers, clinging, through all changes of clime or associations, to the early home of his heart, and incapable of lifting up his heel against it. Traits of a nature kindred to these, are recognizable in the movement which we narrate; and we give them such honorable mention as is their due. There is, indeed, a nobleness nobler than what we here see; but we must not make exorbitant demands upon human nature.

Under this shaping impulse, the new movement bore neither the name nor the character of the old. It was not “Home Missions”—it was “CHURCH EXTENSION.” And what significance in these names! In the word “Mission” breathes both the meaning and the spirit of the earlier “Apostle;” while “Home” encompasses the whole land, as with household love, and calls it *all* “our own.” “Home Mission,” thus, breathes simply a Christian love to our native land. “Extension,” on the other hand, is a spreading out, a stretching, a swelling—as if the aim were, in part at least, the largest possible size, and surface, and appearance; and “Church Extension,” limited, as it ever has been, to some *one* denomination, is a spreading out, a stretching and dilation of *one* denomination, *one* polity, *one party*. Each of the phrases seems the natural and uncon-

scious expression and representative of the prominent trait in its constituent spirit. But, to return :

When the General Assembly met at Utica, in 1851, the "Church Extension" spirit had made very considerable progress, and the American Home Missionary Society was the object of vigorous attack. It was claimed that the Society,—hitherto, confessedly, so efficient,—could not do the work needed to be done ; and that it compromised the interests of the Presbyterian Church, and prevented its growth ! Such statements were met upon the spot, by Rev. DAVID B. COX, one of the Secretaries of the Society, and a member of the Assembly, with what we must regard a triumphant refutation. But the same charges were renewed with fresh vigor, and with no little bitterness and scandal, at the Assembly which met at Washington in 1852. The arguments and remonstrances of such men as Dr. BEMAN, and Dr. ASA D. SMITH, had no influence whatever with the leaders of the new movement; and notwithstanding the strong attachment to coöperation, among the older Presbyterians, and those of New England origin, in this Assembly "Young Presbytery" made a great stride forward. The next year the General Assembly appointed a Committee of Conference with the Executive Committee of the Society ; and the following *inquiries* were propounded by the former, for the consideration of the latter :

1. "Will it be consistent for them to make such an alteration in the rules of the Society, as will allow appropriations to congregations in large towns and cities ?"
2. "Will they consent to make appropriations to a church or churches, in places where there is already a church aided by the Society ?"
3. "Will it be consistent with the rules of the Society to assist a Missionary laboring under the direction of a Presbytery or Synod ?"

Very innocent questions—to the eye of the uninitiated ; but to the well informed, full of meaning, and of moment. In plain language, the *first* inquiry was this : Whether, in large towns or villages, where the population were already adequately accommodated with a Congregational church, the Committee would aid in founding a Presbyterian church ?

There has never been a question of the Society's readiness to assist in the establishment of churches in towns or cities, where needed to furnish the people with the means of grace. It has always been familiarly known, that whatever could be properly esteemed a *missionary* operation, the Committee are ever prompt to engage in; but where the project is one of mere ecclesiastical luxury, or *propagandism*, they have felt, apparently, that the Society's money had been entrusted to them for other purposes, and have declined to appropriate it to these.

The *second* question was directed to the same point as the first, but was more general: Will the Committee plant a Presbyterian church along side of a Congregational church, and in immediate proximity to it—in city or in country, wherever it stand? The Society has never manifested the slightest shadow of reluctance to the founding of Presbyterian churches, as the numbers formed, by its instrumentality, out of Congregational material, testify. The only difficulty was, it had ever, consistently, refused to plant one church, Congregational or Presbyterian, anywhere on the proper field of another. Will it now change its policy? That was the question.

The *third* inquiry was, virtually, Whether the Committee would support the traveling Agents of Young Presbytery? The Society already had its "General Missionaries," or "Agents," in every state, and in several states, two. These Agents were pledged to impartiality, were bound by the principles of coöperation, were under the direction of the co-operative Society; and if any question be raised as to zeal and efficiency, we have but to point to the hundreds of churches,—in cities, towns, and rural districts,—to Presbyteries and Synods,* which are monuments of the Society's labora. But in order to promote the multiplication of Presbyterian churches, it was now proposed that the Society should pay the salaries of Agents in the employ of Presbyteries and Synods,

* We are not sure that it would be far out of the way to add, to the General Assembly.

these agents to be under ecclesiastical direction, and not bound by the rules of coöperation. And so great was the ardor of our Presbyterian friends, for the adoption of this scheme, that they volunteered their cordial approbation of the appointment of similar Congregational agents, also to be supported by the Society. In other words, the Society was requested, besides doing *its own work*—purely Christian and undenominational—also to stimulate the rivalry of the two denominations, then worshiping together, and to pay the cost of their competition: to this end employing three sets of agents—one in the united work, and two in the divisive.

In brief, therefore, the Society was already engaged in all the varieties of what has ordinarily been understood as the “Home Missionary Work,”—*exploring* destitutions; *preparing* the way for the formation of churches; *securing* the formation of churches, and *aiding* the churches, while feeble, in sustaining pastors, up to the point of self-support. It had ever done this, in cities, in towns, in villages, throughout rural districts, and along sparsely settled frontiers—all, in the interest of *both* denominations, and with a success that had been universally acknowledged. It was now proposed, in substance, by the General Assembly’s Committee, that the Society should *also* do all these varieties of missionary work in the special interest of the Presbyterian denomination.

Of course, the Committee’s reply was, in effect, This is a coöoperative Society. We must go on, as we have done, working for both denominations; and all the Society’s agents must be held by the same rules. The Assembly of 1854 recognized the justness of this reply; and voted, that “the difficulties being all happily adjusted, they see no occasion to create any other instrumentality.”

But “Young Presbytery” was not in the least degree daunted by this rebuff, which was rather apparent than real. The next Assembly met in the extreme West; and in St. Louis, in May, 1855, was at once illustrated a peculiarity of the Presbyterian system, and the sure victory of active momentum over even superior weight. There is no reason to suppose that the denomination were desirous of change, or

that the Commissioners to this Assembly had been generally chosen with special reference to the Church Extension movement. There was, certainly, little in the size and character of the body, to indicate an expectation, among the churches, of a consummation of a change that was soon to sever the ties of half a century, bring new principles and new men into almost supreme control, and alter, at last, the very identity of the denomination. Not a drum was heard, or a funeral note, as hurriedly was dug the grave where the old system was to be buried. The trumpet spake not, as the Commissioners gathered, with pleasant greetings, to their meeting; no forebodings were abroad, no general agitation, of desire or fear, were visible; and yet, the action of this Assembly committed the denomination to a course of policy that, in our judgment, it is destined to pursue, to the utter extinction of its identity; put it upon an iron track, along which it will descend, with ever increasing speed, far away from its old home and all its early associations. All this, while—as there are overwhelming reasons for believing—the vast majority, both of churches and of church members, in the denomination, not only did not desire, but were heartily opposed to such a revolution. The Assembly of 1855 created the "*Church Extension Committee;*" in this act, organising the denomination into a centralized ecclesiastical system of New School Presbyterian Home Missions. The moment in which this act was taken determined, for the majority of Presbyterians, the cessation of coöperation and the merging of Christian in denominational interests; and set in motion machinery, centering immediately in the Assembly, and having the entire force of the church harnessed to its shaft, under bit and spur. But this little history is worthy a moment's attentive study.

The reply of "The Executive Committee" to "The Committee of Conference," had conceded the possibility of exceptional cases, wherein it might be expedient to aid churches that could not be aided by the Society; and had suggested, that "rather than adapt to these exceptional cases, rules of the Society which are undoubtedly wise and beneficial in their general working," they should be provided for by such "*local*

arrangements as will not divert collections from the Treasury of the American Home Missionary Society." Here, e. g., is a suburban church, burthened with a debt of \$5,000; and unable to support its minister, while obliged to pay the interest on that debt. The larger part of this sum might often be raised among neighboring churches, without injury to their missionary contributions. Or, a strong church "colonizes;" and large subscriptions are made by the brethren and friends who stand by the old organization, towards the new. Or, permanent "*local arrangements*" are made, for raising annually a small sum of money for the aid of certain cases of peculiar characteristics, supposed to be beyond the reach of the Society. Such were the efforts, it is obvious, to which the Executive Committee referred; and their propriety—if they be needed—has never been questioned. But now, the suggestion of the Executive Committee was strangely perverted into an acknowledgment of the existence of such a number of "*exceptional cases*," as created a necessity for a *national* organization to meet them. It was claimed, that there were large departments of the missionary work which the Society could not do; that no "*local arrangement*" was adequate to the emergency; and that the church would be false to herself, and unfaithful to her Lord, if she neglected to adopt the measures of Young Presbytery. In the same breath, as it were, it was represented that these measures, so far from being hostile to the Society, were calculated to relieve it from embarrassments, to remove existing causes of complaint, to facilitate its operations, and increase its usefulness. The sum of money needed was *small*; and its collection would not divert funds from the Home Missionary Treasury, but would be more likely to pour money into it. There was no thought—we were all assured—of any interference with the Society. The aim was, indeed, to benefit the Society. The Society belonged to Presbyterians, they loved it, and clung to it. By various prominent individuals, all these sentiments and views were expressed, and most of them by the leaders in the new movement. What *was* the real, controlling, and shaping aim of this movement?

To get an answer to this question, we must not go to the authors of the movement alone. Men are, often, less clearly aware of their own bias than their neighbors are. Nor must we consult, alone, the *phraseology* of public documents. This is often shaped to obviate the opposition of persons not yet ripe for changes, but hostile to them. Taking all these things into the account, we are still to look also at the *intrinsic nature* and *obvious tendency* of the measures themselves; and are to assume that this nature and tendency enfold the true aim, unless there is proof to the contrary. If we wish to know what the "Church Extension Committee" was made for, we must first ask, *What is it fitted to do?* That it was not constructed *simply* for the purpose of raising some \$2,000, or \$3,000 per annum, for the relief of rare "exceptional cases" of legitimate, coöperative missionary work, shut out by the rules of the Home Missionary Society, is clear at a glance. Men do not, with much toil and contention, build and bring up a battering-ram, to drive nails with; but, if they have nails to drive, are satisfied with a hammer, of such moderate size as to be in no danger of breaking to pieces what they seek to build. We do not see a steam-engine of one thousand horse-power set to drive a one-horse car.—Some have seemed to tell us, that the "Church Extension Committee was constituted for the purpose of raising two or three thousand dollars for a few "exceptional cases;" that this machine was built and the whole Presbyterian Church set behind, in closest organic connection, to work it, simply for the accomplishment of this insignificant task. We are constrained to persist in believing that our friends, who indulged in such speculations, were mistaken. For, what is this "Church Extension Committee," and what was, from the first, its obvious tendency? The Church Extension Committee is an "ecclesiastical board" of the *purest type*; more strictly and purely ecclesiastical than those of the Old School, inasmuch as it is a mere "hand of the Assembly," being responsible directly to the Assembly—and not indirectly, through another body,—under the control, therefore, of the men who have, at any time, the skill and the ambition to be the leaders of the Assembly. Its obvious,

immediate effect, was to give an organic head and efficiency to the denominational spirit, to stimulate its activity and inspire it with confidence ; and, in the same proportion, to create suspicion and alienation among the denomination with which Presbyterians were still coöperating ; and for which multitudes of them were protesting—and with utmost sincerity, we believe—the warmest love. Its tendency clearly was, to sunder affections from coöperation and to centralize them upon “our church,” to divert contributions from the coöperative Treasury, and to turn them into the denominational Treasury, to increase the friction between the two denominations upon the missionary field, and to prepare the way for that entire separation which it was sure, at last, to consummate.

But the question may be asked, Did all those who consented to it, contemplate and seek these results ? We reply : It often happens that individuals are led to give their support to measures with whose authors they are not fundamentally in sympathy, and whose ultimate designs they have not yet come to share. By providential, or by human arrangement, persons who have intimate relations with the opponents of a project, may be set to defend it. They will do it honestly, and all the more effectively, for the very reason that they but imperfectly enter into its spirit. Illustrations of this have been frequent in the history of the “Church Extension” movement. We have even seen men of New England origin and sympathies pleading this alien cause ; while the influence of their *presence* has been manifest everywhere. “The Declaration of Principles,” e. g., issued by the Church Extension Committee immediately after its organization, and the “Address to the Ministers,” bound in the same pamphlet with it, are instinct with diverse aims. The former, though full of misconceptions of the position of the American Home Missionary Society, (obviously got at second hand, and accounting for the author’s new attitude,) breathes a fraternal spirit and expounds the new project as in charming unison with the old system ; expects that only a small sum,—not more than “has been annually contributed to similar objects in our church,” (say \$3,000,)—will be needed ; and that “this supplementary

agency" "will enhance the receipts of the Society." The "Address," on the other hand, appeals to denominational enthusiasm;—proclaims: "We are not a local Committee"—"the entire church is to look to us;"—points to "the vast West and South," and "the immense wastes of California and Oregon;" declares that "Whoever has imagined" (like the writer of the foregoing "Declaration!") "that the Assembly in appointing this Committee has undertaken a slight work, has very much misapprehended the case"—that the work "is one which will involve the expenditure of thousands;" and earnestly summons "every church" to engage in it.

We are wholly willing to believe, that these two interpretations of the Church Extension scheme, were both honestly given; and, in different ways, they do credit to their authors. It were idle for us to complain of Presbyterians for being *Presbyterians*, if their convictions compel them to it, or for proclaiming it with enthusiasm. If at all necessary, we would join our voice to theirs, that all the world might know and realize the fact. But from what has been said, our readers will be able to understand how very naturally it happened, under sagacious counsels, that the Church Extension movement received the support of men of widely diverse sympathies, who have given to the public as diverse interpretations of its meaning. But no man needs to be told, which interpretation is the true one; for every one will at once look to its *authors*, and not to its somewhat reluctant and inefficient apologists, for an exposition of the principles on which it is founded and the *ultimates* at which it aims.

We are fortunate in possessing an exposition of the principles underlying this movement as nearly authoritative as the circumstances allow, which, though often guarded with a characteristic caution, is sufficiently explicit to be understood. Probably no one individual has had so much to do in giving shape and direction to the policy of "Church Extension," as Rev. R. W. PATTERSON, D. D., of Chicago. By vote of the Assembly which established the Church Extension Committee as a permanent and national organization for Home Missions, Dr. Patterson was appointed to preach a sermon on Home

Missions, before the next Assembly in New York city. He accepted the appointment; and undoubtedly did what was expected of him, in making it an occasion for setting forth and urging home upon his brethren the new principles which he may be said to have then *inaugurated* into power. A few extracts will show what they are. Many of our readers will recognize in them old acquaintances with whom they were only too familiar in 1837.

Under the second head of his discourse, Dr. Patterson lays down the following fundamental principle:

"I would be understood to say, that any denomination of Christians, that ought to be perpetuated at all as such, ought to have a definite work of evangelization to do *in its distinctive capacity.*" (The italics are ours.) Again: The "missionary churches" must be kept conscious that the *denomination* to which they belong is their *mother*, and *cares* for them." "We must, *as a denomination*, have a work to do." "If we were Independents, we might hope to continue such without any attempt to work as *a body*; but as constitutional Presbyterians, we must keep alive and invigorate *the consciousness of our organic unity*, by our *organic* benevolence; we must prove to our people, and to the world, that our Presbyteries and Synods, and General Assemblies, exist, . . . to *devise and execute* measures for the spread of the Gospel, and for the care of all the churches." "We must be governed by *comprehensive and independent aims.*" "The church is the responsible body. Organizations external to the church, and independent of her, are entirely of modern origin." "We have no right, as a church, to lay over this responsibility of considering what are the demands of the Home Missionary field, upon some society external to ourselves, and totally independent of all our decisions." "It is our mission, *as a church*, to become a central and efficient *agency*," &c. The author's opinion of coöperation is expressed with praiseworthy frankness, as follows: "If two denominations can become and continue practically one, and bring their churches, on the missionary ground, *into the same ecclesiastical organization*, then they may, in some sort, maintain a common consciousness of church and organic life,

by the help of coöperative machinery, external to their ecclesiastical arrangements. But even in that case, the tendency is perpetually toward the disintegration of their ecclesiastical organizations, so far as they have any, or else toward the absorption of one denomination into the other." A tolerably decided *tendency*, this latter, when all the new churches go into one and "the same ecclesiastical organization!" And yet the author of this discourse seems to stand forth, a mourner over the abrogation of "our time honored plan of union," "abrogated*" without our consent."

In beautiful logical consistency with the principles so boldly and ably advocated in this discourse, the new machinery was constructed—controlled by the church leaders in the Assembly, working through *its own* agents, as well as through the subordinate judicatories, shaped for all the varieties of Church Extension work, and making permanent appeal to the whole church, and powerfully stimulating its denominational interest.

As though determined to leave us without the shadow of a doubt concerning the principles and tendencies of "Church Extension," Dr. Patterson has repeated his theories in the sermon which it was his privilege to deliver, at the opening of the late Assembly, in Pittsburg. In that sermon, he tells the church, "It is not for the Saviour's followers to . . . determine for themselves what classes of officers they will have, or by what principles they will be governed." (Language sufficiently explicit from Dr. Patterson.) "These questions are all decided for them by the Great Head of the Church." "Subordinate questions" are to be resolved (the italics are ours) "under the *supreme authority* of the *ecclesiastical constitution* which God has caused to be written in his word." (This would

* The only "abrogation" of the Plan of Union ever made, was the act in 1838, of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, one of the original parties to the contract.

The action of the *Congregational Convention*, which met at Albany, in 1852, was not an abrogation of the Plan of Union, but a condemnation of the *abuses* into which it had been perverted; and all the positive recommendations of that Convention were in complete harmony with the design and the *real* provisions of the "Plan."

satisfy even Dr. Thornwell.) He ranks Congregationalists, as a body, under the banner of "bold innovation," and as, obviously, representatives of "the radical tendency," as making "little or nothing of historical theology," as "relying altogether on their own judgment and reason, as the only sufficient interpreter of the Scripture." "This class of Christians," he adds, "may at first be sound in doctrine; but they give exercise to a spirit of *individualism and self-sufficiency*, which speedily exalts human nature, and sets aside the agency of God; while they so magnify the office of human reason as ere long to cause a partial or total eclipse of faith." "And it reaches its fit results in Socinianism and the chaos of a religious communion, without rites or definite methods of service." To such as have been acquainted with the spirit and theories of the *Excisionists* of 1837, these doctrines will be sufficiently familiar—though couched, here, in stronger language than satisfied the extremists of those days. Dr. Patterson takes pains, almost uniformly, to denominate Congregationalists "Independents;"—ascribes the defection of English Presbyterians into Unitarianism, to their coöperation with the "Independents," saying that they "suffered the usual consequence of such vague and indeterminate combinations—an ultimate apostasy from the evangelical faith;" but still thinks that the "Plan of Union" was of use "in shielding the churches and the ministry in the new settlements of the northwest, from the dangers of an extreme radicalism,"—to which, we are to understand, they would have been exposed, if the Puritan emigration had gone into Congregational churches. Congregationalists have "no uniform definitions of faith, and seem to treat, as allowable, the denial of several scriptural doctrines which are at least relatively fundamental." He says, of the public sentiment within his denomination, there are "scores of thousands among us who believe that coöperation is a fruitful source of discord and weakness." He warns the churches against employing ministers, and professors in colleges and seminaries, *not* of thorough Presbyterian education, conviction and sympathy; deprecates the endeavor to drive the churches into contributing to "Church

Extension," faster than they will *go*; but prophesies that, with discrete management, they will all leave the Home Missionary Society, at last; recognizes no "present" occasion for the "re-adjustment" of the Foreign Missionary work; but rejoices in the "new consciousness of organic life," which is "beginning to pervade our body," and, on the whole, is contented and happy.

Now let us own at once, that if our Presbyterian brethren are fully persuaded of the correctness of these statements, and of the soundness of these theories, as applicable to their own position, it is their duty to proclaim and to obey them. And let them own, on their part—what is known and read of all men—that these are the principles which have created, and which are controlling their Church Extension movement—principles, be it remembered, which, clothed in the same phrases, led to their own excision. Congregationalists, at least, will see, that they are the principles of a thorough-going ecclesiasticism; and many now connected with the Presbyterian church, and lending a certain countenance to this retrograde scheme, will, by and by, begin to feel the cords tightening around them, and will find themselves where they never meant to be, and where they will not remain. The truth is, that the "New School" are hastening, with lively strides, in the track of the "Old School;" and promise, if they continue as they have begun, ere long to reach a position quite in advance of their *elder* brethren. The principles and the plans of "Young Presbytery," as just explained, *have long been well understood*, by those in a position to become acquainted with them. The church-theory which forms the basis of them—the necessity, much regretted, of caution and delay in pushing its realization—the wisdom of making haste slowly in weaning the affections of the churches from the American Home Missionary Society, and of giving them time to become accustomed to the new church-doctrines, and the new channels of benevolence,—the certainty of final success,—every one can see, that, from the very nature of the case, such topics as these must have been familiar to the leaders in such a movement; and there are many who know that they were

familiar. With their principles, it could not be otherwise; and we see the fruit, in the cautious, slow, but yet decisive action of the General Assembly. Its delays have this recommendation—that they afford time for “second thoughts,” and enable Christian brethren to contemplate disagreeable conclusions without that heated animosity which sudden conflicts would produce, and which would leave a chronic bitterness behind them. Each party *appreciates* the other’s position, however much it may regret it. But we must return to our narrative.

For most of the time since the inauguration of the new system of Denominational Church Extension, the Assembly had annually appointed a “Committee of Conference” with the Home Missionary Society—which Committee, we understand, never conferred. Meanwhile, the well known “Alton case”* had manifested to the public eye the progress which Young Presbytery was making, the unreasonableness of its demands, and the determination of its spirit. At last, it seemed good to the Assembly (in 1859) to take a step of greater solemnity, in the appointment of a formal “Commission”—differing if we rightly interpret the term, from a mere “Committee,” in being clothed with the dignity and authority of the “highest judicatory of the church.” It was the special duty of this Commission, in view of the “complaints” “made to the General Assembly from year to year,” against the Society, “to ascertain by a thorough investigation the facts in the case,” with “the principles and modes of administration of the American Home Missionary Society,” “and to submit the whole, well authenticated, to the next General Assembly.” Questions were accordingly addressed to stated clerks of Presbyteries, and to others, inquiring whether they had anything against the Society—and what. It was generally expected—and, as we happen to know, by some members of the Commission itself, as well as by the public,—that the complaints thus collected (if any there should be) would be laid before the “Executive Committee” of the Society;

* See the *New Englander* of November, 1859.

that the Commission might thus—having listened to any explanations that might be given—“submit the whole *well authenticated* to the next Assembly.” This was not done. But after taking more than eleven months for the prosecution of the investigations, the Sub-Committee of the Commission, of which Rev. J. F. Stearns, D. D., was chairman, forwarded to the Executive Committee a series of twenty-six questions. These questions, however, did not relate to any particulars recently discovered by the Commission, but referred exclusively—so far as we can discern—to old matters of dispute; and had all, or nearly all, been answered in the Society’s publications, before they were asked. Indeed, it is obvious, that the object of this document was not so much to elicit new information, as to present in *Socratic* form, an argument for public use. The nature and the order of the inquiries make this manifest to any one familiar with their subject matter. To this document the Committee returned an appropriate, adequate, and, to us, satisfactory reply. Owing to its necessary lateness, however, it could have been of little use in the *authentication* of the “facts” and “principles” contained in the report of the Commission.

This report is a long document, dealing very much with exhausted themes and largely a *rehash* of editorials written during the year for the *New York Evangelist*. We do not think it worth our while, therefore, thrice to slay the slain; and shall content ourselves with briefly noticing a few points.

The Commission take great pains to make it out, that the American Home Missionary Society was founded by Presbyterians—in connection with a few members of the Reformed Dutch Church; and that “the friends of Home Missions in New England” requested room (!) to be made for them in the previously existing and already flourishing Society. Although this is not a matter of any very considerable importance, we have had the curiosity to look into it, and are able to substantiate the following statements.

1. The United Domestic Missionary Society (which is claimed to have been, in all but the name, The American Home Missionary Society) as it was not a Denominational, so was it neither a

National Society—not more so than were the leading societies in New England ; and during its first year had fewer missionaries and spent less money in the West, than the Connecticut Missionary Society—which was already laboring in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. The Society in New York habitually spoke of itself in language only appropriate to an institution not national but local.

2. The *movement* which solved the problem of the formation of a truly National Society—national, in the sense of deriving its resources from all parts of the country, and expending them in every part, in the common interest of all coöperating denominations,—*originated in New England*.

3. The statement in a note on the sixth page of the Commissioner's published report, that “The United Domestic Missionary Society had been suggesting and urging the importance of some such movement during the whole previous year,” is erroneous. The circular referred to in this note, instead of being an address to “the Christian public,” *proposing a National Society*,—as we were at first led to suppose, from the connection in which it was alluded to,—was a mere *appeal for funds*; and makes no suggestion whatever respecting “the importance of some such movement” as was afterwards originated for a National Society. It simply magnified its office, and—asked for money.

4. The “request,” on the part of the Executive Committee of the United Domestic Missionary Society, for the ordination of several young men at Boston, had been itself requested, by advice of Rev. Dr. Porter, of Andover ; and was only one of the steps in the movement initiated under his eye, and directed by his prudent counsels.

5. A constitution was framed, and a determinate shape given to the whole plan, in the meetings at Boston, previous to the Convention at New York.

6. It was charged by Presbyterians of that day, that the Society had its origin in New England, and was a Congregational Society.

7. While all the foregoing statements are correct, it is nevertheless true, that the *notion* of a National Society was not

the exclusive property of any individual, any one section, or any one denomination ; nor can the whole credit of this great achievement be appropriated by any one locality, or any one name.

8. There was no reluctance on the part of the New England Societies, to enter into an auxiliary relation with the new National Society ; but legal and constitutional entanglements postponed the full accomplishment of what was originally designed and equally desired by all parties.

9. The contributions from the state of New York, relatively so large in the Society's early years, were mostly expended *within the state* itself ; and were no more abundant, when *her* size and wants are considered, than were those of Connecticut and Massachusetts, for their smaller necessities. The United Domestic Missionary Society had ever been, mainly, a New York Society. It was larger than any one of the others, as the state was larger, and its destitutions more extensive. Its responsibilities were assumed by the National Society, immediately upon the formation of the latter ; while the New England Societies were still compelled, for a time, to carry on their own work at their own expense.

The Report, after thus endeavoring to appropriate the American Home Missionary Society, in behalf of Presbyterians, proceeds with a long, minute, and somewhat repetitious argument, that is truly remarkable for its misstatements and misapprehensions ; few of which, however, can be, or need be, noticed in the present Article.

It commences by affirming that the Society originally "pledged itself not to interfere with any of their denominational preferences, or their denominational work." Rightly understood, this is true ; and it is also true, that the Society has been faithful to its pledge. But the Report obviously claims that a contract was entered into by the Society, not to withhold its aid from those who should bestow their main contributions on another, and a denominational, Board. We are told, with great emphasis, that "the Society stands pledged from the beginning, not to interfere in the slightest manner with the denominational action of the ecclesiastical bodies ;"

and we are asked to believe, therefore, that if the Alton Presbytery took "ecclesiastical action" in ceasing to be auxiliary to the Society, the Society is still, by solemn contract, held to remain auxiliary to the Presbytery.

The Report further declares that the Society promised that "existing local societies were not to be superseded . . . or impeded;" and strangely avers that the *Board of Missions of the Presbyterian church* was "expressly enumerated as a local society"!

From which, we are asked to infer, that the Home Missionary Society was bound to continue its aid to the Alton Presbytery, after the Presbytery had become organically connected with that peculiarly local body, the "Board of Missions," or the "Church Extension Committee."

The Report quotes the case of certain Ohio Presbyteries, as showing, that in its early days the Society was glad to coöperate with Auxiliaries which also coöperated with the Assembly's Board. But the arrangements proposed in the cases referred to, were part of a plan suggested for the union of the Society and the Assembly's Board; which union was never consummated.*

The Report claims that Auxiliaries of the Society were allowed, by the "Terms of Stipulation," to have "the entire control of operations within their bounds." Its Executive Committee were, therefore, guilty of a breach of contract, in insisting that the missionaries laboring within the bounds of Alton Presbytery should be controlled, under their direction, by the principles of the Society; but these missionaries ought to have been left to carry out such "ecclesiastical action" as that Presbytery might choose to take, in directing them.

As this is a point on which the main argument of our Presbyterian friends now seems to rest, we invite particular attention to it. Those who assumed the defense of the Alton Presbytery, originally took the ground that the Presbytery was *not* an Auxiliary, and therefore could not be cut off. The same individuals have now reversed their position, insisting that the Alton Presbytery *was* an Auxiliary, and therefore had

* See *The Home Missionary*, for January, 1860, p. 224, note.

the *full right* to dispose of its own funds, and to direct its missionaries. A brief explanation will show the untenability of this last refuge.

At the time of the formation of the American Home Missionary Society, the land swarmed with societies, large and small,—from great state institutions to little associations of ladies, of young men and of children, in particular congregations. All these were invited to become “Auxiliaries” of the “National Society.” Were they all invited on the same footing—with equal powers? The reader will at once perceive the reason for the division, made from the first, into “Larger Auxiliaries,” and “Smaller Auxiliaries.” The “Larger Auxiliaries” were those which, in the *first* place, *raising more money* than was needed in their field,—in the *second* place, *entered formally into* the “Terms of Stipulation” proposed by the National Society. These “Terms” bound the Auxiliary to act upon the coöperative principles,—the *principles of the Society*; to accept the *Commissions* of the Parent Institution for its missionaries, and to pay over all surplus funds; and they allowed the Auxiliary, under these principles and the rules and directions contained in the Commissions, to order all the details of the missionary work within its own field. The “Philadelphia Home Missionary Society,” which covers several states, and the Societies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other New England states, are examples of this kind of “Larger Auxiliary.” Besides these, there were “Agencies,” as in Central and Western New York, and the “Smaller Auxiliaries,” before named. The Alton Presbytery was not, and could not have been, one of the “Larger Auxiliaries;” for the reason that its contributions had ever fallen far below its own necessities, and that it had never entered into the formal stipulations. It had, of course, never received blank commissions—such as are granted to the “Larger Auxiliaries;” nor did it possess any of the rights peculiar to such bodies. These explanations have been repeatedly given in the Society’s publications; and it is clear that no denominational helmsman would have steered into so insecure a harbor as this, of the “Auxiliary relations,” except under severe stress of

weather. It was "making a port" where there was none, and on a lee shore.

The Report brings many charges against the administration of the Society, which seem to us groundless and unjust, but not of sufficient moment to be considered here. Those of any weight have already been denied and refuted; as, for example, the oft-repeated charge that the same treatment has not been applied to Associations as to Presbyteries. That Associations, when expostulated with, should have conceded the reasonableness of the Society's demands, our Presbyterian friends seem incapable of believing. Such, however, has been, repeatedly, the fact.

The Report of the Commission also reiterates the old complaints against The American Missionary Association and the Rule respecting churches that contain slaveholders; and reargues the case of the Alton Presbytery. But these topics are already familiar to our readers; and the main questions involved in them have received the unanimous verdict of Congregational Bodies, from Maine to Oregon. It seems unnecessary to discuss them further.

The action of the recent Assembly upon the subject of coöperation was couched in language of scrupulous courtesy, expressive of a Christian and fraternal spirit. This language and this spirit have received a cordial response from the Congregational Bodies that have met since the Assembly's adjournment.

The result which the Assembly has now reached—and which was interpreted, during its discussions, with so much of distinctness, of emphasis and authority, by Rev. Dr. Patterson, has long been anticipated by Congregationalists; and ever since the meeting held at St. Louis, in 1855, has been a foregone conclusion. We rejoice that our old friends, while feeling that they were committed to the system then instituted, that they had gone too far to retrace their steps, and that *their* coöperation in Home Missions must come to an end, were able to look at this conclusion in the face so calmly, and to announce it with so much kindness of manner. The proposition for a *Conference* was obviously made without due reflection—

probably in the haste of winding up the business which always crowds the Assembly towards the close of its sessions. For, it hardly requires a "second thought" to perceive, that it would have been in the highest degree indelicate, improper and inexpedient, for any five Congregational bodies to assume to themselves to act for the whole seventeen; and especially unbecoming and unwise for the East, to take into its sole hand questions in which the West had a more vital interest than any other part of the country, and, on many points, a more intimate knowledge. Such an assumption on the part of the five New England Bodies would have been in the highest degree improper; and could hardly have failed—if attended with any results at all—to be fruitful of additional complications. We are stricken with amazement, when we see so many of our Presbyterian brethren seemingly blind to the strange infelicity of such a proposal. This infelicity was heightened by the fact, that the Ecclesiastical bodies had no jurisdiction in the premises; and also by the lack of definiteness in the proposition itself:—which indefiniteness was in no degree diminished by any verbal message or explanations from the lips of the Assembly's delegates. Rev. Dr. Mills—of whose visit, very pleasant recollections are cherished,—with all his instinctive frankness and courage, and his well-known familiarity with the general subject, could only answer, when asked, repeatedly, *the object* of this conference, by reading portions of the Assembly's resolutions: which (he will pardon us for saying it) thanks to our excellent system of Common Schools, Connecticut boys were able to read for themselves. No definite topics having been assigned for their consideration, the Committees, had they met, must have exclaimed, in consternation, "The whole boundless continent is ours!"

Within the past few months the idea has been gaining currency, that the purpose of the proposed Conference was, a discussion relative to an equitable division of what are spoken of as "*the assets*" of the American Home Missionary Society. Now, we must be allowed to say—in view of the fact that, during the past quarter of a century, hundreds of thousands of dollars have been received by Presbyterians, through the

Home Missionary Society, over and above their contributions to the same—that an undue solicitude and heat has been shown by some of our brethren in reference to this “division of assets;” which agitation is the more striking, when we reflect, that the Society possesses no property—having, from the first, committed itself to the principle of making its sole investments in the affections of God’s people ; that nothing that can be called “assets” exists, save such *legacies* as remain unpaid ; that the only known legacy, of any amount, concerning which a question has been raised, is one made by a Presbyterian of Congregational birth and education, (and in all probability, therefore, quite as “bogus” as the other New England born Presbyterians, against whom such suspicions and complaints are rife;) that this legacy is yet in the hands of the courts, may never be paid, and is not yet due ; and that, meanwhile, at this present hour, as for long years past—the much-suspected Executive Committee of the American Home Missionary Society is still appropriating* to Presbyterians so much more largely than the Society is receiving from them, that no very long period would be required to make up the amount of the legacy that our friends are so fearful of losing. If, under such circumstances, a division, to the last ounce, be insisted on, wherefore should not Congregationalists say : Render back, then, the wealthy city churches and the hundreds of weaker ones, over all the land, that our contributions have founded for you ; and raise *our dead*, who have gone to premature graves in your service ! But we know that our old friends are not capable of meaning what some precipitate ones have said for them. This loud cry of “assets” comes from a lack of consideration and of needful information on the part of individuals. All legacies must be expended, if received, by the Society itself, for its own proper ends and uses. Any other disposal would work a forfeiture. We venture to add, that, in our judgment, there is very little likelihood that Presbyterians will not get from the Society all that by the most generous computation they could claim.

* See “REPLY of the Executive Committee” to the Assembly’s Commission.

And now, one word, ere we close, to our brethren of the PURITAN name and heritage. Presbyterians are leaving us. Individuals, churches, possibly some presbyteries may continue to prefer the old paths to the new; but the *denomination* is bidding us Farewell! New nets of entanglement are weaving, and sooner or later, in Foreign Missions as well as in Home Missions, we are to be left alone. While Episcopilians are becoming dissatisfied with their church-system for missions, and are toiling at the foundations of another Voluntary Society; while Old School Presbyterians are contending together over their frame work of Ecclesiastical Boards, and a powerful party are striving—with flattering omens of success—for greater centralization, and a purer ecclesiasticism; while our New School brethren—still beloved, and long to be missed—are wrenching themselves from us, and concentrating upon the identical system of strictest church-control, that Dr. THORNWELL, and other *jure divino* Presbyterians of the Old School, are striving for,—we, the sons of the Puritans, hold evenly on our way—by the falling off of many friends, compelled to walk solitary under our ancient banners;—solitary, if so it must be, but reluctant; rejecting and abhorring, as ever, the domination of a partisan spirit; cherishing, with instinctive warmth and with scrupulous care, a spirit of bounteous Christian love for all who love the Lord, whether they walk with us or not; remembering, with peculiar regard, the noble company of Believers with whom it has been our privilege so long to labor in the vineyard of our common Master; holding fast to all old friends who are willing to go with us still; resolved, in the Lord's strength, that, come what may, we will not consent to be made a sect, dividing the Body of Christ. Whosoever among our still lingering allies, gives his heart to the strict Presbyterianism of this new movement, will go—as he ought. Let our kindest Christian wishes go with him. Whosoever, on the other hand, retains his old love for the Puritan name, and the Puritan principles, and the old Puritan home and friends, will, naturally and necessarily, as Providence opens a way, *return* to the bosom of the an-

cestral household—to find there the old love and the familiar liberty. Already, Divine Providence has made New England strong at the West; and if her children and her friends are but faithful to the service and the opportunity now forced upon them, the time must come when there shall not be a county or a city in all this broad land that will not know, from its own experience, the beauty and the power of the pure Word of God, in its wholeness and its freeness, and of—**APOSTOLIC CHURCHES.** Thus the hand of the Lord draws us—on! We will be in no haste, except to follow as He leads.

ARTICLE VIII.—THE HOME HEATHEN, AND HOW TO REACH THEM.

Report of the Committee on Home Evangelization, presented to the General Association of Connecticut, convened at Rockville, on the third Tuesday in June, 1860.

THE document, the title of which is given above, treats in a specific way, as pertaining to the state of Connecticut, of a subject of universal and widely felt importance to the Christian church and ministry. It is in this *specific* manner that the subject can, in this day, be treated to the best advantage. Vague talk about general facts and principles, and platform exhortations about duty to our unbelieving neighbors, have been not without their use, but that use seems to have been pretty well fulfilled. The public mind of the church has been effectually aroused to the consideration of the exigencies of "the home-field," and is pretty well convinced that *something* ought to be done. The questions remaining are, What is to be done, and How to do it. And these questions need to be answered in particular and in the concrete.

We accordingly take the subject stated at the head of this Article, and propose to discuss it in a plain and practical way, as it comes before us in the above-named document of the General Association of Connecticut; being sure that we cannot reach the practical questions pertaining to the general subject in any other way so well.

The "Report of the Committee on Home Evangelization," which is contained in an octavo pamphlet of ninety-six pages, gives the results of a minute, and approximately complete inquiry into the religious condition of the people of the state of Connecticut.

That such an inquiry should be a novelty, is a strange fact, and one not at all honorable to the zeal and conduct of the various religious bodies that concern themselves with the wel-

fare of the state. But it is a fact. With a General Association of pastors, whose parishes cover the entire territory of the state, and with a Home Missionary Society that acknowledges the receipt of "ample means for aiding our decaying churches, and establishing others, whenever the gathering of population around new centers demands their organization,"* there has hitherto been no exact and detailed information concerning the religious condition of the people of the state. The census of the population has been taken, numerically, by trades, by colors, by nations, by ages; the state has been districted and canvassed for purposes of education and electioneering; the soil has been mapped and explored with reference to its capabilities, mineralogical, agricultural and commercial; and yet there has been no careful inquiry with reference to religious condition, and to a thorough and efficient work of evangelization,—a work of which (in the language of the General Association in 1849) the "basis" must be a knowledge of the "facts."

The reproach of this neglect lies at the door of the Congregational denomination. They occupy the entire surface of the state, having one church or more in every town,† and a system of ministerial Associations which divide the territory into definite districts. No other organization of Christians in Connecticut has the means of prosecuting such a work. The Baptists are numerous, and, in a measure, powerful, in the eastern part of the state, but too feeble for any general work in the western counties. The Episcopalians are comparatively strong as we approach the New York boundary line, and in many places have shown a *systematic* energy worthy of praise and imitation; but in the counties east of the Connecticut river, they are a feeble folk. In one county, Tolland, they boast but a single church,—in Hebron, seat of the proto-martyr Peters. The Methodists are more evenly distributed than either of these denominations, and have a more available

* Home Missionary Report, published with Minutes of General Association of 1856.

† The exceptions to this are only apparent.

working force; but in any attempt to district the state for a thorough exploration, would be compelled by the sparseness of their churches to declare great tracts of country to be "*in partibus Puritanorum.*" The most that can be expected of these denominations, with their present strength, is that each should prosecute its denominational work, and give account of it. Unable to shoulder and carry on a system of evangelization for the whole people,* they do well (according to their light) when they pitch upon the best places for their new churches, and reckon their usefulness, not by the extent of territory redeemed from darkness, but by the number of accessions to their congregations and communions. The ability, and the duty, thoroughly to search out and fully to supply, the religious wants of the people of Connecticut, rests with the churches and pastors of the Congregational order.

And what have they done towards the fulfillment of this duty?

Until now, nothing. The General Association have met annually, for a century and a half, to consult for the good of the churches, and of the people. During the latter part of this period, they have published a pamphlet of denominational statistics. This is all very well in its way,—but it is not in the way of our present argument. It is what the other denominations do; and, after it has been done on all hands, it furnishes the opportunity of marking progress or retrogression, from year to year, and the opportunity of invidious comparisons between sects; but it is a miserable reliance for knowing the religious condition of the population. It gives us the state of the *churches*. What we are after, is, the state

* We are speaking here *merely* of the inability which results from lack of numbers. In other qualifications,—in a spirit of Christian enterprise,—in wise forethought and well-directed liberality,—in the apprehension of the prime duty of Christian churches to the soil which they occupy,—some of the denominations above mentioned have proved themselves to excel. The Episcopalians, in particular, deserve great honor in these respects. Of their methods of systematic labor we have already spoken with praise. The traditions of parochial organization which they derive by inheritance from a state-church give them great advantages for the business.

of the *people*, outside of the churches as well as inside; but particularly *outside*.

The General Association listen also, annually, to a "Narrative of the State of Religion," prepared at the meeting by a Committee;—which is to the effect that the churches have enjoyed a high degree of external prosperity, during the year; that there have been revivals in such and such churches; and that while we have a great deal to be thankful for, yet, on the other hand, we have great cause for humiliation and repentance; that the cause of temperance is advancing, (or retrograding, as the case may be;) that there have been a half-dozen new meeting-houses built, and three or four new churches organized; that we are reminded of the brevity of human life by five or six deaths in the ministry; that the reports from corresponding bodies are very gratifying, and their representatives very welcome; all of which is respectfully submitted. The "Narrative," although rarely a lively composition, is supposed to be a very good thing to have in the General Association, and may possibly be of use, for some purpose or other, but not for the one which we are now considering. What we want, is a Narrative of the state of *Irreligion*.

But the General Association sits also in the capacity of "The Missionary Society of Connecticut, Auxiliary to the American Home Missionary Society." Its business, in this capacity, as defined in the Constitution of the Society, is 'to coöperate with the American Home Missionary Society *in building up the waste places of Connecticut*, and in sending the gospel to the destitute, and assisting feeble congregations in other and more destitute portions of the United States, according to the provisions of the eighth article of the constitution of the parent society, with such stipulations as shall secure to this society the control of the raising and application of funds, the selection and appointment of missionaries, and the general designation of their fields of labor; the said stipulations to be mutually agreed upon by the directors of the Society, and the Executive Committee of the American Home Missionary Society.'

It is in the operations of this Society, then, that we may

naturally suppose these things to be cared for. The Society being established to build up the waste places, we infer that there are such desolations, and that the directors have all necessary or useful information regarding them ; that as an incident to their main work, they are accustomed, from time to time, as need may be, to institute systematic inquiry, such as may bring to light opportunities of doing good, and give security against any very extensive neglect ; that while giving due attention to the less difficult business of aiding feeble churches in paying their annual expenses, they devote special care to regions of country, and masses of population, that do not seem to be acknowledged as in the field of any particular church ; that thus, in one form or another, they are able to give a pretty complete account of the religious condition of the whole population—its needs and capabilities.

It may be that the Directors of this Society have had some such means and method of effectually fulfilling their trust ; but if so, they have been remarkably still about it. It is only for a few years past, that the Reports of this Society have been printed with the minutes of the General Association ; and by referring to such of them as we have been able to lay our hands upon, we have not succeeded in finding that the Society has undertaken to do anything but act upon the petitions of needy churches, send one thousand dollars a year to the Rhode Island Domestic Missionary Society, and then pass over their surplus revenue to the treasury of the American Home Missionary Society. The principle seems to have been adhered to with the most conscientious scrupulosity,—to give only to those who come to the door to beg. The thought that benefactions are often best bestowed on those who dislike to ask them, and the principle, so specially obvious and important in the conduct of such a charity, that the most extreme and urgent need is that in which there is no sense of want, and no desire for relief,—have not been suffered to disturb the established practice. There are, in some of the reports, indications of a consistency which may be thought excessive. The final extinction of a feeble church which had depended on the Society's benefactions for the support of its existence, is

evidently looked on as relieving the Society from any further responsibility for that neighborhood.* The community with a struggling church in it, was an object for compassion and missionary help. The same community, with no church at all, can shift for itself. A curious policy, indeed! As if *men* did not need to be saved, but only *institutions*! Or, as if it were only corporations that had souls!

Remembering, now, that this is a *Missionary Society*—that (a rare thing with such an institution!) it confesses to having money enough—“*ample means*”—for all its purposes,—remembering also that this is the only agency which has pretended to occupy the field of our little state, we submit the question whether two score of such annual reports as these make altogether a creditable record for the forty years that the society (under various names) has been in operation.

We are bound to notice *one* effort made by the General Association, in 1849, looking towards the thorough fulfillment of their duty to the population of the state. Being roused by an overture from the Hartford North Association to “the belief that there is, among the inhabitants of our state, an extensive and alarming neglect of the public worship of God on the Sabbath,” the General Association adopted the following action :

“I. That this body appoint an individual in each District Association, to present this general subject to their respective bodies at their next regular meeting, and especially to solicit the coöperation of his brethren in collecting statistics on the following points:—1st. The whole amount of population within their respective limits over four years of age. 2d. The number of those under four years of age, together with the number of those of all ages, who by infirmity, are unable to attend public worship. 3d. The number of *regular* attendants in their own churches. 4th. The whole number of such attendants in churches of all denominations. 5th. The number of *occasional* attendants in Congregational churches. 6th. The whole number of the same in all churches. 7th. The whole number of non-attendants in their several districts.

“II. The Committee would recommend that these individuals *embody* the

* See Connecticut Home Missionary Society's Report for 1846, in Minutes of General Association. “Two churches (Long Society, Preston, and Chesterfield) have been relinquished as offering no present hope of recovery.”

statistics thus collected, in a regular form, and report them at the next meeting of this body through their respective delegates."

This action lacked only one thing of being quite perfect of its kind, and that was a Third Section, which might have been taken, for substance, from the Transactions of the Pickwick Club, somewhat as follows:

"III. That this Association cordially recognizes the principle of each of the collectors of these statistics defraying his own traveling expenses, postage, express-age, &c.; and that it sees no objection whatever to their pursuing their inquiries for any length of time they please, on the same terms."

Thirteen gentlemen were appointed under the above action, and clothed with full authority to do, each of them, three months' hard work, in addition to his parish labors, and find his reward in a good conscience, and a vote of thanks. The issue of these good resolutions of the Association was like the issue of many others. The thirteen statisticians never reported. This scrap of history, although local, conveys some lessons of extensive application. The experiment of the Connecticut General Association at obtaining bricks without furnishing straw is not an "experiment solitary," but an "experiment in consort." The same thing has been tried in other States. The plan of a laborious inquest has been prepared, schedules of questions have been printed, and circulated by mail, and the projectors have waited for the results. The failure has, in some instances, not been total.

What is worth having is worth paying for. If (as seems to be confessed on all hands) a thorough knowledge of the facts is necessary as the basis of any intelligent and effective system of missionary operations, then it is a proper part of the business of the agents of such operations to acquire this knowledge; and the necessary expenses of inquiry and investigation are as proper objects of the charities of Christian people as those of the more strictly evangelistic work of which it prepares the way. We would call the attention of all ecclesiastical bodies that may be contemplating a similar enterprise, to one of the resolutions of the General Association in

1859, under which the Committee was appointed whose elaborate report is before us:

"*Resolved*, That should the Committee find it expedient to resort to other means of advancing the object, either by the employment of an exploring agent, or by the printing of circulars and documents, and to solicit funds to defray the expenses resulting, the General Association do hereby commend the subject to the benevolent in our churches, as one of great importance to the state, as connected with a great problem, the successful resolution of which, among ourselves, would be a most important contribution to the cause of Christ throughout the land."

Profiting by this recommendation, the Committee raised, without difficulty, some six hundred dollars towards the expenses of a survey of the state, employed a dozen young men of superior tact and energy, to explore each a particular province, and with such volunteer help as he could enlist, to secure trustworthy answers to the schedules of questions. The superintendence of the canvass, and the arduous labor of digesting and arranging the heavy mass of materials, collected from all parts of the state, was chiefly gratuituous labor. The whole cost of the work (not including the printing of the Report) was less than seven hundred dollars.

In order to give the means of judging of the accuracy of the results obtained, and for the information of any who may be contemplating a similar work, we think it well to give an account of the processes used by the Committee.

The minute subdivision of the state, for educational purposes, into little "school-districts," was used in the country towns, as the basis of a thorough inquiry. In these districts the process was as follows:

"The following schedule was prepared, (with some accompanying explanations and a convenient blank attached,) to be placed in the hands of some intelligent man in each school-district of the town to be canvassed:

"How many families in this school-district attendant on each place of worship resorted to from this district?

"What is the entire number of persons in these families, of all ages, including servants?

"What is the number of families *not* in the habit of attending public worship?

"What is the number of persons in these families?

"What is the number of foreigners employed in domestic and farm service?

"How many foreign families settled in the district, and what, generally, is their worldly condition?"

"These questions were purposely so framed, that the religious condition of families, rather than of individuals, should be reported; and then, that the number of individuals comprised in these families should be taken. There was one disadvantage attending this method, to wit, that a family is sometimes divided, a part attending on one church, and a part on another; or, some members of it being faithful church-goers, and others willful neglecters of the sanctuary. But the countervailing advantage was, that by this plan the members of Christian households who were habitually detained from the house of God by age or infancy, by infirmity or maternal care, or any providential hindrance, were counted, not among the neglectors of the church, but among the church-going population. So that a sufficiently extended comparison of the size of congregations, with the amount of the population attendant upon them, would furnish the basis of a general estimate, how many persons in a given church-going population will ordinarily be absent from public worship. Such a basis once established, the business of obtaining a knowledge of the religious condition of the state would be greatly facilitated."

For the cities and large villages, blank books were prepared, to be used in a personal visitation from house to house. This was the most difficult part of the labor, and the results of it seem the least satisfactory part of the Committee's Report.

But besides these minute inquiries, there were others applying to the town or parish at large, which were made according to the following schedule :

" 1. The name of the town. Estimated variation of the population from the census of 1850.

" 2. The population,—how distributed into villages and neighborhoods, with names of all the villages. Employments of the people in general. Origin,—native or foreign.

" 3. An account of the old division of the town into parishes or school societies.

" N. B.—The above, second and third, can best be illustrated by a sketch map.

" 4. The number and denomination of churches and stated meetings,—how located.

" 5. Number of sittings in each house of worship, (verified by actual count.)

" 6. The ordinary (not average nor large) attendance at each church, estimated from actual count, on a fair day.

" 7. Number of communicants in each church, (exclusive of absentees.)

" [8. Number of families habitually attendant at each church, and number of persons in these families.]

" [9. Number of families habitually neglectful of public worship, and number of persons in these families.]

"10. Special and circumstantial accounts of villages and neighborhoods not reached by religious instruction.

"11. A full statement of the means used by churches and pastors to reach the unevangelized.

"[12. An estimate of the number of the foreign population,—the number of this class who are becoming permanent settlers,—and, in general, their religious condition.]

"N. B.—Questions eight, nine, and twelve, are to be answered from the returns from the school-districts.

"*N. B.—Let the collectors carefully preserve the schedules returned to them from the school-districts, to be placed on file.*"

The answers to the above schedule were expected to be filled out with the assistance of pastors, or other well-informed men in each parish.

In the summing up and arranging of the information thus obtained, the Committee present under each town,

1. The *estimated population* of the town.
2. A brief note of the *employment* and *distribution* of the people, and their *origin*, whether native or foreign.

3. The amount of *church accommodation* in the town; and the *aggregate ordinary congregations* in all the churches, on a fair Sunday. In order not to provoke invidious comparisons between sects, these are given in the aggregate, and not in detail.

4. The amount of *population reported* in the Committee's canvass of the town. The Committee remark:

"By comparing this with the 'Estimated Population,' an estimate may be formed of the thoroughness and accuracy with which our work has been done. In the case of some towns, the returns from one or more school-districts have not come to hand. In this case, of course, the comparison will fail. In general, however, the comparison will give reasonable confidence in the accuracy of our work."

5. The *proportion* in which this population is divided into church-goers (of various denominations) and habitual *non-attendants* on public worship. In this census, (as has been noted above,) the members of church-going families, who for any reason are themselves not habitually attendants on public

worship, are nevertheless counted, not with the non-attendant, but with the church-going families.

6. Then follow *illustrative remarks* gathered from the district and town reports, and arranged chiefly under these heads: "*particular districts*," "*means used*," "*Bible*," "*foreign population*."

We give now a few specimens of representative towns in Connecticut, as exhibited in the Report. And to begin with, we take the good old country town of Sharon, in Litchfield county, the home of the patriot-pastor, Rev. Cotton Mather Smith, and of his more illustrious son, Gov. John Cotton Smith, first president of the American Bible Society:

SHARON—ESTIMATED POPULATION, 2,517.

POPULATION REPORTED,	2,125
Number of churches in the town, six, to wit: in <i>Sharon</i> parish four, Congregational, Methodist, Episcopal, Roman Catholic. SITTINGS,	1,350
In <i>Ellsworth</i> parish, two, Congregational and Methodist. SITTINGS,	458
TOTAL SITTINGS,	1,808
<i>Aggregate ordinary congregations, SHARON,</i>	515
" " " " <i>ELLSWORTH,</i>	300

TOTAL, 775

The town is unequally divided into two parishes, *Sharon* and *Ellsworth*. The latter was set off in 1801. The statistics of the two will be given separately.

SHARON PARISH.—Supposed to contain about two-thirds of the population. There is a considerable Irish element in the population, employed partly in agriculture, and partly in the iron works.

POPULATION REPORTED,	1,600
Congregationalists,	per cent. 23
Methodists,	" 26
Episcopalians,	" 11
Baptists,	" 1
Adventists,	" 2-63
Roman Catholics,	" 9
Non-attendants,	" 29
	<hr/> 100

The Adventists meet at private houses.

NOTE.—"Several families are so divided that it is difficult to classify them. Some who attend, wander from church to church. Others who are reported as attending, are not found in the house of God oftener than once in two, three, or four weeks;—some not so often."

PARTICULAR DISTRICTS.—The irreligious districts seem to be, in every

instance, on the frontier of the parish. In three districts specified, "probably not one-fourth of the inhabitants go habitually to church."

MEANS USED.—Sabbath evening meetings sustained by the pastor and brethren of the Congregational Church at four or more outposts. In some cases these are largely attended. Similar labors are prosecuted by the Methodist and Episcopalian ministers. The latter has also a semi-monthly Sabbath School at an out-station.

FOREIGN POPULATION.—Estimated at three hundred,—chiefly Irish. "They are generally industrious, and as they accumulate means, seem inclined to buy land and own a homestead. Chiefly Roman Catholics. Some few are intemperate.

BIBLES.—There is a local Bible Society in effective operation.

PASTOR'S NOTE.—"I propose to spread some of these facts before my own people, that they may see the desolation, and feel the necessity for action."

ELLSWORTH PARISH.—Contains no considerable village, the people American farmers.

POPULATION REPORTED,	716
Congregationalists,	per cent., 31
Methodists,	" 31
Episcopalians,	" 1-63
Roman Catholics,	" 2
Non-attendants,	" 35
	<hr/> 100

PARTICULAR DISTRICTS.—In one district thirteen families out of eighteen are reported as non-attendant. "This district is from two to three miles away from any place of worship. Some may be non-attendants for want of conveyance, but probably most from choice."

MEANS USED.—The circulation of the papers of the American Tract Society. These go into most of the families accessible to the Congregational pastor.

FOREIGN POPULATION.—Very small,—consists of French and Irish. "The Irish are Catholics. The French, if Catholics, have but little of the bigotry of that sect; they are generally quiet, peaceable inhabitants, but not attendants on public worship."

We give this as the specimen of a farming town. Now as a representative of the manufacturing towns, let us take a flourishing town in Hartford county, to wit:

MANCHESTER—ESTIMATED POPULATION, 3,500.

One of the greatest manufacturing towns in the state. Contains five villages.

The factory operatives are nearly all foreigners. Seven-eighths of these foreigners are Irish.

Six churches. Two Congregational, two Methodist, one Episcopal, one Roman Catholic. TOTAL SITTINGS, 2,470

Aggregate ordinary congregations, 1,490

NOTE.—The above figures are exclusive of the First Methodist Church, which is not reported. The Episcopal meeting-house is open only occasionally, and then at a different hour from the other churches,—so that their congregation (of forty) is not a clear addition to the number of church-goers.

POPULATION REPORTED, six districts,	1,487
Congregationalists,	per cent., 32
Methodists,	" 23
Episcopalians,	" 3—68
Roman Catholics,	" 16
Spiritualists,	" 2
Non-attendants,	" 14
	—
	100

MEANS USED.—“About a year ago a systematic church visitation was made;—visiting and religious conversation through the day—neighborhood meetings in the evening. Great good was accomplished. More than fifty were added as permanent members of the congregation, and some of them united with the church.”

In 1851, the church divided, and the Second Congregational Church was organized. Each of the new societies seems to be stronger than the old one; and in Union Village twenty-one heads of families, who before took little interest in the church, are now active members.

As the *best* parish presented in the Report, we give the statistics of the old “Judea Society,” in the town of Washington, Litchfield county:

JUDEA PARISH.

Two churches,—Congregational and Episcopal.

TOTAL SITTINGS, 850

Aggregate ordinary congregations, 359

POPULATION REPORTED,	804
Congregationalists,	per cent., 73
Episcopalians,	" 14
Methodists,	" 1
Baptists,	" 2
Adventists,	" 1—91
Roman Catholics,	" 4
Non-attendants,	" 5
	—
	100

PASTOR'S NOTE.—“We are not cursed with a dram-shop, and almost every man is temperate and sober in his habits.”

MEANS USED.—From "Davis's Hollow" it is reported: "A prayer meeting has been sustained in this district for nearly five years, at which nearly all the inhabitants attend, even some of the non-attendants on public worship."

And for the *worst town* (statistically) in the Report, we give the following pitiable record of the town of Weston, Fairfield county, and ask the people of Connecticut to look at it:

WESTON—ESTIMATED POPULATION, 1,060.

The people are mostly farmers, though there are some manufacturers.

Churches—Congregational in Weston Center, and Episcopal at Lyon's Plain. In all, two.

TOTAL SITTINGS,	587
<i>Aggregate ordinary congregations,</i>	117
POPULATION REPORTED,	959
Congregationalists,	per cent., 19
Methodists,	" 7
Episcopalians,	" 9
Baptists,	" 2-37
Roman Catholics,	" 8
Non-attendants,	" 60 60
	<hr/> 100

"Devil's Den" is a Sodom without a Lot—not a soul is reported as attending church regularly. This district, with the Upper Parish and Egypt, or The Forge, is in a most deplorable condition, morally and religiously.

MEANS USED.—In Upper Parish, Congregationalists and Methodists hold meetings alternately. At The Forge, the Baptists and Methodists hold meetings once in four weeks; Universalists once in six weeks.

The statistical sketches of which we have given the above random specimens, are more or less complete from one hundred of the one hundred and seventy towns in the state. The specimens which we have given show that many points were aimed at in the inquiry, and are exhibited in the result. The Committee say that they have gathered information on still other related topics, which they have not yet embodied. But the main point, and the one to which our remaining remarks will be chiefly directed, is,

The proportion of the families of the population which are habitually non-attendant on public worship.

Taking the returns from a single county, that of Litchfield,

as the basis of our calculations, we find in the twenty-five towns of Litchfield county, that, on an average, about twenty-three per cent. of the population is included in families that do not attend public worship. We do not mean that twenty-three out of every one hundred *individuals* do not attend church; but that, counting with the church-going population the "halt and maimed," the aged, sick, and infants, and those detained habitually at home by domestic duties, so long as they belong to *families* who attend church, there still remains nearly a quarter of the population belonging to families that habitually neglect public worship.

But what is the nature of this non-church-going population?—and where is it to be found?

The prejudice and vain conceit of our people is at no loss for an answer. "Of course we must expect to find such things in the cities and large towns,—those 'sinks of iniquity,'—those 'festering places of vice and immorality.' The large towns are no doubt foci of evil influence by which the surrounding country is more or less affected. But the state is sound. The aspect of our quiet country Puritan towns, with their "church-going bells" and heavenward pointing spires, and their frequent school-houses, is a sufficient witness for this. And then as for the *nature* of this population,—it is to be supposed at once that it is made up of immigrants of various European nations, who have brought over with them their papistical or infidel old-world habits, and of such of our own children as may have been corrupted by their evil communications. It is quite out of the question to think that our New Englanders have forsaken their steady habits and forsaken their religious character. To be sure, these foreigners, and especially these Roman Catholics, have a great deal to answer for in bringing reproach on our virtuous New England communities."

Such, for substance, is the explanation we have all heard, again and again, of the indications of prevailing irreligion in New England. Now what say the facts and the figures?

In the first place, the county which we have named, and in which we find that twenty-three per cent. of the population

live in neglect of religious ordinances, is one which glories above the other counties of the state of steady habits, in its conservatism of everything that is lovely and of good report in the Puritan character,—the loyalty and order of its people—the sanctity of its sabbaths—the prosperity of its churches. It contains no city, and only a few large manufacturing villages. If we wished to give a foreigner the best impression of primitive New England life and character we should introduce him to Litchfield county, Connecticut.

In the second place, the most aggravated instances of religious neglect and degeneracy are in towns and parishes almost exclusively agricultural, containing no villages of considerable size, and no considerable admixture of foreigners. We have taken the pains to select the ten towns or parishes in this county which present the largest percentages of non-attendants at church, and take the average of these percentages. For the benefit of those who may be acquainted with the minute geography of Connecticut, we present the result in a tabular form, as follows:

Colebrook,	.	.	.	.	28	<i>per cent.</i>
Harwinton,	.	.	.	.	28	"
Kent,	.	.	.	.	38	"
Litchfield, Northfield parish,	.	.	.	.	28	"
" Milton parish,	.	.	.	.	28	"
Morris,	.	.	.	.	28	"
Sharon, First parish,	.	.	.	.	29	"
" Ellsworth parish,	.	.	.	.	85	"
Warren,	.	.	.	.	36	"
Winchester, First parish,	.	.	.	.	38	"
<hr/>						
<i>Average per cent.,</i>						31.6

Those who are acquainted with the character of these towns and parishes will recognize them as belonging to the better class of our native-American, Puritan, farming communities. Nearly *one-third* of their population belongs in the class of habitual non-attendants on public worship. On the other hand, in its manufacturing towns and villages of New Hartford, Ply-

mouth, Wolcottville and Winsted, the average percentage of non-attendants is 16.5, or about *one-sixth* of the population.

In the third place, the particular school districts which seem most utterly abandoned to ungodliness, are rural districts secluded by their situation and character from the infection of great towns and of foreign immigration. Take, for example, the following from the report of the town of Harwinton:

"PARTICULAR DISTRICTS.—One is specified in extreme south of the town. Thirteen families out of eighteen are non-attendant. *No foreigners.*

"Another in southeast part of the town. Eleven out of thirty families non-attendant. *No foreigners.*

"Another borders on Plymouth. Eight out of eleven families non-attendant; some of them through infirmity. *No foreigners.*

"Another, in the extreme west; equi-distant from Harwinton and Wolcottville. Fifteen out of twenty-five families non-attendant."

Also the following, from the report of Kent:

"PARTICULAR DISTRICTS.—Several districts which present a marked character, are indicated below by arbitrary designations. A.; sixteen families out of twenty-nine, non-attendant. *No foreigners.* B.; twenty families out of forty, non-attendant. *Four foreign families.* 'The moral and religious aspect of this school district has been improving for a few years past.' C.; sixty persons out of ninety-two, non-attendants. D.; twelve families out of sixteen, non-attendant; *no foreigners.* E.; twelve families, including fifty-four persons, all American, NOT ONE OF THEM ATTENDANT AT ANY CHURCH!"

In the fourth place, with regard to the condition of the foreign population, although many of the towns report it in the usual terms in which we are accustomed to hear it spoken of, there are nevertheless many hopeful indications. The pastor of the church in Newtown, widely known as a man of exact and thorough observation, gives an account of the foreign population in his parish, which is made, obviously, from his personal knowledge, and which presents so interesting and encouraging a view of them that we copy it at length :

"FOREIGN POPULATION.—There are a few German families, perhaps ten, of whom I have learned comparatively little. They are chiefly engaged in the rubber factories, and are thriving. They live in, and near, Sandy Hook, and the Methodists have got a good hold upon them, and are doing them good. Several of the families attend public worship with the Methodists, and a number of

them are members of a Methodist class-meeting. Aside from these, the foreign population are, almost without exception, Irish and Catholics; though the Methodists have two Irishmen of Protestant origin, one of whom is a local preacher. Both are married to American women. The Irish Catholics (including under this head several cases of intermarriage between German and American men and Irish women, in all of which the Irish and Catholic elements carry the day) number, as I have already said, one hundred and nineteen families and five hundred and six persons; for *I have not yet learned of a family of these who do not attend worship.*

"There is no class of people in this community more industrious than the Irish. Eighty-one of these families own real estate, and it is a common remark, that they stand ready to buy up all the land thrown into market in the town. As fast as our American families fall into decay, and are obliged to sell their property, the Irish catch it up. They buy poor land, and by hard work improve it; and they buy good land, and keep it good. It is a constant marvel to me to see how fast they are getting on in the world. They drink, but not enough to detract noticeably from their pecuniary prosperity. I do not know one of them who can be called a low drunkard; though I presume there are some among them of that description. They are sometimes noisy on Sabbath evenings, and when returning from funerals, but seldom make any great disturbance. In 1855 they bought the Universalist meeting-house in the Center. This house has been built but a few years, and the building of it, with the attempt to sustain preaching, broke down the Universalist Society. From 1855 to the fall of 1859, the Catholics had a monthly service in the church. Last fall an enterprising, intelligent and affable young Irish priest, settled down here, and since that time, worship has been held every Sabbath. He has also purchased a parsonage property for fifteen hundred dollars, and his influence is, by common acknowledgment, beneficial to the Irish, and as good as that of a thorough policeman for the rest of us. I do not know of one of these Catholic Irish who has become a Protestant, or who is leaning that way. Their house was painted last fall. They have an organ and organist, and a choir of singers; and the priest told me in the fall that he should have a Sabbath School. He appears to be a thorough-going temperance man, and is probably doing more in that line than any other minister in town. The Catholic children attend the common schools; and, as yet, no separate school has been opened for them by the priest, though one has been talked of."

Probably this description is not a fair account of the Irish population at large, through the state and country. But it suggests the doubt whether careful and thorough personal observation would not tend, anywhere, to correct the "wholesome prejudices" of those who, in their zeal for the honor of the New England character, are fond of imputing the prevalence of vice and irreligion to "large towns," "foreign population," and "Jesuits."

Mark this. In this town of Newtown, (Fairfield county,) *forty-two per cent.* of the population is reported as belonging to the class of neglecters of public worship. Of this percentage the large foreign population of the town contributes no appreciable part. The Congregational pastor "*has not learned of a family of these who do not attend worship.*" Deducting from the total population of the town the Irish Catholic element, it appears that of the remainder, **ONE-HALF** (estimating by families) are neglecters of public worship. Such facts as these contain food for reflection for Pastors, and Home Missionary Societies, and "American" politicians.

Not to enlarge further on the details of this report, we insert, as worthy of the thoughtful attention of Christian patriots, some paragraphs in which the Committee sum up a part of these results for their labor:

" We simply indicate, as a subject of study, certain comparisons which we should be glad to elaborate, but lack the time.

" 1. Comparison between the religious condition of *cities* and *large villages*, and that of *rural districts*. It is certainly the popular impression, that the largest proportion of irreligion and immorality is to be found in cities and villages, and that the exclusively farming towns are comparatively pure and godly. The Committee do not wish to make any assertion with regard to this matter; we ask all persons to look at the figures.

" 2. Comparison between the *central* and *border* districts of parishes. The mere abstracts which we have presented in tabular form, of the School District Reports, give no opportunity for making this comparison. But it is sufficiently evident to the Committee, that in most instances, in proportion as the districts recede in distance from church-centers, they are more irreligious. It is also evident, that there is a steady process of *centralizing the Christianity and heathenizing the frontiers* of our country parishes. The Christians living remote from church sell their farms and buy nearer the church. The farms thus sold fall into the hands of those to whom the distance from the church is no consideration that affects the price. Or the church-going father bequeaths the place to a son who excuses himself from public worship on the ground of distance, and, for lack of some system that should put *every* family into the field of labor of some church, there grows up a family of godless children. Thus it has come about, that almost every town has its 'Hardscrabble' district or region. The 'Hardscrabbles' have a tendency to increase.

" 3. Comparison between the irreligion of the *natives* and that of the *foreign* population.

" Of course it would be vain to pretend that the condition of the foreign,—especially of the Irish,—population of Connecticut is not far inferior to that of the natives in almost every respect, and most of all in respect to religion. And to this

most of the returns give witness. Nevertheless, it gives us great pleasure to put on record the frequent testimony of pastors and others, to the high and hopeful degree of worldly and moral prosperity attained by the foreign population of many towns.* The returns give the impression that the Roman Catholic population do not often sink to so low a grade of heathenism as the irreligious native-born population. They do not entirely abandon some thought of God, and some respect for their own religious observances. Just as an apostate Christian is the most irreclaimable of sinners; just as 'a shameless woman is the worst of men,' so a broken down, godless Connecticut Yankee is the most abject of heathen. Uniformly, the districts most utterly given over to desolation are districts occupied by a population purely native American.

"4. Comparison of various towns and regions as historically and geographically affected. It had been under advisement of the Committee to prepare some notes on this topic,—a very instructive but delicate task. It would give some useful lessons to us, bearing on the contemplated work, if taking the representative towns, we could show the causes that have prevailed in some of them to their decline, and in others to their elevation in the scale of moral and religious character. For instance, in Litchfield county are two adjoining towns, Washington and Kent, not essentially unlike, at first view, in situation and circumstances, but singularly different in religious character. The old parish of 'Judea Society,' in Washington, presents such a record as, perhaps, no parish in Christendom besides can show. Within its territorial precincts, only five per cent. of the population can be counted as habitual neglecters of public worship. In this measurement, no other parish in the state approaches it.† In Kent, the percentage of non-attendants is thirty-eight. It might be invidious, but it would surely be instructive, if we could trace the causes that have wrought this difference. We commend the study to others.

"5. Comparison of the size of the ordinary congregation, with the number of the population which reports itself as 'habitually attending' with that congregation. This comparison would be of great value, if founded on a sufficient number of instances. We have the materials, but not the time, for making it.

"6. The supply of Bibles to the community. It had been gravely suspected, before the beginning of this work of inquiry, that with the exception of (at the most) a score or two of towns in which there are 'Bible Depositories,' the population were without opportunity of purchasing Bibles; that by some strange anomaly, an article not only of universal necessity, but (in this state) of almost universally *felt* necessity, was not kept for sale by country merchants, nor made in any other way accessible to purchasers. The question, 'Is there any place in your town where Bibles can be bought?' was put to many (not all) of the towns which we have explored, and the answers received are such as *fully to confirm the suspicion above stated.*

"The cause which has operated to bring about the present strange condition of

* We ask special attention to an interesting statement on this subject, in the report from Newtown.

† We find a similar return from North Guilford parish, in New Haven county. Of the substantial accuracy of the report from Washington, however, we have assured ourselves, by special inquiry.

things we will not discuss at length. We only state briefly and plainly, that we believe it to lie in the defective operation of the American Bible Society. What measures ought to be taken to remedy the evil, may be more appropriately considered in the next chapter."

Such are the results of investigation in the state of Connecticut. We do not set them before our readers, scattered over the breadth of the land, and demand that they should be received as giving an exact exhibition of the state of things everywhere. Many, doubtless, especially in the older states of the Union, will claim that the religious condition of their own states does not correspond with that of Connecticut, so painfully set forth in the Report before us. We agree that it does not. Nay, we stoutly claim that if Connecticut, with her noble history, and the fame of her churches and schools,—Connecticut, the fountain of Christian missions and Christian colonies, and the center of Christian education—if Connecticut shows such a record, a like investigation in other states would give even worse results. The Committee have not left this question to mere conjecture, but have showed, by such indications as the last census affords, a strong probability that the religious condition of Connecticut is *better* than that of any other state in the union. We give a brief extract:

"The only indication of religious condition, in the seventh census of the United States, is the return of *church-edifices, accommodations, and values*. This of course is not an infallible indication, but may stand for what it is worth.

"By Table CXLI of the 'Compendium of the Seventh Census,' it appears that the ratio of church accommodation to the population, is larger in Connecticut than in any other state in the union; larger by ten per cent. than in any state except Vermont and New Hampshire; there being in Connecticut, sittings for eight hundred and thirty-four in every one thousand of the people, while the fourth state on the list, Ohio, (the daughter of Connecticut,) has sittings for seven hundred and thirty-six in every one thousand.

"It appears that the ratio of church property to the population, is higher in this state than in any other, except Massachusetts."

In further vindication of the character of their state, the Committee make the following significant extract from an Historical Address before the General Association at Norwich, in 1859, by Rev. Dr. Bacon:

"Is there no meaning in the fact, that not one of our churches, and only one of our parishes, fell in the Unitarian defection? To my thought there is a similar

meaning in the fact, that while Congregationalism still remains stronger in Connecticut than in any other state, the Episcopalians of Connecticut are, in proportion to our aggregate population, one of the strongest dioceses in the Union; and the Baptist and Methodist churches among us, are also almost as strong in numbers, and quite as strong in the elements of Christian character and influence, if I mistake not, as the average of those two numerous and powerful bodies of Christian churches in all the states and territories in the Union. To my thought, there is a meaning of the same sort, in the fact, that of all the religious organizations commonly regarded as anti-evangelical, or anti-orthodox, not one has ever flourished among the native population."

In view of these facts, it is reasonable to believe that even in our best and oldest states, *not less than one-fourth of the families of the people live in acknowledged neglect of public religious worship.*

At this result, which is given cautiously, and which we believe to fall far within the truth, we pause for the present. To have fairly set forth the facts is enough to have accomplished in one Article. We have found the answer to the first of the two practical questions which we had propounded to ourselves at the outset, namely, "*What is to be done?*" The other and broader question still remains, "*How to do it?*" and to the discussion of this, we may perhaps make some contribution in a future number of the *New Englander*.

ART. IX.—PALFREY'S HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.

The History of New England. By JOHN GORHAM PALFREY.
Vol. I. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1858. Vol. II.
1860.

Two volumes of Dr. Palfrey's History are now before the public. It is a pleasure to commend such a work. In the first volume, the author, already widely known as a scholar of exact and various learning, achieved a position among the foremost of living historians. All the range of his former studies and employments seemed to have fitted him for the great work which he announced as that which was to occupy the remainder of his life. In his second volume, there is no falling off of enthusiasm on the part of the writer; while the power with which he holds and charms his readers is the greater as the narrative proceeds, and the unity of its subject becomes more evident. The chief peculiarity of his style, if not more conspicuous in the second volume than in the first, seems more effective; we mean the freedom and skill with which he studiously incorporates into his narrative the language of contemporary documents. It is more and more a satisfaction to find the actors in the story speaking so often for themselves, not, after the fashion of ancient historians, in orations and dialogues purely imaginary, but in their own words recorded at the time. The conviction of the author's indefatigable thoroughness in tracing everything back to the original sources of information, and in distinguishing between the authentic and the merely traditional or conjectural, grows upon the reader in all the progress of the work.

Dr. Palfrey professes, in the preface to his first volume, that his religious sympathies are not with the heroes of his story. He intimates that, with the belief which he entertains, he "could not have been admitted into any church established by the Fathers," and that an attempt to propagate his inter-

pretations of the Gospel would have made him "an exile from their society." Yet he writes with the undissembled feeling of a New England man who is not ashamed of his ancestry, or of these old Puritan commonwealths. In his case "blood is thicker than water;" and the history which he gives us is the better for the partial feeling which gives it warmth and color. He does not pretend to have divested himself of all patriotic sympathies, and for that reason we have the more confidence in him. He writes not with serene and absolute indifference, still less with cynical disparagement of character and motives after the manner of Mr. Hildreth, but with a healthy glow of natural affection toward his natal soil, and toward the men whose heroic labors redeemed it from the wildness of nature.

Inasmuch, then, as we make no objection to the fact that this history of New England is written with New England sympathies, we will not complain too loudly if we find the learned author sometimes biased by his sympathies as a Massachusetts man in his account of questions that arose of old between Massachusetts and the neighboring colonies. Those questions have long since ceased to be of any practical consequence, or to have any other than an antiquarian interest. What if the men of Massachusetts, two hundred years ago, were sometimes overbearing toward the weaker colonies in the little Puritan confederation? What if they were not? The question concerns no living person's rights or welfare. Anything like a controversy over it would be almost as preposterous as the disputes between Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck and Sir Arthur Wardour, in the *Antiquary*. We can therefore afford to be charitable towards any errors into which our author may have fallen under the bias of his special sympathy with his own state. To antiquaries and the active members of State Historical Societies, certain questions in New England history are as fresh to-day, and as far from being settled, as when they were first debated among the fathers of these Puritan colonies. Some of these questions Dr. Palfrey has occasion to discuss in the progress of his second volume; and uniformly, if we mistake not, it happens that his

decision is for Massachusetts against the other colonies. A friend of ours, who is eminently learned in all those questions, and familiar with the documents pertaining to them, and whose sensitiveness to the honor of his own state has been a little roused by the perusal of the work before us, assures us that though the first volume was so far impartial as to produce some discontent in certain circles, the second volume is less successful in that respect. While agreeing with us in our admiration of the work, he refers us to several instances of what seems to him partiality in judgment—and particularly to the matter of the "Saybrook impost," and to the controversies about a war with the Dutch at the Manha-does. Without committing ourselves very zealously on either side, we may venture to examine Dr. Palfrey's account of the part taken by Massachusetts in those two affairs now so far bygone.

As to the "Saybrook impost," the acknowledged facts on which the controversy rests, are these:

In 1643, the four New England colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connectient, and New Haven, entered into "a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offense and defense, mutual advice, and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare." "For the managing and concluding of all affairs, proper to and concerning the whole confederation," they instituted a yearly congress of two "Commissioners" from each of the four colonies, who were to be invested with "full power, from their several General Courts respectively, to hear, examine, weigh and determine all affairs of war or peace"—"and all things of like nature which are the proper concomitants or consequences of such a confederation for amity, offense, and defense." And in the eighth of the twelve "Articles of Confederation" it was distinctly "agreed that the Commissioners for this confederation, hereafter at their meetings, whether ordinary or extraordinary, do endeavor to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the plantations are interested, for preserving peace

among themselves, and preventing (as much as may be) all occasions of war or differences with others,—as about the free and speedy passage of justice, in each jurisdiction, to all confederates equally as to their own," &c.

2. At the time when the confederation was instituted, the fort at the mouth of Connecticut river was held by George Fenwick, the agent of certain noblemen and gentlemen in England. In 1645, the authorities of Connecticut made an agreement with Fenwick, by which his pretence to a separate jurisdiction was extinguished, and the fort at Saybrook—to the building and support of which Connecticut had previously contributed—became the property of that colony. A part of the consideration to Fenwick, for the surrender of his claims, was that certain duties should be paid to him for ten years, on all beaver, grain and biscuit exported from the river. To facilitate the payment of these duties, one man was appointed at Windsor, one at Hartford, and one at Wethersfield, "their houses being near the waterside," who should give to the master of every vessel going down the river a certificate of the quantity of grain or biscuit on which he was to pay the stipulated duties.

3. Of the then existing settlements on the river, one town, Springfield, was within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The traders of Springfield, of whom the chief was William Pynchon, refused to pay those duties, arguing that as dwelling within the jurisdiction of another colony they ought not to be taxed for the benefit of Connecticut. It had been provided that any attempt to evade the payment of the duties should be punished by a forfeiture of the goods; but, on the complaint of the Springfield traders, the execution of that provision was postponed in their case, till the whole question could be referred to the assembled Commissioners of the united colonies.

4. Thus the question as to the payment of the duties, instead of being a private controversy between Pynchon and Fenwick, who seem to have been the parties immediately concerned, became a controversy between the colony of Massachusetts, which was greater in wealth and strength than all the rest of the confederation, and the comparatively feeble colony of Connecticut. As a question between two of the confederated

governments, it was confessedly a question to be decided by the Commissioners. In other words, the decision was to be made by the representatives of two colonies, New Haven and Plymouth, acting as arbitrators between the other two. After repeated hearings and protracted consideration, the decision, first and last, was, that the Saybrook impost ought to be paid by the Springfield traders, as well as by those of the towns within the jurisdiction of Connecticut.

5. Upon the first rendering of this decision, (July, 1647,) with the proviso that the whole question might be reconsidered at the next meeting if Massachusetts or Springfield should so desire, the General Court of Massachusetts not only expressed its discontent and asked for another hearing of the case, but indulged itself in a remarkable manifestation of what Dr. Palfrey calls "the painful feeling that had been excited in that colony." It found fault with the whole system of the confederation as dangerous to liberty and as needing a thorough revision that might remedy its inconveniences. In modern phrase "the union was in danger," unless Massachusetts could have her way. Notwithstanding all this manifestation of "painful feeling," the Commissioners, (July, 1648,) Theophilus Eaton and Stephen Goodyear from New Haven, and William Bradford and John Brown from Plymouth, "found not sufficient cause to reverse what was done the last year." But inasmuch as Connecticut had claimed in the argument, that Springfield was of right, as at the first settlement of that town it was supposed to be, within the boundaries of Connecticut, and that boundary question was beginning to be a serious one; and inasmuch as no copy of the order or enactment requiring the payment of duties from the Springfield people had been exhibited; they desired that the order might "be brought and presented to the Commissioners for further consideration, if there were cause, the next year," and that in the meantime the two contending colonies "would agree upon some equal and satisfying way of running the Massachusetts line."

6. After this second rendering of the decision respecting the Saybrook impost, the question was again revived by Mas-

sachusetts, the next year, (July, 1649,) in connection with the boundary question. And when the decision was once more repeated in favor of Connecticut, the Commissioners from Massachusetts produced an order which their General Court had enacted two months before, imposing a retaliatory duty. All goods owned by any of the inhabitants, not only of Connecticut but of Plymouth and New Haven colonies, were by that order subjected to a burthensome duty if "*imported within the castle*" built for the protection of Boston, or if *exported to those colonies "from any part of the Bay."* Thereupon the Commissioners of those three colonies united in a simple declaration and remonstrance, closing with these words: "How far the premises agree with the law of love and with the tenor and import of the Articles of Confederation, the Commissioners tender and recommend to the consideration of the General Court for Massachusetts, and in the meantime desire to be spared in all future agitations respecting Springfield."

7. The consequence of this remonstrance, and of a little "sober second thought" on the part of Massachusetts, was that the offensive act of retaliation was repealed the next year.

Such is the story in outline. Dr. Palfrey had given it much more in detail, skillfully condensing it from the public records of Connecticut, of Massachusetts, and of the congress of Commissioners. We will not undertake to censure the manner in which he has constructed his narrative from the materials before him. Doubtless, our antiquarian friend in the interest of Connecticut might have told the story a little differently without telling it less honestly. Doubtless, he might have rehearsed the arguments of Connecticut before the Commissioners with a little more emphasis, and those of Massachusetts with a little less, and not have made himself either more or less liable than Dr. Palfrey to the imputation of too much sympathy with his own state. But in summing up the "merits of the controversy," our Connecticut friend would confront the learned and eloquent historian with courteous but earnest opposition.

This is what Dr. Palfrey says :

"The Commissioners of the two neutral Colonies, who in this transaction disapproved the course of Massachusetts, were men of eminent integrity and good judgment. But the correctness of their decree is not unquestionable. Massachusetts was right in affirming that Springfield was within her chartered limits, and that nothing had taken place to impair her title. She was right in doubting whether the collection of a duty at Saybrook from Springfield people had ever been authorized by the General Court of Connecticut; though this was a subordinate point after that government assumed the responsibility of the claim. Massachusetts was right in maintaining that the money, which Connecticut proposed to raise by an impost on subjects of another jurisdiction, was for a large purchase of her own, consisting not only of a fort, but of other property. In point of fact, she was right in calling in question the possession by Connecticut of any patent rights whatever; for the patent which had been produced when the confederation was made was only that which had been 'granted by the Earl of Warwick to certain nobles and gentlemen' represented by Fenwick; all that the Connecticut settlers had obtained from Fenwick was a covenant to transfer it to them, 'if it came into his power'; and in fact the transfer had never been made. She was right in declaring—though that was not made a turning point—that the work at Saybrook could be of no considerable use to Springfield as a defense, whether against Indians, Dutch, French, or English, even if it had been a place of strength,—which it never was, and it had been destroyed by fire while the dispute was pending; and she might fairly, perhaps, have gone even so far as to affirm that, regarding all the relations of the case, her own comparatively expensive work in Boston harbor was of more importance to each and every settlement of New England, than the fort of Saybrook was to any one. She was right in saying that Englishmen at Springfield ought by Englishmen to be left as free to go and to come, to and from sea, as Dutchmen were at Hartford. She made a strong case when she argued that Pynchon and his friends would not, by planting Springfield, have helped the trade of the river, had they felt any apprehension that the river might be shut against them.

"On the other hand, the claim upon Connecticut to be at the whole expense of a second survey of the boundary line, if not unjust, was at least ungracious, and indicative of a disposition to stand on extreme rights, in answer to what was deemed offensive encroachment. But the great considerations on which the question should have been decided belong to the right of communities inhabiting the upper sections of rivers to pass unobstructed along the lower waters to the ocean, the common highway of nations. And this point, indeed, was not unskillfully argued on the part of Massachusetts, though the reasoning proceeded not on the authority of the publicists, but on analogies of rights of way as established between private proprietors. The statesmen of Massachusetts were accustomed to look a long way forward; and, if they had yielded to the claim of a sister colony to control the navigation of Connecticut by holding a fortress at its outlet, they might have estopped themselves from resisting, at a future time, a pretension of the Dutch at the mouth of the Hudson to arrest their way to the sea.

from any plantations they might make within their chartered boundaries on the upper waters of that river.

"The imposition by Massachusetts of a tax on the commerce of the other colonies, in consequence of what she regarded as a decision oppressive to herself, looks like an outbreak of vexation; and that it was an undignified proceeding may be said with the greater appearance of justice, because of her having so amply recognized the arbiters by the holding of an argument before them from year to year. That the measure may have been adopted under an impulse of resentment, it would not be possible to disprove. On the other hand, it might be justified as a fit reassertion of the doctrine, which the disappointed party had been urging, of a claim upon other Colonies to remuneration for expenses, as valid as the similar claim which they had sanctioned; and, by considerations of prudence, Massachusetts might seem to herself to be called upon for a practical declaration, that if, under the Articles of the Confederacy, she might be subjected to wrong, she was able, by virtue of the same interpretation of those Articles, to right and protect herself by legislation of her own. But, by whatever motives prompted, the retaliating law was not permanently approved. It was repealed in the following year."—Vol. ii, pp. 249–251.

Against all this, Governor Hopkins himself, who was the chief representative of Connecticut in the controversy, could hardly have protested more earnestly in his time than does our antiquarian friend whose long familiarity with the venerable archives of the jurisdiction on the river, makes him almost as sensitive to whatever may seem to impugn the equity and legality of the "Saybrook impost," as if he himself had voted for it in the General Court. Let us give, in our calm and judicial way—not zealous enough by half—"the merits of the controversy," as they seem outside of the boundary of the old Bay State.

1. A presumption against Dr. Palfrey's view of the case, arises from the fact that no previous historian, within our present recollection, has ventured to justify the course of Massachusetts in this matter. The honest but warm-tempered historian of Connecticut, Dr. Trumbull, expresses his mind very freely in his narration of the facts,* yet he hardly exceeds the censure pronounced by other writers of the highest authority, and as free as possible from any bias in favor of Connecticut. Hutchinson says that the retaliatory law of Massachusetts was made "to the dishonor of the colony." He adds, "No excuse can be framed for it. It was

* Trumbull, i, 164–167, 172–174, 182–185.

a mere exertion of power, and a proof of their great superiority which enabled them, in effect, to depart from the union, or combination, whenever they found it for their interest."^{*} John Quincy Adams, in his "Discourse on the New England Confederation," manifestly alluding to this and to another difficulty between Massachusetts and her weaker confederates, says that the history of the New England league, "like that of other confederacies, presents a record of incessant discord, of encroachments by the most powerful party upon the weaker members," &c.[†]

2. Dr. Palfrey overlooks the equity of the case, and puts the defense of Massachusetts chiefly where she herself placed it, on arguments of a much inferior character. Her pretense of "doubt whether the collection of a duty at Saybrook from Springfield, had ever been authorized by the general court of Connecticut," seems to us unworthy of the occasion—a little too much like what Milton calls "pettifoggery." Her pretense "that the money which Connecticut proposed to raise by an impost on subjects of another jurisdiction, was for a large purchase of her own, consisting not only of a fort but of other property," is of the same sort. Connecticut had bought indeed "not only the fort but other property;" but the duties on grain and biscuit, exported from the river's mouth, were only a small part of the burthen imposed on her own inhabitants for that purchase. Much more than the value of all the "other property" referred to, was to be paid by internal taxes. The argument that the Saybrook impost was to pay, not for the fort only, but for other property, derives all its plausibility from the fact that the written agreement with Fenwick did not discriminate between what was to be paid for the fort and what was to be paid for the general quit-claim. Nor can we see any reasonableness in the demand that Connecticut should exhibit a patent as the warrant of her rights. Connecticut was a recognized member of the confederacy, and in that congress her jurisdiction, founded on a voluntary compact of her people, under the law of nature, was as much a reality

• Hutchinson, i, 154, 155.

† Mass. Hist. Coll. ix, 221.

as the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, founded on a royal charter. The argument "that the work at Saybrook could be of no considerable use to Springfield as a defense," might seem to touch the merits of the question, but for the obvious answer, that if the fort was of no considerable use to Springfield, the impost to pay for it was no considerable burthen to Springfield. As for the Dutchmen at Hartford, and their trading house, it is obvious that whatever considerations of policy might determine the government of Connecticut to be forbearing toward them just then, the existence of that troublesome nest of foreigners, at the most important landing place on the river, was a very good reason why Springfield, as an English settlement, should the more cheerfully contribute to the purchase of the fort at the mouth of the river. And the "strong point" which Massachusetts made by arguing that Pynchon and his friends would not have settled at Springfield, "had they felt any apprehension that the river might be shut against them," is weakened by recollecting that Connecticut had not proposed to shut the river against them, but only demanded of them a trifling contribution toward the expense of keeping it open.

3. The equity of the case, which Dr. Palfrey quite overlooks in his summing up of its "merits," was this. It was for the interest of Springfield, as well as of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, that Fenwick's title, or pretense of title, to control the mouth of the river, should be extinguished. Connecticut purchased Fenwick's interest in Saybrook (including the fort) at a great price, to prevent the execution of his threat, (which Dr. Palfrey has not overlooked in another place, Vol. II, p. 538,) that he would "either impose customs on the river or make sale thereof to the Dutch, their noxious neighbors." Pynchon, who planted himself at Springfield, at first, not in the expectation that his associates a little further down would always be at the expense of keeping the river open for him, but in the expectation that Springfield was to be within the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and was to share in the burthens as well as in the benefits of keeping the river under English control—not only "acknowledged the justice" (Vol.

II, p. 242) of an impost for the fort, "but yielded upon a motion *made by himself* to Mr. Fenwick," that the river trade ought to contribute to that object, "from that principle of equity in his own breast, *Qui sentit commodum, sentire debet onus.*"* The only legitimate question of equity was not whether the fort was adequate to the defense of the river against a hostile fleet from Europe, but whether it was for the advantage of Springfield, as well as of the other towns, that the entrance to the river should be held by the New England colonists, instead of being sold to the Dutch, or even retained by the English "lords and gentlemen," whose agent Fenwick had once been, and under whose supposed authority he claimed the right of holding the fort and using it at his discretion, or of selling it to whom he would.

4. Dr. Palfrey seems to intimate that the Commissioners from Plymouth and New Haven, by whom the question was three times decided for Connecticut, overlooked "the great considerations on which the question should have been decided," and that they ought to have regarded the claim of Massachusetts as asserting nothing else than "the right of communities inhabiting the upper sections of rivers to pass unobstructed along the lower waters to the ocean." In regard to this view of the case, it may suffice to remember, *first*, that though the right of the Springfield people to pass unobstructed along the lower waters of the Connecticut to the ocean, might indeed conflict with a discriminating duty on commodities transported to or from the ocean in Springfield ships or by Springfield people, while the same commodities transported in Connecticut ships or by Connecticut people, were to pass free,—it could not conflict with the equity of an impost laid impartially on all goods of a certain description for a purpose beneficial alike to Springfield and to Hartford;—*secondly*, that Windsor was then the head of navigation, by reason of the Enfield falls, so that no bushel of grain, nor pound of biscuit, from Springfield, could pass down the river to the common highway of nations, without being put on shipboard

* Hazard, Historical Collect. II, 88, 119.

within the jurisdiction of Connecticut;*—*thirdly*, that the purchase of the fort and the impost to pay for it were for the very purpose of securing to the “communities inhabiting the upper sections of the river,” and to Springfield among the rest, “the right to pass unobstructed to the ocean” on equal conditions; and *fourthly*, that the law of nations on the use of navigable rivers was not then what it has since become, and even now is far from giving any sanction to the demand then made by Massachusetts. President Woolsey, whose recent work on International Law is destined to be recognized as of the highest authority, says, “Transit, when necessary, may be demanded as a right; an interior nation has a servitude along nature’s pathway, through the property of its neighbor, to reach the great highway of nations. We must indeed give all due security that trespasses shall not be committed on the passage, and *pay all equitable charges* for improvements of navigation *and the like*; but, this done, its travelers should be free to come and go on that water-road which is intended for them.”†

4. Dr. Palfrey suggests that the Massachusetts statesmen may have been influenced by some far-sighted apprehension of

* Dr. Palfrey, in his note on page 246, as well as in his summing up, page 249, pays an undeserved respect to the quibble that the Connecticut government had not *expressly* authorized the collection of a duty from Springfield people, because they appointed “officers to give clearances” “only at Hartford, Wethersfield and Windsor.” Why should they appoint an officer at Springfield, which was beyond their own jurisdiction, and where nothing could be shipped to pass beyond Saybrook? “It is ordered by this Court that no grain or biscuit shall be laden by any aboard any vessel in this river, until they have made entry of the number of the bushels of grain and the kind thereof, and weight of biscuit they intend to lade aboard any such vessel, and recorded the same in a book provided and kept for that end and purpose.” Anybody who will take the trouble to remember that Springfield is above Enfield falls, and that the only places at which “grain or biscuit” could be “laden by any aboard any vessel in this river,” are below those falls, and were therefore in the jurisdiction of Connecticut, will see at once that an officer to record and certify at Springfield, would have been as much a superfluity as a light-house keeper on the backside of Wachusett; and that the Springfield people were demanding exemption from the commercial regulations of Connecticut within the jurisdiction of Connecticut.

† Introduction to the study of International Law, 132.

trouble with the Dutch at the mouth of the Hudson, when the settlements of Massachusetts should be established on the upper waters of that river. If they had any such apprehension, surely it would have been more sagacious in them to anticipate the time which their confederates were already anticipating, when the Dutch should no longer be in power at the mouth of the Hudson, and more statesman-like to have joined in seizing the first legitimate opportunity of making New Amsterdam an Anglo-Puritan colony.

On the contrary—for now we come to the other controversy between Massachusetts and her confederates, referred to by our antiquarian friend—the Massachusetts statesmen do not seem to have had that far-reaching foresight when the opportunity was fairly offered of extending New England southward to the Delaware. The subject matter of that controversy may be fairly stated in a few words.

The Dutch establishment on the Hudson river had always been regarded by the English as an intrusion; and, on the other hand, it was as constantly claimed by the agent of the Dutch West India Company, that the English settlements on the shores of Long Island Sound, and on the banks of the Connecticut, were within the limits of the New Netherlands. At the earliest appearance of Dutch settlers on what is now the island of New York, they were warned off by an English navigator in the name of the English king. (Vol. I, p. 236.) At the first suspicion in England that colonization was intended by the West India Company which the Dutch government had chartered, the government of England instructed its representative in the Netherlands "to remonstrate with the States General against intrusions in New England." (*Ibid.*, p. 237.) At the first visit of Dutchmen from the Manhadoes to the Plymouth Colony, with proposals of trade and friendly intercourse, Governor Bradford "used the occasion to warn the Dutch against attempts at encroachment on any territory north of the fortieth degree of latitude, claimed as it was by the Council for New England, from which the Pilgrims had obtained their patent." (*Ibid.*) That remonstrance had been repeated on various occasions, and the question of territorial

rights between the Dutch and English had never been settled, and could not be conclusively adjusted but by a treaty between the superiors of both parties on the other side of the Atlantic. It was evident all along that whenever war should arise between the Dutch and English nations, the colonial question would be involved in it. While this question was waiting to be adjusted by arms or by diplomacy, the relations of the Dutch with the New England colonies, and especially with Connecticut and New Haven, were a source of constant irritation and of frequent alarm. The confederacy came into existence more for this reason than for any other. (Vol. I, pp. 624-626.) At last, in 1653, the commonwealth of England and the United Netherlands were at war. The time had come when the question which had been so long a subject of mutual remonstrance and of diplomatic correspondence, might easily be settled by the New England colonists for themselves. Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, though he exhibited much insolence at the beginning of his administration, had already learned that New England was far more prosperous and powerful than the colony which he had been sent to govern. When the war between England and Holland began, he had little ground for any other expectation than that the Delaware would suddenly become the southern boundary of New England. The only chance for him was in the possibility of a naval expedition from Holland for the conquest of the English colonies, and in the influence which he might have, meanwhile, with the Indians. Connecticut expected war, as a matter of course, and began to put the fort at Saybrook into a serviceable condition. The Dutch governor expected war; and though of course he would rather wait till he could be strengthened from Holland, it would be folly in him not to be making such preparation for it as might be in his power. Intelligence came from various quarters that he was plotting with the Indians. The Commissioners were convened at Boston to take order for the safety of New England; for to them, by the Articles of Confederation, it was expressly committed "to hear, examine, weigh and determine all affairs of war or

peace, leagues, aids, charges," &c. After much inquiry and consultation, seven of the eight Commissioners, one of the two from Massachusetts being the only dissentient, were agreed in the duty and expediency of prosecuting the war. But Massachusetts refused to be governed by the determination of the Commissioners, and the opportunity was lost.

Our antiquarian friend is by no means satisfied with Dr. Palfrey's vindication of the course taken by Massachusetts in this affair. The historian is in full sympathy with his own state. Massachusetts was right, in his opinion, and the Commissioners, including one of her own delegates in that body, were wrong. He makes it purely a case of conscience, on her part; for, in his representation, she only "refused to do at their bidding what in their view was right, but what was in her judgment a "*gross iniquity*." But was that, really, the defense which Massachusetts offered at the time? She did, indeed, have something to say about the evidence of a conspiracy with the Indians not being "so conclusive as to clear up present proceeding to war before the world, and to bear up our hearts with that fulness of persuasion that is meet in commanding the case to God in our prayers and to his people in our exhortations,"—and did maintain that the determination of the Commissioners could not bind "further than the same is just and according to God." But the Commissioners refused to join issue on that point. "They knew well," they said in reply, "that no authority or power in parents, magistrates, commissioners, &c., doth or ought to hold against God or his commands." They "readily acknowledged that all counsels, laws, and conclusions, whether of magistrates, General Courts, or Commissioners, so far as they were manifestly unjust, were and ought to be accounted of no force." "But," they added, "we conceive that is not the question here." p. 321.

Was that the question? The historian answers affirmatively. Our friend is equally strenuous in the negative. On the question whether magistrates, General Courts, or Commissioners, had a right to compel or command any wrong-doing, there was no difference of opinion. Men who had left all and become exiles in a wilderness for the sake of having room for

a full and free obedience to "the higher law," were not likely to differ in opinion on that question. Nor was it an accidental or pointless use of words when the Commissioners intimated to the General Court of Massachusetts that under the general principle of the duty of obeying God rather than men, the judicial decrees of magistrates, and the enactments and orders of General Courts, were on the same level of weakness with the determinations of the congress of Commissioners. Was it the doctrine of Massachusetts that if the general court of that colony should make war on the eastern Indians and the Acadian French, every military officer and every private was to sit in judgment on the reasons of the war, and was to have a power of nullification if, to his private judgment, the war should seem not sufficiently warranted? Not at all. On the contrary, they replied distinctly, "Your concession that the *manifestly unjust* determinations of the Commissioners are of no force, is of little force in this case, where you equalize them with the laws of magistrates, or General Courts, whose authority, (though the conclusion be in its own nature unjust, and so judged by the subjects,) yet judged by themselves just, will oblige the person concerned, though not to obedience, yet to penalties."* The question as stated by Massachusetts herself, in the opening of the controversy, at the head of her first communication to the Commissioners, was in these terms: "Whether the Commissioners of the United Colonies have power, by the Articles of Agreement, to determine the justice of an offensive or vindictive war, and to engage the colonies therein."† It was a question not of abstract ethics, but of legal and constitutional interpretation,—nothing else than whether, by the written compact which constituted the union of the colonies, the power of declaring war was given to the congress of Commissioners.

That such a question arose, is not surprising. Massachusetts was not only greater in wealth and numbers than any other member of the confederacy, but greater than all the others.

* Hazard, ii, 278.

† Ibid, 271.

Very naturally, therefore, her idea of the Articles of Confederation was, that they were to constitute (if we may borrow a word and an illustration from modern German politics) a *hegemony*, (*herrschaft*), in which she would hold a place like that which Austria has so long held, and to which Prussia aspires, in Germany. The earliest attempt at union failed in 1638, as Dr. Palfrey informs us, because "it was thought by Massachusetts that the apprehensions of Connecticut"—or, as Winthrop expressed it at the time, "their shyness of coming under *our government*"—"dictated such extreme reserve in relation to grants of power to the proposed confederacy as to make its further prosecution undesirable." (Vol. I, p. 626.) Such "shyness" of coming under the government of Massachusetts, was natural in a weaker colony whose independence was its jewel; and when the union had been constituted on the principle that the weakest colony should have an equal vote with the strongest, it was no less natural in that strongest colony to be jealous of the power committed to a congress in which she was so inadequately represented. This natural jealousy is the best apology for her undignified pettishness at the decision against her in the matter of the Saybrook impost. And when she found that a congress, convened at her summons, at the seat of her government, was about to involve her in a war for the extinction of the Dutch power on the western frontier of New England, and was in the act of apportioning to each colony its quota of an army for the expedition and appointing a commander-in-chief, it is not strange that she was more alarmed at the growing power of the Commissioners, than at the danger which was impending over her weaker confederates. Her interest in the conquest of the Dutch settlements was comparatively slight and remote, while that of New Haven and Connecticut, and even of Plymouth, was great and urgent. Yet the proposed conquest was to be made chiefly at her expense and by her prowess; for though her vote in the congress was only one-fourth, her contingent of troops was to be two-thirds of the whole army. It is not to be wondered at that she took her position on that clause of the compact which prohibited the Commissioners from "inter-

meddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions, which," it was added, "is preserved entirely to themselves." The General Court of Massachusetts raised and argued the question "whether it can consist with the preservation of entire power of government reserved to the several jurisdictions, that the juridical or authoritative determination of peace and war should be in the hands of six Commissioners, who, as such, are not members of any Court, and may probably be no members of a dissenting jurisdiction."* They said, "We cannot grant that the several jurisdictions are subordinate or subject to the authority of the Commissioners;"—"because *potes-tas belli gerendi, aut pacis sancienda, salvâ majestate imperii, eripi nequit.*"† When the same question arose between the same parties in relation to a war against Ninigret, the Niantic sachem, the government of Massachusetts again refusing to be governed by the "determination" of the Commissioners, it was perfectly understood to be a question of constitutional interpretation. "The Council of the Massachusetts," said the Commissioners of the other colonies, *allege not*, much less prove, that any part of this conclusion [to punish Ninigret] is unjust, or breaketh any rule of God, so that in this refusal they return to their former purposes and resolutions, that the Commissioners should only act as counselors to advise, and the General Courts may, and the Massachusetts Council will, attend so far as they see cause; for *potes-tas belli gerendi, aut pacis sancienda, salvâ majestate imperii, eripi nequit*; which may stand with a kingdom, commonwealth, or with the Massachusetts jurisdiction uncombined, but not as they stand in confederation with other colonies who have made their Commissioners representatives, to hear, examine, weigh, and determine in matters of war, peace, leagues, aids, etc., as by the express words of the solemn covenant appears."‡

This was the position which the six Commissioners of the other colonies pronounced a violation of the compact. From this position Massachusetts at last receded. Dr. Palfrey himself brings out this fact distinctly, for however his sympathies

* Hazard, ii, 304.

† *Ibid.* 276.

‡ *Ibid.* 297.

may sometimes affect his judgment in the interpretation of facts, they do not impair his honesty in the narration of facts. At the annual meeting for 1654, held at Hartford, nothing could be done till Simon Bradstreet and Daniel Denison, the Commissioners from Massachusetts, had put upon the record a document formally receding from and recalling "that interpretation of the Articles." "The Commissioners from the other colonies" (so the record proceeds) "do accept of the foregoing writing, to the intents and purposes therein expressed; provided the General Court of the Massachusetts, at their next meeting, do certify to the other three General Courts their consent thereunto, and profess to act accordingly."* The General Court of Massachusetts did so certify, and the obnoxious interpretation was recalled. (Vol. II, p. 327.)

These two instances in the history of the New England Confederation illustrate the essential weakness of all such leagues and alliances. Our fathers, at a much later period, had a similar experience. It was not till the Federal Constitution was framed, and the Federal government established, that the problem of an effectual "combination" or union of states was solved without consolidation. The "Articles of Agreement" among the four United Colonies of New England in 1643, and the "Articles of Confederation" for the thirteen United States of America in 1777, were alike in one respect at least;—they depended for their force on nothing else than the good faith of the contracting powers, and on the chance of their being accepted and interpreted in the same sense by each of those contracting powers through all the changes of interest and passion. They were confederations not of states establishing a common government with limited powers for certain common purposes; but only of the governments of states, each government jealous of encroachment on its own prerogatives, and each representing the local interests and passions of its own constituency. The neglect or refusal of state governments to comply with the "requisitions" of the Continental Congress, each recusant government in its turn

* Hazard, ii, 307.

alleging some reason which it regarded as sufficient, may be referred to as analogous to the "case of conscience" when the government of Massachusetts refused to comply with the "determinations" of the Commissioners.

Dismissing now those old-time controversies which are the more interesting to a thoroughly antiquarian spirit in proportion to their remoteness from the affairs and agitations of the living age, we return to the more grateful task of commending again the thoroughness of our historian's researches, and the clearness of the light which he throws on the course of our New England history. No other writer has portrayed so well the picturesque life and manners of the men who founded these free states, or has more adequately represented their heroic labors. The illustrations which he brings from the contemporaneous history of politics and parties in England, are sometimes exceedingly felicitous. For an instance of this we may refer to his account of the conflict in 1645-6, between Massachusetts and Plymouth on one side, and Vassall, Child, and Maverick on the other. This is ordinarily represented by historians as a conflict for religious liberty. Vassall and Maverick and their associates, are considered as acting in sympathy with Episcopalianism and latitudinarianism, inasmuch as they professed themselves members of the Church of England.* Dr. Palfrey tells the story briefly but conclusively. The Church of England at that time was not Episcopalian but Presbyterian. The government of England was by the power of Parliament. Independency in England was struggling against Presbyterianism for a system of ecclesiastical order in which there should be a larger liberty to the local and self-governed church than the predominant party in Parliament and in the Assembly of Divines was willing to allow. The Parliament, following in the steps of the royal government which it had superseded, and acting in the genius and spirit

* The reader who would be amused by seeing how the genius of Toryism deals with history, is referred to Oliver's "Puritan Commonwealth," (419-430,) a work hardly surpassed in its recklessness of truth by Peters' famous History of Connecticut.

of the governments which followed the restoration of 1660 and the revolution of 1688, was already moving for the subversion of the colonial autonomies in New England; and Presbyterianism was rejoicing in the prospect of a covenanted uniformity to be imposed on the New England Independents. A capital difference between the ecclesiastical system then dominant in England and that which had grown up in the Puritan colonies, was in respect to the idea and the tenure of church-membership. The Presbyterian idea of church-membership was derived from the Presbyterian (which was also the Episcopal) theory of a national church. In that theory, men were born Christians by being born Englishmen, and were therefore to be made by baptism members of the Church of England. In the New England theory—for it was known as “the New England way” before the English Independents began to be feared or felt as a party—church-membership was a different thing; the church, instead of being national, was a local body of Christian believers, professing, as individuals, a personal and practical faith in Christ, and united in a free agreement or covenant. On no other point in the controversy between the Presbyterianism and Congregationalism of that age, were the New England divines so sensitive as on this. The being “brought into a parish way,” with no distinction left between the inhabitants of the parish and the members of the church, involved in their thought the loss of what they called “the boon, the gratuity, the largess of divine bounty, which the Lord graciously bestowed on his people that followed him into this wilderness.” To them the distinction between a national church and a church formed by the spontaneity of spiritual life and the free action of the principle of Christian brotherhood, was fundamental; while the distinction between one sort of eldership and another, though important, was of less account. When Vassall and Maverick, and that Paduan doctor of medicine, whom some suspected of being a Jesuit, conspired “to take some course first by petitioning the Courts of Massachusetts and of Plymouth, and, if that succeeded not, then to the Parliament of England, that the distinctions which were maintained here, both in civil and church

estate, might be done away, and that *we might be wholly governed by the laws of England*," it was not religious liberty, nor was it mere latitudinarianism, for which they were conspiring. Least of all were they conspiring for Episcopacy, though doubtless some of them had a preference for the Church of England as it had been, rather than the Church of England as it then was. The movement was revolutionary, designed to destroy the germ of independence in the colonies. The laws of the Long Parliament, which were then "the laws of England," were in reality no more favorable to Episcopalianism and no more favorable to any latitudinarian notions or practices, than the laws enacted by the General Court of Plymouth, or even by that of Massachusetts. The governors and other magistrates chosen by the freemen—even though none but church members shared in that privilege—were not more Puritanical, nor more rigid in their ideas of government, than such governors and officers as might be sent over by the Long Parliament were likely to be. The leaders of that movement were not enthusiasts, like Roger Williams, fired with a great idea; they were conspirators plotting to subvert all the foundations of a new and more Christian civilization that had been laid by the fathers of New England at so great a cost, and to bring the self-governed colonies into helpless dependence on all the fluctuations of policy and of party in the country whence they came.

Dr. Palfrey could not fail to mark the very noticeable distinction between the ecclesiastical position of the Pilgrims who founded Plymouth in poverty and weakness, and that of the Puritans who, ten years later, planted the comparatively rich and powerful colony of the Bay. Other writers have frequently pointed out the same distinction; indeed no historian, worthy of the name, could overlook it. In the first volume of the work before us, the difference between the Separatists, (of whom were the Pilgrims,) and the Nonconformists or Puritans, is briefly but very clearly defined. (pp. 122-124.) The tendency of Nonconformity toward Separation, and the impulse given to that tendency by rigor and persecution on the part of the ecclesiastical government of England, are well described.

(pp. 240-242.) The easy and inevitable process by which the Puritans, on their migration across the ocean into the free wilderness, having escaped from the bondage of the old scruples that had hindered their separation from the Church of England, adopted spontaneously the simple theory of church-order which the Pilgrims had brought with them from Scrooby to Leyden, and from Leyden to Plymouth,—is sufficiently explained. (pp. 294-298.) The Nonconformist and the Separatist were at one in New England, not because the old rule

"Cœlum non animos mutant qui trans mare currunt,"

had lost any of its truth; but only because both parties had left behind them, three thousand miles away, the local question which had divided them. Yet we cannot but wish that our historian had brought out a little more distinctly the sharpness of the controversy between the Puritans and the Separatists in the mother country. It was not with the defenders of the obnoxious "ceremonies" and "vestments," or of Episcopal government in the Church of England, that the Separatists had the most of discussion and dispute. Between them and the powers that were, in church and state, the controversy was maintained on one side by arrests and imprisonments, and all harsh High-Commission and Council-Chamber penalties, even to hanging, and, on the other side, by endurance, by answers in court to imperious judges, by flight into Holland, by testimonies in prison or from the scaffold, and by the might of martyrdom. But between the Separatists and the Puritans, whether Conformist or Non-Conformist, (for there were Puritan clergymen of all degrees; some who, in the hope of better times, yielded a quiet obedience to the rubrics and the canons; and some, at the other end of the scale, who were only not Separatists, and who for their overt acts of deviation from the required uniformity, were deprived, and silenced, and subjected to all sorts of processes in the ecclesiastical courts,) the controversy was of another sort. It was a painful difference and dispute between brethren, in the presence of a common enemy. The course of the Separatists, in seceding from the ecclesiastical establishment of the realm, was a testimony

against the brethren whom they left behind—a testimony that was keenly felt as demanding prompt and thorough refutation. To the Separatist the so-called Church of England was Babylon; and he had heard and obeyed a voice as from heaven, saying, “Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.” Her hierarchy and its ecclesiastical courts, so utterly at variance with every rudiment of the New Testament polity—her Popish vestments and ceremonies, inseparably associated with the most unspiritual superstitions in the minds of the people—her liturgy, derived in part from idolatrous mass-books, and authoritatively imposed on all inhabiting within the realm as the only form in which it should be lawful for them to worship God—were, all alike, in the judgment and conscience of the Separatist, an abomination with which no man could be compromised and not become unclean. For him there was no escape from the sin of idolatry but by coming forth from that idolatrous establishment, and obeying the Scriptures as the only rule in the worship of God and in the ordering of churches. If, then, the Separatist was right, the Puritan—at whatever stage of mere non-conformity he might have arrived—was wrong; not only an inconsistent reasoner, but stained with guilt, a partaker at least in other men’s sins. But if, on the other hand, the mere Puritan was right—if there were sound principles which would justify him in retaining and acknowledging his connection with the national church, yet refraining scrupulously from every act by which his own conscience might be defiled—if his demand for a further reformation of the national establishment of religion, and his patient or impatient waiting for a better time, were justifiable—then the Separatist was guilty of schism, was wounding and weakening the cause of pure religion, and was bringing upon the godly an undeserved reproach. The collected edition of Robinson’s Works shows that he, from his retreat in Holland, was constrained to defend his secession from the Church of England, not only against the Conformist Hall, afterwards bishop of Norwich, but much more at length against the Non-Conformist Bernard, whose Puritan scruples had already almost made him a Separatist, and who had wavered between his dread of the sin

of idolatry and his equal dread of the sin of schism. The first volume, especially, of Hanbury's Historical Memorials, abounds in illustrations of the controversy, often sharp and painful, between the Separatists and the Puritans.

It is in the light of this controversy that the memorable address which Winthrop and his associates sent back from the *Arbella* before she sailed from Yarmouth for New England, should be read and interpreted. The founders of Massachusetts had projected and set on foot a great scheme of Puritan emigration. It was every way important for them to disown the obnoxious principles of the Separatists—obnoxious to the great party with which they were identified, and obnoxious to the public sentiment of the English people. They were founding a Puritan colony in a close proximity to the settlement which exiled Separatists had made at Plymouth. It was already beginning to be known that a church had been formed at Salem in communion with the church of Robinson and Brewster, and nothing less was to be expected than that odium would be thrown upon the grand enterprise of a Puritan exodus, by enemies or timid friends imputing to it a complicity with the schismatic principles and course of the Separatists. When these things are remembered, it becomes easy to understand with what feelings and for what purpose it was, that Winthrop and his associate leaders in that enterprise, when they sailed from their native country in their corporate capacity as "Governor and Company," with their royal charter, left behind them the manifesto, entitled, "The Humble Request of his Majesty's loyal subjects, the Governor and the Company late gone for New England, to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England."

The design of this manifesto is sufficiently intimated in its title. To whom is it addressed? To the public at large? To the then dominant party in England? To the archbishops, bishops, deans, and commissaries of the church as established by act of parliament? Not at all. The Governor and his companions in the voyage sent back, "from Yarmouth aboard the *Arbella*, April 7th, 1630," a communication "to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England." In other

words, to their brethren in and of the national church as distinguished from the Separatists. Ever since the Reformation—not to speak of a yet earlier period—there has existed in the Church of England a body of devout men thoroughly possessed of the Protestant spirit; a minority more or less definitely distinguished from the mass with which it has been held in communion by the force of law; a remnant according to the election of grace. At the present day they are recognized as “the evangelicals,” and they often speak of themselves and each other by some such periphrasis as “the religious portion of our church,” “the serious members of our communion,” and the like—phrases which are not unfamiliar to the readers of some Episcopalian publications in America. Two hundred and thirty years ago they were recognized as “Puritans,” and the phrases which they used as convenient designations of their party, were such as “Christian professors,” “the godly,” “our brethren,” and “the Lord’s faithful servants.” It was to them, both ministers and laymen, that this devout and affectionate communication was addressed. The “Humble Request” was in form a request from persons going to sea and to a new home, asking for public and private prayers in behalf of their arduous adventure. In making that request they took pains to disavow the imputation of schism and of a tendency to schism, which had already been thrown upon them. Most naturally did they refer to the “general rumor of this solemn enterprise,” as encouraging them to ask for “the prayers and blessings of the Lord’s faithful servants.” Most naturally did they refer to “the misreport of our intentions,” and say, with solemn disavowal, “We desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our Company, as those who esteem it an honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother; and cannot part from our native country where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom and sucked it from her breasts.” This has sometimes been represented as if it were a profession of attach-

ment to the peculiarities of the Anglican Church, such as its prelacy and its ceremonies, against which the Puritans protested and for the removal of which they were contending. But how palpable the misrepresentation! The men who said this were notoriously Puritans, and were in the act of asking their Puritan "brethren in and of the Church of England," to pray for the success of their "solemn enterprise." They do not intimate that they were going on an enterprise of "church-extension," nor imply that when they should be in their "poor cottages in the wilderness," they were still to be members of the Church of England. On the contrary, they make it plain that, in their thought, the colony which they were to establish beyond the sea, would have its own church, distinct from the Church of England. They say, "It is a usual and laudable exercise of your charity, to commend to the prayers of your congregations the necessities and straits of your private neighbors; do the like"—not for us as members of your own church, but—"for a church springing out of your own bowels." They say, "The spirit of God stirred up the apostle Paul to make continual mention of the church of Philippi, which was a colony from Rome; let the same Spirit put you in mind, who are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing, who are a weak colony from yourselves."

The meaning, then, of that Humble Request, could not be misunderstood at the time. "The suspicious and scandalous reports raised upon these gentlemen and their friends, as if, under the color of planting a colony, they intended to raise and erect a seminary of faction and Separation," were contradicted in the "Planters' Plea," just after the sailing of the *Arbella*;"* and to the same suspicions and reports they had reference in their request for the prayers of their Puritan brethren. From the proceedings of Endicott at Salem, occasion had been taken to "traduce innocent persons under the odious name of Separatists;" and therefore the language of this manifesto is precisely such in reference to the Church of England, as the Non-Conformists were accustomed to use in controversy with the Separatists. Thus when Francis John-

* Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 15.

son, as early as 1593, had become the pastor of the Separatist church in Southwark, Henry Jacob, afterwards himself a Separatist and an exile in Holland, but then a zealous Puritan, wrote, "I pray you, Master Johnson, consider yourself; you were a true Christian long before you fell into this Separation. Yea, moreover, you were learned; yea, you knew and acknowledged those very corruptions a great while and yet condemned us not."* Such was a standing argument of the Puritans against their more advanced and uncompromising brethren. You cannot deny that the Church of England, with all the imperfectness of its reformation, is a true church, and for you yourselves were converted in it and brought to the saving knowledge of Christ; and from its ministrations, notwithstanding the corruptions against which its godly ministers and members protest as earnestly as you can, you have received great benefit and delight. Thus Robinson represents the Puritan Bernard as saying, "that we not only disclaim and condemn the corruptions and notorious wicked, but withal forsake all Christian profession among them, casting off the word by which we were made alive, the ministers our fathers which have begot us, yea, and all fellowship of the godly with them;"† and as "charging us with great unthankfulness to God that begat us by his word" and "towards the Church of England our mother."‡ Winthrop and his fellow voyagers use the very phrases by which the Reformists were distinguished from the Separatists—the shibboleth of their party—when they protest to their brethren in and of the Church of England, We are of the same church with you; whatever "misreports" you may have heard, and whatever may have been the "disaffection and indiscretion" of some whom we have employed, we call the Church of England "our dear mother;" we do not "loathe the milk wherewith we were nourished;" we are so far from any sympathy with the Separatist spirit that we ask your intercession for us in your public assemblies for worship, as well as in your private devotions.§

* Hanbury, i, 84.

† Rob. Works, ii, 67.

‡ *Ibid.* 74.§ The "Humble Request" is included, entire, in Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 298-299—where the true interpretation is suggested.

How preposterous, then, was the "dispute" (which Hutchinson says this paper had occasioned a hundred years ago) "whether the first settlers of the Massachusetts were of the Church of England or not." Beyond all reasonable doubt, "the principals and body" of that Company were, earnestly, "of the Church of England," in their own meaning of that phrase. They were strenuous upholders of a national ecclesiasticism in opposition to the theory of separation. As Englishmen in England, their position was within the national church-establishment to reform it, and not outside of it to denounce and destroy it. It was thus that they carried with them to the colony they were founding, so much of the spirit and habit of political interference with church affairs. Their greatest errors in the management of their enterprise arose from the fact, that till they had sailed out of Yarmouth harbor, they were, conscientiously and truly, "of the Church of England."

At the same time they held—and why should they not?—that the distinctive regulations and discipline of the Church of England were of no force beyond the boundaries of the realm of England. It had long been a familiar fact to them, that their fellow subjects north of the Tweed, owning allegiance to the same king, were not of the Church of England, but of another, with discipline and regulations of its own. If the narrow Tweed could make so great a difference between subjects of the same king dwelling on either bank, why should not the broad ocean make as great a difference between them and their fellow subjects in the mother country? Therefore they had no doubt that by migrating to another land and founding there another realm, they would put themselves beyond the reach of Anglican uniformity, and would attain, under their charter of self-government, sufficient power to "practice the positive part of church-reformation." It was in this way that the Puritans of Massachusetts, taking the New Testament as the sole authority, found themselves standing, ere they were aware, side by side, and hand in hand, with the Pilgrims of Plymouth.

ARTICLE X.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THEOLOGY.

YOUNG's "PROVINCE OF REASON."*—The name of the author of this book is a guarantee for its value, even though it were not a professed reply to Mansel. In JOHN YOUNG the author of "The Limits of Religious Thought" has found a competent critic and an antagonist worthy of his steel. The work is divided into six sections. The first of these is Introductory, in which are discussed Rationalism in general, and the German Philosophical Rationalism in particular; the effort being to show that the cry of Rationalism may be ignorantly and foolishly urged, and that what is and what is not objectionable in the reality ought to be intelligently discriminated. The second section treats of Applications of Logic, in which Mansel's exposition of the senses of "The Infinite," and "The Absolute," are criticised—his loose conceptions and his headlong inferences are skillfully exposed, and the entire treatment of the matters which are vital to his whole theory is shown to be superficial and inconsistent. Section third, concerning the Philosophy of the Unconditioned, expounds the difference between Mansel and Hamilton, showing that the one wrote in the interest of theology and the other in that of philosophy, and that the real intent of each is opposite to that of the other. After discussing the Scottish and Oxonian theories, he gives his own. Section fourth, concerning Written Revelations, discusses, first, the necessary conditions of Revelation, contending that these are certain and trustworthy knowledge of God and his will; second, the Evidences of Revelation, showing that for the majority of mankind these must necessarily be internal, and that to establish these last the comparison must be made between what man may know of God and the book which claims to have been given by God; thirdly, Revelation and God, showing that if God cannot in the nature of things be revealed, then there can be no Revelation. Section fifth, concerning Morality and Moral

* *The Province of Reason.* A criticism of the Bampton Lecture on "The Limits of Religious Thought." By JOHN YOUNG, LL. D., Edinburgh, Author of "The Christ of History," &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860. 16mo. pp. 305.

Sense, treats somewhat as they deserve, the very objectionable views on these subjects propounded by Mansel, though with scarcely the discrimination and force which we had expected, the author's own philosophy not being sufficiently mature and correct to enable him to vindicate the truth at all points with entire success. We find in this section, however, many just observations and forcible arguments. Our author exposes, though not with half the severity which they richly merit, the dangerous doctrines of Mansel in respect to our capacity to judge of moral excellence or the opposite, without the light of Revelation. The last section, concerning Reason and Faith, vindicates Reason and shows that there is no conflict between it and Faith. The author seeks to develop the relations of the two, not to our satisfaction altogether, we confess. He fails to emphasize the moral element in Faith, which is its distinguishing feature as well as its legitimate criterion. Still he contends manfully and rightly for the claims and authority of Reason, and shows that to exalt Faith at the expense of Reason is to destroy both Faith and Reason. The book is most timely, not merely in its relation to Mansel's plausible theories, but because it is adapted to check a tendency to inexact conceptions on such subjects, which are fostered by other theologians besides those of the school of Mansel.

HODGE'S OUTLINES OF THEOLOGY.*—This work exhibits a system of theology, in the form of questions and answers, and covers all the topics usually embraced in treatises upon natural and revealed religion. The style is concise and perspicuous. The matter is derived from the lectures of Professor Hodge, of Princeton, with occasional citations from his reviews and essays. It may thus be regarded as an authentic and authorized description of the Princeton theology, and as such will be sought for by theological students, and ministers. It is no more than justice to say that under various heads we find valuable arguments and definitions, couched always in clear and manly English. The reputation of Dr. Hodge for theological ability and learning will not be lessened by this publication. At the same time, we must add that on controverted themes, as original sin, and the nature of the atonement, we are furnished with most unsatisfactory answers to the objections which have been again and again brought against the

* *Outlines of Theology.* By the Rev. A. ALEXANDER HODGE, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Fredericksburg, Va. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

Princeton theories, and with which the author, by the very fact of considering them, shows himself to be acquainted. Why attempt a rational defense of propositions which can never be vindicated on grounds of reason? Why not rest them solely on the Church authority, or on the interpretations of Scripture which are alleged in their behalf? We are tired of such flimsy reasoning as we find on page 256, *et seq.*, and in the chapter on the Satisfaction of Christ and the Extent of Redemption. If the advocates of the Princeton views have nothing more thorough and pertinent to say in response to their opponents than the threadbare phrases which they must feel do not meet the case, they had much better abstain from controversy.

LOVE AND PENALTY.*—This timely volume consists of nine lectures, which were delivered on Sabbath evenings, and are published at the request of a large number of gentlemen who heard them. They are an eloquent and able vindication of the theme which is described in the title. There is no subject on which there is more vacillation and skepticism than this—none on which much of modern popular literature is more thoroughly unsound. As a consequence, the entire system of the gospel is feebly received by multitudes who, in some sense, believe it. The motives which enforce to Christian gratitude and obedience are robbed of much of their appropriate power—while appeals from the pulpit to the unbelieving are impotent to alarm and to win.

Dr. Thompson was wise in selecting his theme, and he has treated it with abundant and varied power. His argument is clear, his illustrations are felicitous, his appeals are earnest, and his spirit is eminently conciliatory and Christian. We hope to give a full analysis and review of the volume in our next number. All that we can do at present is confidently to recommend it to our readers as a work which deserves their attention, and which ought to receive a wide circulation.

METCALF'S NATURE AND FOUNDATION OF MORAL OBLIGATION.†—We

* *Love and Penalty; or, Eternal Punishment consistent with the Fatherhood of God.* By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D. D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 18mo. pp. 358.

† *An Inquiry into the Nature, Foundation, and Extent of Moral Obligation, involving the nature of duty, of holiness and of sin.* Being an introduction to the study of moral science in all its branches, including the Legal, Theological, and Governmental. By DAVID METCALF. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co. 1860. pp. 499.

announced this volume in our last number, and are now happy to see it before us. It is a volume unique in its method, but interesting in its argument, and, in the main, so far as we have examined, correct in its positions and conclusions. The subject of which it treats has been often and earnestly canvassed by theological and ethical philosophers. The author defends what he calls the doctrine of Benevolent Utility, the doctrine of Cumberland, the Edwardses, and Dwight; of Aristotle, Leibnitz, and Malebranche. He does this with a thoroughness of analysis, a subtlety of discrimination, and an unflinching and untiring pertinacity of argumentation, which are worthy of the highest praise. The circumstances under which his taste for speculative studies was developed, and the perseverance with which he has prosecuted them, would entitle his work to a respectful consideration, if its intrinsic claims to attention were not of the highest order. It is a book such as sixty years ago would have been the theme of conversation in all the parishes of New England. The younger Edwards would have scrutinized every line. Hopkins, and Smalley, and Emmons, would each have perused it with eager interest. Scores of essays would have been written upon it for many ministers' meetings.

The theme is just as interesting now as it ever was, and its applications are, if possible, more varied and more pressing to theology, to social science, and to common life. We advise our readers to buy this book, for though it seems, at the first view, to be a simple catechism, its questionings will awaken thought, and its answers remove difficulties that have disturbed many minds.

From the Preface we quote a single paragraph :

"The names by which doctrines are called often raise a prejudice against them, and in various ways cause them to be misunderstood, and for these reasons they become obnoxious to the popular mind. It is desirable, therefore, that the name of a doctrine should designate its true character, so as fairly to distinguish it from all other doctrines.

"That which we regard as the true doctrine on the nature of virtue may with propriety be designated the doctrine of *benevolent utility*, or *benevolent rectitude*, or *universal benevolence*. By these terms the true doctrine is purposely distinguished, 1. From the theory that mere undesigned utility is virtue; 2. From all the theories that involve selfishness as an element of virtue; 3. From all the forms of utilitarianism which discard impartial, universal, and disinterested benevolence; 4. From all the theories which deny that benevolence includes rectitude and all that is holiness; 5. From all the theories which deny that utility is an element in the foundation of obligation; 6. From all those which maintain that holiness is an end, but not a means;—that it is an ultimate end, in and of itself, having no end ulterior to itself; 7. And from the notion that the idea of virtue or right is a simple idea."

The book may be obtained of the author, at Worcester, Mass., who will send it by mail, post-paid, on the reception of "a one dollar bill and twenty-five cents in postage stamps." The author's name was incorrectly printed in our last number.

DIFFICULTIES OF ARMINIAN METHODISM.*—This is a decidedly warm attack on the Methodist polity, doctrines and history, in which there is, we dare say, a great deal of truth, but in which the good side of Methodism is not very earnestly exhibited. As long as certain ultra forms of Old School Calvinism shall retain their influence, we believe it is preordained of God that they should be offset and balanced by Arminian Methodism. We can scarcely expect the author of this volume to take the same charitable view as we do of the necessity or utility of this very respectable and useful denomination of Christians.

MCCLELLAND ON THE CANON AND INTERPRETATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.†—This book is full of wit, and, if possible, more full of wisdom. We read the earlier edition with great interest and profit, and are pleased to see that it is now much enlarged, and issued in a more attractive form. We scarcely know a book that is better fitted to be useful, than this. We agree with the author that "the Wrong-heads in theology are still a numerous generation;" but we think they would decrease more rapidly if this lively and most instructive manual were read and considered, not only by "junior theological students," but by elder theological professors.

KURTZ'S HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.‡—A brief notice of this

* *The Difficulties of Arminian Methodism*: a series of Letters, addressed to Bishop Simpson, of Pittsburgh. By WILLIAM ANNAN. Fourth edition, recently enlarged. Philadelphia: William S. and Alfred Martien. 1860. 12mo. pp. 386.

† *A Brief Treatise on the Canon and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures*: for the special benefit of Theological Students; but intended also for private Christians in general. By ALXANDER MCCLELLAND, Professor of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 336.

‡ *History of the Old Covenant*, from the German of J. H. KURTZ, D. D., Professor of Theology at Dorpat. Vol. I. Translated, annotated, and prefaced by a condensed abstract of KURTZ's "*Bible and Astronomy*." By the Rev. ALFRED EDESHKIM, Ph. D., Author of "*History of the Jewish Nation*;" Translation of "*Chalybius's Historical Development of Speculative Philosophy*," etc., etc. Vol. II and III. Translated by JAMES MARTIN, B. A., Nottingham. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1859. pp. 510, 429, 532.

work has already appeared in the *New Englander*, yet its value as a contribution to Biblical literature warrants us in calling attention to it again, and pointing out somewhat more fully its scope and character.

Dr. Kurtz is a Lutheran and an honored professor of theology at Dorpat. He is a critical student of Old Testament History and Exegesis, eminently evangelical in sentiment, and orthodox in doctrine. Already has he become widely and favorably known as a theological and historical writer. Accustomed to read the Old Testament by the light of the New, his learning, candor, and critical acumen render his expositions of Scripture always instructive, and often highly suggestive. His discussions are, in general, thorough and exhaustive, and his conclusions characterized by breadth and soundness. If, in particular instances, they fail to satisfy the critical investigator, they are at least worthy of attention, and may be examined with profit. It is the prerogative of no interpreter to command universal assent.

The dissertation entitled "The Bible and Astronomy," which fills a hundred and thirty pages of the first volume, and is given as an appropriate general introduction to the whole work, is not a translation of the distinct treatise of Dr. Kurtz bearing that title, but "a condensed abstract" of it; the five hundred and eighty-five pages of the original (4th ed., Berlin, 1858) being here condensed into the number above named, yet, we are informed, without the omission of "any one important part or argument," and, as far as practicable, by translating the very language of the author.

It is the object of this essay to harmonize the Bible account of Creation and of man with the results of Astronomy and Geology. The discussion is comprehensive, and, for the most part, characterized by ability and candor. It is too brief to be altogether satisfactory, for the subject itself is too difficult to be thoroughly discussed in so narrow a compass. This may be a fault of the abridgment, however, and not of the original work.

The first chapter of the dissertation opens with an inquiry into the origin of the Biblical account of creation; the various explanatory hypotheses which have been advanced are touched upon, and the conclusion reached that it was, in the main, communicated by divine revelation in some form of prophetic vision. The days spoken of in the narrative are regarded as ordinary days of twenty-four hours each. The creative work of the several days is passed in review, as also the transactions in Eden, with the nature and significance of the "forbidden tree" and the other incidents of the Fall. The author

inclines to the opinion that the earth, in its primeval state, had been the abode of angels, and that in consequence of their fall a state of desolation had come upon it, which left it "without form and void," as it is described in the opening of the book of Genesis.

And in view of all the circumstances of the Creation and Fall, he holds that the earth is in reality "the historical center of the universe, where the contest between good and evil was to take place, and the fate of the whole world to be decided." If some of the views expressed on topics which lie confessedly almost beyond the range of human inquiry, appear sometimes a little fanciful, they are at least suggestive and elevating, and not less improbable, certainly, than much that abounds in the best writers on these and kindred topics.

The second chapter is devoted to a consideration of the points of conflict between Astronomy and the Bible, and the modes of harmonizing them. The nature of the conflict is stated thus :

"Infidelity has always made the doctrine and history of creation a main point of attack. Deism and Pantheism, whether separately or unitedly, have here entered the lists against the Bible. More particularly has Pantheism controverted the Biblical *doctrine* of creation, while Deism has objected to the Biblical *narrative* of its process. Deists profess to believe in a creation out of nothing, and hence controvert only the claim of our narrative to be regarded as of *Divine Revelation*. To give a substratum for their opposition, they object to the Biblical account of creation, and attempt to show that it is self-contradictory, that it is opposed to the results of natural science, childish and absurd."

Passing the Pantheistic objection to the Biblical *doctrine* of creation (creation out of nothing) as belonging to the domain of speculative philosophy, the author addresses himself to the objections brought on astronomical grounds against the Biblical *account* of creation; such as the creation in six days, the creation of light before the sun, the creation of the earth before the sun and stars, the connection of the earth with a planetary system, the relative insignificance ascribed to sun, moon and stars, as compared with the earth, and especially the seeming incongruity of such a transaction as the incarnation of God in Christ, on so small a dot in his universe as this earth. These objections he meets by admitting the facts of Astronomy, and showing the harmony in each case between these facts and the Biblical statements rightly interpreted, maintaining that the account in Genesis is an account of the refitting of the earth for the abode of man, not a history of its original formation and development, and that the earth, though astronomically occupying a very subordinate place in the universe, is, in some sense, morally, its

center, and the appropriate theater of those great redemptive transactions on which depend the welfare of all created moral beings. His explanations, though not always to our liking, are, in the main, judicious, and in accordance with generally received opinions on these points.

The third chapter discusses briefly the subject of "Geology and the Bible," aiming to harmonize their respective teachings, not, as was formerly the practice with many theologians, (and is still, in such books as the "Answer to Hugh Miller," noticed on another page,) by denying the conclusions of Geology, and setting it down as a delusion and a lie; nor, in accordance with another hypothesis extensively advocated both among geologists and theologians, by maintaining the identity of the Biblical days with the successive periods of geological development; but, in general, by endeavoring to show that the two records are not identical, and, hence, do not admit of comparison with each other; that the Bible gives no account of the process of original creation, or of the pre-Adamic history of the earth, but only of a restoration of the globe in six literal days, from a state of temporary desolation in which it had been overwhelmed, and of the new creation of such plants and animals as were to be cotemporary with man on the earth. On this hypothesis, the facts of Geology are not to be sought for in the Mosaic record, and there is, therefore, no ground of conflict between them. The argument is chiefly directed to the support of this view, and against the second, or more prevalent, of the hypotheses just named. It is conducted with fairness, though with abundant indications that the author's standpoint is rather on the side of theology than of science. Had he been master of all the facts in the case, his essay would have been more satisfactory on certain points to men of science, and he would doubtless not have been betrayed into some crudities of opinion, which certainly add nothing to the force of his reasoning.

In the history of the Old Covenant, which constitutes the great body of the work, the author's aim is to exhibit that covenant as part of the great redemptive system which had its culmination in the incarnation of God in Christ—the great central point of all human history. This covenant lying at the basis of the peculiar relation which God sustained to the Jewish people, its history is, in fact, the history of that people, especially from the call of Abraham to Moses. A review of the leading events in the preceding history of the world, forms a necessary introduction to the main subject. The work is virtually, indeed, a critical Commentary on the Pentateuch. The various questions involved in this history are discussed with much learning and ability, and the literature of the subject is so fully brought to view, and the opinions of

others so carefully stated, that every student of the Bible will find these volumes of great service in his investigations, even where he cannot adopt fully the author's conclusions. As an interpreter, Dr. Kurtz is, in the main, sound and suggestive; but he is sometimes fanciful; and as no interpreter is infallible, we commend this work, not as an infallible guide, but as, at least, furnishing rich materials for thought, and offering important assistance towards a right understanding of the Scriptures.

The general plan and scope of the work may be gathered from the following extract, in which are defined the leading periods into which the history naturally resolves itself.

"The history of the Old Covenant passes from its commencement to its termination, through *six* stages. In the **FIRST** stage it is only a **FAMILY-HISTORY**. During that period we are successively made acquainted with each of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The twelve sons of the latter form the basis of the national development. In the **SECOND** stage, these *twelve* tribes grow into a **PEOPLE**, which, under *Moses*, attains independence and receives its laws and worship. Under *Joshua* it conquers its country, while, during the time of the Judges, the covenant is to be further developed on the basis of what had already been obtained. The **THIRD** stage commences with the institution of **ROYALTY**. By the side of the royal office, and as a counterpoise and corrective to it, the **prophetic office** is instituted, which is no longer confined to isolated appearances, but remains a continuous *institution*. The separation of the one commonwealth into two monarchies, divides this period into two sections. The **FOURTH** stage comprises the **EXILE AND RETURN**. Prophetism survives the catastrophe of the exile, so as to rearrange and revive the relations of the people who returned to their country, and to open the way for a further development. The **FIFTH** stage, or the time of expectation, commences with the cessation of prophecy, and is intended to prepare a place for that salvation which is now to be immediately expected. Lastly, the **SIXTH** stage comprises the time of the **FULFILLMENT**, when salvation is to be exhibited in Christ. The covenant people reject the salvation so presented, the old covenant terminates in judgment against the covenant people, but prophecy still holds out to them hopes and prospects in the future."

HENGSTENBERG'S COMMENTARY ON ECCLESIASTES.*—We have in this work a new volume in the series of translations from the German writers, which are being issued in Philadelphia. The influence of them all upon our biblical and theological science in this country must be for good, for, while we are as yet pretty well protected against the peculiarisms and looseness of views, that are sometimes found in that land

* *A Commentary on Ecclesiastes, with other Treatises.* By E. W. HENGSTENBERG, D. D., Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the German by D. W. SIMON. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 488.

of scholars, we are very greatly in need of the working in of their thoroughness upon our so frequent superficiality, and we cannot but be awakened to new enthusiasm and earnestness by every new exhibition of their devotion to and progress in learning. Of the present Commentary, which is very full and displays the author's usual power, it is scarcely needful to speak at length, since everything from the pen of Hengstenberg in the line of sacred criticism and literature is worthy of high regard, and is sure to receive it here among us, as much if not more than in his own country. We would therefore simply give the announcement to our readers that the volume is published, and that it contains—besides the extended commentary on Ecclesiastes—some introductory lectures or treatises on the Song of Solomon, on the Book of Job, on the Prophet Isaiah, on the Sacrifices of Holy Scripture, and on the Jews and the Christian Church.

BURROWES'S COMMENTARY ON THE SONG OF SOLOMON.*—Dr. Burrowes has given us a work which is rather of a popular than of a purely scholastic character, but one which may be read with much interest, as unfolding the design and the beauties of the Song of Songs. He begins with a long and well-written introduction, in which he examines the character of the Song, and brings forward the strong proofs, which show that it should receive an allegorical interpretation. For the full understanding of its meaning, however, and the highest appreciation of its expressions of love, he thinks that the soul must have made great progress in the Christian life. Into the hands of such souls, especially, does "the Holy Spirit give this special scroll written full of the characters of love, and whispers to them that they can never do wrong in speaking of Jesus in these terms." It becomes the "manual of the advanced Christian," and as such is to be read and enjoyed the more as we go farther and farther forward on our way. He regards the Song as consisting of three distinct parts, which, severally, exhibit "the way in which the soul that longs for the manifestation of the love of Christ is led on to the gratification of that desire; the motives by which the Lord would allure such a soul away from the present world; and the effect produced on the heart of the saint by these manifestations of love and these motives." A translation of the Song is given and also a very

* *A Commentary on the Song of Solomon.* By GEORGE BURROWES, D. D. Second edition, revised. Philadelphia: William S. and Alfred Martien. 1860. 12 mo. pp. 454.

full analysis of it, verse by verse. Upon this follows the Commentary itself, which contains evidence that the author has himself endeavored to enter into the true idea and spirit of the poem. His suggestions will, we may venture to say, help others toward the same end, and may be as quickening to the religious life as the author desires and hopes.

HENDERSON'S COMMENTARY ON THE MINOR PROPHETS.*—The short biographical sketch, which Professor Barrows has prefixed to this American edition of Henderson's Commentary, must impress all who are unacquainted with the author's writings with his abundant qualifications for the labor which he took upon himself, in translating and explaining the books of the Minor Prophets. He seems to have had a mind which acquired the knowledge of foreign languages with remarkable ease, while the circumstances, employments and aims of his life were such as to open before him a wide field for such acquisition. For twenty years he was engaged in the missionary work of the Bible Societies, and, in connection with this work, he employed much of his energy in the department of oriental literature. On his return to England he received almost immediately a theological professorship, the duties of which office, in one place or another, he discharged with distinguished ability, success and reputation, during almost a quarter of a century. His commentaries on the Old Testament were the result of this long continued study and preparation; the result of his most mature scholarship and his most extended investigation. We are, therefore, sure, at the first, from what we learn of the man, that they must be what we find on examination they are, a valuable contribution to our biblical knowledge. The translation seems to be made with much care, while the notes, though not very extensive, bear evidence of a thorough acquaintance with all the questions discussed. The books are arranged in the order of our English version, and each one is preceded by a brief account of the author, his times, style, &c., and the course of thought in each chapter and section is set forth in a few words. He explains his principles of interpretation at the outset of his preface, which he endeavors to carry out fully, as we see in the progress of the work; being an earnest believer in the inspiration of these writers,

* *The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets.* Translated from the original Hebrew; with a Commentary, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical. By E. HENDERSON, D. D., with a Biographical sketch of the author, by E. P. BARROWS, Hitchcock Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1860. 8vo. pp. 458. Price \$8.

and disposed to look with no very great favor on those who would explain away, as a fable or moral fiction, whatever may seem to them improbable or unworthy of belief. A single quotation from his preface may not be out of place in closing this notice of the work. "In no instance," he says, "has the theory of a double sense been permitted to exert an influence on the author's expositions. He is firmly convinced that the more this theory is impartially examined, the more it will be found that it goes to unsettle the foundations of Divine Truth, unhinge the mind of the biblical student, invite the sneer and ridicule of unbelievers, and open the door to the extravagant vagaries of a wild and unbridled imagination."

STUART'S COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.*—The Commentaries on the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews, by Professor Stuart, are probably the best specimens of really scholarly works in this department, which have ever been published in this country. Delitzsch, the recent German writer on this epistle, speaks of the one now before us as rivaling the efforts of his own countrymen, and we find both of them mentioned with respect by many of the foreign scholars. Among ourselves they have been well known for nearly a generation, and they are valuable to us now not only in themselves, but as reminding us so distinctly of the learning and enthusiasm which gave their author a powerful and inspiring influence over his pupils, and through which he accomplished more for the advancement of biblical criticism in our part of the world, than any other man ever has done as yet, and more, perhaps, than any other ever will. Professor Robbins has rendered a good service to our students of theology, by preparing this new edition of these two Commentaries, and we hope that both he and the publishers will find the surest evidence that their labors are appreciated.

MESSIANIC PROPHECY AND THE LIFE OF CHRIST.†—This unpretending volume strikes us as being one which may be quite useful to a large class of Christian people. The design of the author is, in his own lan-

* *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.* By MOSES STUART, late Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Edited and revised by R. D. C. ROBBINS, Professor in Middlebury College. Fourth edition. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1860. 12mo. pp. 575. Price \$1.75.

† *Messianic Prophecy and the Life of Christ.* By WILLIAM S. KENNEDY. Second edition. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1860. 12mo. pp. 484. Price \$1.

guage, "to present, in popular form, the Messianic Prophecies of the Old Testament in their chronological order, and the Life of Jesus arranged according to the best harmony of the Gospels." This he has done in a simple style and with a careful division of both sections of the work into periods, so as, on the one hand, to set before the reader in a clearer light the various prophecies, which, being brought into their proper relations as to time and subject, produce their combined effect upon the mind, while, on the other hand, he gives the events in the life of our Saviour in their historical order, with only enough of explanation to show their connection and progress. He has thus had the good sense to leave the Scripture declarations and record to make their own full and best impression, without falling into the common error of writing overmuch and round about the subject, and really obscuring it by the display of his powers of composition. Now most persons, we are inclined to believe, read the Bible "in course," as we say; and with a conscientious apportionment of so many chapters to each day, but with very little of careful examination as to the bearing of one part upon another, or of distinct and thorough understanding of the Life of Jesus in its succession of events and its fulfillment of particular prophecies. How much would such persons be benefited oftentimes by the use of a work like the present; which aids the mind to an easy attainment of what it should desire, and which is so brief and simple in itself as to be readily used by any one. And when we say *such persons*, we should scarcely venture to determine how many could be excepted from the number;—perhaps one in fifty—perhaps one in five hundred.

MORNING HOURS IN PATMOS.*—The idea of this book was conceived during the hours of a morning sail on the Ægean Sea, along the southern shore of Asia Minor, from Rhodes to Patmos. The author, with his Bible open before him, and the rocky island, the scene of apocalyptic visions, in full view, could hardly fail to read the opening chapter of the Revelation of John, with new and peculiar interest. He had already visited Smyrna, and the sites of Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea; and among their ruins read and re-read the several letters to the "Seven Churches which are in Asia." He has not attempted to make a book of travels, or a book for scholars; but to give to those who have not been favored with opportunities of Eastern

* *Morning Hours in Patmos*: The opening Vision of the Apocalypse, and Christ's Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia. By A. C. THOMPSON. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 12mo. pp. 268.

travel, some descriptions of the present appearance of these memorable localities, and to convey, if possible, some idea of the new and vivid impressions he gained as he studied the latest of the inspired prophecies amid the very scenes where it was communicated to the Apostle who was commanded to write the "things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter."

HACKETT'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE.*—This is a new edition of a work which has been for several years favorably known to the public. For the benefit of those who are not acquainted with the book, it may be well to state that it presents a popular and a reliable account, by one of the best biblical scholars in the country, who has himself been in Palestine, of such Eastern habits and customs as will serve to make the Scriptural narratives better understood. The subjects treated of in the several chapters are as follows:—I. Methods of traveling in Palestine. II. Manners and Customs of the People. III. Climate, Soil and Productions. IV. Agriculture, its operations and implements. V. Geographical accuracy of the Bible. VI. Jewish opinions and usages. VII. Jerusalem and its environs. VIII. Sketches of particular places and towns in Palestine.

It ought to be stated, to the credit of the publishers, that though the work was stereotyped, they have allowed the author to make very extensive changes in this edition, so that there is scarcely a page which does not show traces of the results of a second visit which he has made to some of the localities of the Bible.

THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.†—The translation of the immortal "Confessions," which Professor Shedd has edited, was published long ago by an unknown author, but is so faithful that it required little mending. No other English translation can rival it in fidelity and spirit. The present edition is enriched by an introduction which exhibits, with Professor Shedd's well known force and felicity of style, some leading characteristics of this, to the majority of readers, most interesting of the voluminous writings of the great North African Father, whose

* *Illustrations of Scripture*: Suggested by a tour through the Holy Land. By HORATIO B. HACKETT, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. New and Revised edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. 12mo. pp. 352.

† *The Confessions of St. Augustine*. Edited, with an introduction, by WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD. Andover: W. F. Draper. 1860. Price \$1.

speculative and dialectic power, coupled with his living experience of the Gospel, have made him the most influential of the first Apostolic Christian teachers. In this little work the renowned theologian unbosoms himself without reserve and carries us along the stream of his spiritual life, through its turbid flow in mazes of error and vice, until it attains to calm under the sunlight of Christian faith. We commend this handsome edition of his work to the attention of our readers. It is refreshing to turn from the "sensation" preachers of the day to the writings of a man whose depth of thought and strength of emotion are answerable to the ardor and vehemence of his manner.

BAXTER'S REFORMED PASTOR.*—We are glad to see, in a new dress, a sterling treatise of that one among the Puritan Divines who is the best loved of them all. We rejoice that the glowing, searching, honest, and eloquent Baxter continues to preach so long after his voice has been hushed and his faithful soul, so tossed by the conflicts of a stormy age, has entered on its rest. The Reformed Pastor is one of the most valuable of his works and is one of the most instructive books upon the duties of a Pastor to be found in our language. We are reluctant to characterize the style of Baxter as verbose; we should rather describe it as copious. His sentences flow out of a seemingly inexhaustible fountain of thought and emotion. He cannot leave his hearer unconvinced, but plies every motive and brings forward with untiring ardor every consideration that is fitted to persuade. His pages abound in terse, telling words, and in phrases which strike into the heart. The Reformed Pastor, besides the excellent suggestions and forcible expositations relative to the Minister's office which it presents with apostolic fervor, furnishes an incidental sketch of the condition of the English clergy in his times, and contains other historical matter of no inconsiderable value. The faults to which the clerical profession are liable at the present day, as well as formerly, are exposed and chastised with point and plainness, though by the hand of a friend. The edition before us is not mutilated, as Baxter's works have too much been, but is complete, and in fair type. In a prefatory extract from John Angel James, that successful preacher says, "I have made, next to the Bible, Baxter's Reformed Pastor my rule as regards the object of my ministry." It is safe to say that no one can read this time honored treatise without being greatly quickened and otherwise aided in his pastoral work.

* *The Reformed Pastor*, showing the nature of the Pastoral work, &c. By the Rev. RICHARD BAXTER. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1860.

LESSONS AT THE CROSS.*—The encouraging and cheerful spirit with which the author of this book writes of the duties and privileges of the Christian believer, has commended these Lessons to us. We cannot better give a conception of his style than by transferring one or two brief passages, which must of course suffer by being read out of their connection. The author speaks of the “wealth of believers,” and thus sums up his discourse:

“ See how all things are theirs. See how all things are bringing tributary offerings to their feet. See how all things, and all events, and all men, and all eternity are their ministering servants. Everything is fulfilling the desires of their hearts. Everything is working for that which is their pleasure. * * * * Everything is culturing the vintage which they shall pluck in heaven. Everything is making ready the clusters and the cup for their banquet in the Father’s Kingdom. Everything is preparing them for their inheritance; and their inheritance for them. * * * * Such is the wealth of those who are Christ’s. It is wealth without computation—without limit and without exhaustion. It is theirs by covenant; theirs by oath; theirs to-day; and theirs forever. It is theirs, for they are Christ’s. It is theirs, for they are the fruits of his sufferings—the travail of his soul, and the children of his love. It is theirs, for it is his. It is theirs, for they and he are one; they in him and he in them.” p. 163.

The book is highly commended as a devotional work, in an introduction by Rev. George W. Blagden, D. D., of Boston.

MY SAVIOUR.†—The Messrs. Carter have republished a devotional work, prepared by the Rev. John East, of England, which some years ago was deservedly very popular in this country. It consists of religious meditations, of great beauty, in prose and verse, upon all the names and titles—more than fifty in number—which are ascribed in the Bible to the Saviour. We remember the book, with great pleasure, as rich in thought and the expressions of the most devoted devotional feeling. We will mention a few of the titles which serve as themes for these meditations: *Counsellor, Friend, Gift of God, Head, Hand, Light, Refiner, Rock, Rose, Shepherd, Shield, Sun, Wonderful.*

* *Lessons at the Cross: or, Spiritual Truths familiarly exhibited in their relations to Christ.* By SAMUEL HOPKINS. With an introduction by Rev. George W. Blagden, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 18vo. 1860. pp. 274.

† *My Saviour: or Devotional Meditations in Prose and Verse, on the Names and Titles of the Lord Jesus Christ.* By the Rev. JOHN EAST, A. M., Rector of Crocombe, Somerset, England. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 252.

THE SIGNET RING, AND OTHER GEMS.*—Some years ago a little book, "The Signet Ring," notwithstanding its rather unpromising title, gained considerable popularity among the lovers of choice *morceaux* of devotional literature. Nothing was known about its author, but the book was supposed to bear unmistakable marks of German origin. It now appears that it was written in Holland, by a Mr. DeLiefde, a Dutch pastor. Messrs. Gould & Lincoln of Boston have procured translations of two other works of the same author, and now give all three to the public in this single volume. The two new works are "The Inheritance, and the Way to obtain it," and "The Shipwrecked Traveler." They are both charming little allegories, and illustrate in the happiest and most engaging manner the nature of true religious faith. There is a simplicity and freshness about each story, and withal a slightly foreign cast, that is exceedingly attractive; while the most important doctrinal truths are taught with a clearness that will not allow any reader to mistake with regard to them.

MID-DAY THOUGHTS FOR THE WEARY.†—This is a 24mo., made up of short extracts from the writings of good men of various ages, countries, and habits of mind, on topics of enduring interest to all devout Christians. It is recommended by Rev. E. N. Kirk, D. D., and is published by James Munroe & Co. of Boston.

WISE'S VINDICATION OF NEW ENGLAND CHURCHES.‡—The Congregational Board of Publication have republished two tracts of Rev. John Wise, which were originally published in 1710 and 1717. Their titles are—"A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches," and "The Churches' Quarrel Espoused." For a long time copies of them have been very rare, and only to be found in the libraries of the lovers of old books. Few works in the early history of New England had a more decided and enduring influence.

The occasion of their publication, according to Rev. Joseph Clark,

* *The Signet Ring, and other Gems.* From the Dutch of the Rev. J. DE LIEFDE. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. 18mo. pp. 362.

† *Mid-day Thoughts for the Weary.* Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1860. 24mo. pp. 142.

‡ *A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches. And The Churches' Quarrel Espoused: or, A Reply to Certain Proposals.* By JOHN WISE, A. M., Pastor of a Church in Ipswich. Fourth edition. Boston Congregational Board of Publication. 1860. 12mo. pp. 245.

D. D., was as follows. We give the account substantially in his own language, as we find it in the Introduction.

At a meeting of the Boston Association of ministers, held November 5th, 1705, sixteen "Proposals," which had previously been drawn up by a committee appointed for that purpose, were "read and assented to," and were put forth for the consideration and assent of "the several associated ministers in the several parts of the country." These "Proposals," though couched in plausible terms, and embodying some useful hints, were of a revolutionary character, subversive of the Cambridge Platform, the then recognized "constitution" of the churches. They aimed *first* to give the ministerial meetings, which were then coming into popular favor, an ecclesiastical character, by bringing before them business pertinent only to the churches. *Second*, to run these associations, thus ecclesiasticised and enlarged by a lay delegation, into standing councils, whose decisions in all ordinary cases should be "final and decisive." At the present day it is not to be expected that we can well appreciate the alarm that was occasioned by these "Proposals," which were then considered to be a very serious encroachment on the right of the churches to control themselves. In defense of the "old way," Mr. Wise put forth his tract, "The Churches' Quarrel Espoused;" a satire, in which he arraigns the "Proposals" in the form of a trial for treason, and finds them severally guilty, and condemns them to death. So successful was he, that not only was the whole project exploded, but it served to recall the churches to the first principles of Congregationalism and to reseat them on their ancient Platform more firmly than ever before. In Connecticut, however, the "Proposals," after being shorn of their most objectionable features, resulted in the Consociation system which now prevails in the state. Mr. Wise, thus encouraged by his success in the defense of invaded rights, then gave to the public, in 1717, in another tract, "A Vindication of the New England Churches." This production, "as remarkable for tough logic as the other is for keen satire," came soon to be regarded as of the highest ecclesiastical authority. It was not long, too, before it was found that Mr. Wise's arguments, in defense of democracy in Congregational churches, were quite as available for democracy in the state, and the book became a political text-book. Dr. Clark says:

"Some of the most glittering sentences in the immortal Declaration of American Independence are almost literal quotations from this essay. And it is a significant fact, that in 1772, only four years before that declaration was made, a large edition of both these tracts was published by subscription in one duodecimo

volume. The suspicion which this fact alone suggests, that it was used as a political text-book in the great struggle for freedom then opening in earnest, is fully confirmed by the list of subscribers' names printed at the end, with the number of copies annexed. Distinguished laymen in all parts of New England, who were soon to be heralded to the world as heroes in that struggle, are on that list for six, twelve, twenty-four, thirty-six, and two of them for a hundred copies each!*

In the present edition this interesting "list" of subscribers is republished.

PROFESSOR GIBSON'S HISTORY OF THE REVIVAL IN IRELAND.*—This very valuable and interesting work by Prof. Gibson has now been before the public since July last, and we regret that the crowded pages of the *New Englander* for August prevented us from giving an account of it at that time. It is a book which deserves the careful attention of all American Christians. We have reason to be thankful that such a history of the remarkable revival in Ireland has been prepared by one who is in every way so well qualified for the task. The author is the Professor of Christian Ethics in Queen's College, Belfast. He has been moderator of the Irish General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church; and during the Great Awakening of 1858, he was present in this country, and had an opportunity of witnessing the work of grace which was then going on among us. The history bears the marks of having been prepared with great care. Prof. Gibson assures us that he had peculiar facilities for obtaining the information he wished, and it is very apparent that he made diligent and faithful use of them all. A large portion of the book, as was to be expected, is taken up with accounts of the progress of the revival from town to town, with descriptions of the scenes which occurred in particular localities; with the stories of individual conversions. In all these we see abundant reason to admire the extensive research, the prudent discrimination, and we may say the wisdom and good taste of the author. But the chief value of the book to American Christians consists in the fact that we are now enabled to compare the work of grace in Ireland, as a whole, with what we have seen and known in the United States. It is very interesting to find that the same lessons are taught which we have learned from the history of our own Revivals. We shall allude to but a single one.

* *The Year of Grace: a History of the Revival in Ireland*, A. D. 1859. By the Rev. WILLIAM GIBSON, Professor of Christian Ethics in Queen's College, Belfast, and Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. With an introduction by Rev. BARON STOW, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. 12mo. pp. 464.

It is very evident that this revival in Ireland did not come without much previous preparation. On this point the history of Prof. Gibson is very explicit. The scene of the revival was in Ulster, among the descendants of those who had listened to the Scotch ministers who were contemporaries of John Livingstone "of the kirk of Shotts," and had been converted in the great Irish and Scotch revivals of the seventeenth century. A long season of coldness and carelessness with regard to their spiritual welfare had intervened, it is true, but for centuries the gospel had been faithfully preached among them, and church-going habits had ever characterized the people. But this is by no means all. There had been much *special* preparation. Prof. Gibson says, "For many years a purifying and preparatory process had been going forward." He describes at length how the ministry within a few years had been quickened. How Sabbath Schools, Bible Classes, Tract distributions, prayer meetings, had been multiplied. In all the various public religious meetings in the Presbyterian church the necessity of a revival of pure religion was deeply felt and occupied a prominent place in their deliberations. It was recommended to the ministers that in all their sermons they should explain the nature and insist on the necessity of conversion. And then after all this had been done, and when there were multitudes eagerly desiring and looking for a special outpouring of the influences of the Spirit, the tidings came of the religious awakening in America. The story was told and repeated in one meeting after another of what had been done, and what was doing among us; and almost at once they found that they too were receiving proofs of the presence of the Spirit among them. The history of this "work of preparation" in Ireland deserves to be thoroughly pondered.

In chapter XIX, which bears the title "The Revival and the Pathological Affections," there is a very comprehensive and able discussion of the subject of "bodily agitations," the cases of "striking," the visions and trances, which are known to have been at first generally associated with the revival. It is a fact of no little interest that when these physical accompaniments were discouraged by the ministers and more experienced Christians, they became less frequent and soon almost entirely disappeared. In many respects these singular manifestations were similar to those which attended some of the earlier revivals in this country among the less intelligent and cultivated people of the country. This chapter will hereafter be considered a standard authority on the whole subject.

In conclusion, we feel that we ought to state, to the credit of the American publishers of this history, Messrs. Gould & Lincoln, that it was owing to their application to Prof. Gibson and the representations they made to him of the value of such a work to American Christians, that it was undertaken.

PHILOSOPHY.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON's LOGIC.*—The interest awakened by the first volume of Hamilton's Lectures has but enkindled a more intense curiosity and impatient desire to see the promised Lectures on Logic. These have just come to our hands and our notice of them must be brief, as our examination of the work has been necessarily cursory and imperfect. We have examined it thoroughly enough to be assured that it will not disappoint the expectations of those who were best acquainted with Sir William's special interest for, and decided preëminence in the department of Logic. We are well assured that in his mastery of all that pertains to the history and criticism of Formal Logic, he was surpassed by no man living, and that when he died there passed from the world the greatest master of the Aristotelian doctrines as taught by Aristotle and expounded by his commentators. This was his speciality far more than any other, eminent though he was in the history and criticism of other branches of philosophical research.

This volume gives the fruit of his favorite studies, not in the elaborate and finished form which he would have preferred, but in the more popular aspect, which his earlier essays at instruction assumed. His editors inform us that these lectures, like those upon Psychology, appear as they were originally given to his earlier classes. It is to be remembered, however, that at that time he was the greatest Aristotelian of all his contemporaries, and was rich with the fruits of immense erudition and critical analysis. The appendix supplies us with a mass of papers, mostly of later date, which furnish us with the results of his later researches, not indeed in the most finished form, but abounding in valuable matter.

If we look more closely into the contents of this volume, we find the most exhaustive treatment of all the divisions of Logic—of Logic pure

* *Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic.* By Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart., &c., &c. Edited by the Rev. Henry L. Mansel, B. D., Oxford, and John Veitch, M. A., Edinburgh. In two Volumes. Vol. II, Logic. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 8vo. pp. 730.

and applied—of pure Logic in its elements and methodology and of applied Logic under the same two-fold division. While all these topics are treated with a thoroughness which is unexampled in any treatise on Logic hitherto published in the English language, there is a clearness, a vivacity and force in the style and illustrations, which are the rarest of all attendants upon discussions so profound and of subjects so abstruse. The Introduction, the discussion of the nature and necessary relation of *Concepts*, will strike every reader as very happy, while the concluding chapters on Truth and Error, with the practical precepts for the conduct of the understanding, for the double end of mental discipline and usefulness, are unsurpassed for their soundness as well as the reach of their practical bearings.

The indiscriminate and uncritical admirer of Hamilton as a kind of intellectual demigod, will be surprised to see how largely he quotes from such authorities as Esser and Krug, while the thinker who desires to scrutinize and examine the Speculative principles on which rest the processes of Formal Logic, will feel some disappointment that Hamilton was so slow in forming or so chary in expressing his opinions on such subjects. But the candid critic will not hesitate to pronounce this volume one of the most, if not the most, valuable contribution to English philosophical literature which the present and preceding generations have witnessed.

MANSEL'S PROLEGOMENA LOGICA.*—This work is by the author of "The Limits of Religious Thought," who is also one of the editors of the works of Sir William Hamilton. This alone would be sufficient to call the attention of the public to the work, aside from the interest and importance of the subjects of which it treats. These subjects, however, could scarcely be conjectured from the title. It is not a treatise upon Formal Logic, and is not designed to take the place of the ordinary manuals of instruction. It is a discussion of those processes and truths which the ordinary logic assumes, as the foundation of its definitions and rules. It begins with a consideration of that psychological process technically denominated "Thought," as distinguished from the other operations of the intellect, and treats of its nature and its products. It

* *Prolegomena Logica. An inquiry into the psychological character of Logical Processes.* By HENRY LONGEVILLE MANSEL, B. D., LL. D., &c., &c., &c. First American from the second English edition, corrected and enlarged. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. 12mo. pp. 291.

is with these products and the relations which they involve that Logic is chiefly concerned. We find the distinctions here taken to be the same which have been so long accepted in Germany, but which are by no means as yet naturalized in England and America. The elucidation of them by Mansel is very successful. Perhaps it would not be unjust to say it is more successful than that furnished by any other English writer, not excepting Hamilton himself. This discussion covers the first two chapters. Chapter third unfolds the subtle and often disregarded distinction between the Laws of thought technically understood, and the Laws of beings or things. This fairly opens the way for the treatment in chapter fourth of the nature of mathematical entities and of mathematical truths. By this time the author finds himself on the dividing line between metaphysics on the one hand and psychological Logic on the other. The line he boldly crosses, however, and bravely grapples with the impalpable beings that vaguely hover around him. But vague as the subjects are, he treats them clearly and brings out certain results upon points which have occasioned no little controversy. The relation of mathematical quantities to space and time are in the main, in our view, justly stated so far as they are given, and are an important addition to our English knowledge on this subject. They lack fullness and completeness, however, and are vitiated, here and there, by the author's subservience to the Kantian dogmas. In chapter fifth he treats of what he terms "the psychological character of metaphysical necessity," under which title he veils his decidedly Kantian proclivities, in respect to the law of causality, personal individuality and substance. We are pleased to find that he does not blindly follow his great leader, but expresses a decided dissent from some of his positions. These fundamental questions are, moreover, managed with great clearness of statement and much discrimination, so that within a brief compass there is compressed much important matter. After having thus disposed of this preliminary consideration of mathematical and metaphysical necessity, he proceeds to the consideration of Logical necessity and the laws of thought, then to the kindred topic of the distinction between the matter and form of thought, which in its turn prepares the way for the treatment of positive and negative thought. The discussion is finished by the consideration of the relation of Logic to the other mental sciences.

It will be seen from this brief outline of topics that the volume includes matter of the highest interest to the speculative mind. This matter is treated in a masterly way, so far as clearness of statement,

abundant reading and a general good sense and judgment are concerned. Though the author shows on almost every page that he is a Kantian, yet he does not thereby cease to be a philosopher, and one of great ability. Indeed we can scarcely recognize in the author of the *Prolegomena Logica*, the same Mr. Mansel who wrote the *Limits of Religious Thought*. The one is composed by a philosopher, and may be safely pronounced to be one of the most valuable gifts to the English public, of the present generation. The other is an essay to press philosophy into the service of theology, by attempting to prove philosophical theology to be impossible. Both these works are in their way likely to be of great interest and service to intelligent readers. The "Prolegomena Logica" is the best Propædeutik in the English language to the study of Kant and the modern German Philosophy.

FLEMING'S VOCABULARY OF PHILOSOPHY.*—This Vocabulary of Philosophy has been well received in Great Britain and America, and has already passed to the second edition. It is now published for the first time in this country, under the editorial conduct of Dr. C. P. Krauth, who has furnished some important additions to the English edition. It is a vocabulary of the most important terms in the various departments of philosophy, with extended definitions and explanations of the same, usually in the words of distinguished authorities. When the authorities differ either in opinion or language, quotations are made from several writers of distinction. Different schools of Philosophy are, to some extent, represented. In the comprehensiveness of its plan, and the thoroughness of its execution, this work is far superior to Taylor's *Elements of Thought*—the only similar work in English with which it might deserve to be compared. We could have desired more comprehensiveness and exactness of reading, so that the author could have given us knowledge of other than the English schools since the days of Locke. This, however, did not enter into the plan of the work. It cannot, therefore, be compared at all with the *Dictionnaire des Sciences Philosophiques*—nor with the more elaborate philosophical Lexicons of the German scholars. But it covers ground which these do not—in that it explains those terms which are preëminently Anglican,

* *Vocabulary of Philosophy, mental, moral, and metaphysical, with quotations and references for the use of students.* By WILLIAM FLEMING, D. D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. With an Introduction, Chronology, &c., by Charles P. Krauth, D. D. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 662.

and which are imperfectly appreciated by continental critics, and also furnishes copious citations from the leading English authorities arranged under the most important topics. While we recommend this work as almost a necessity for the beginner, it will be found almost equally indispensable to the more advanced student, for its convenience.

What we miss most in this work is a high degree of critical ability. We naturally expect in the author of such a dictionary, that he would show an independent judgment in the treatment of the several topics, and that he should now and then rise above the mere compiler of other men's thoughts. Even if he professes to do nothing more than give the opinions of others, it is reasonable to expect that he should lend to this exhibition somewhat of the life and interest which are imparted by a sententious presentation, or, that now and then, there might appear a pithy saying or a striking observation. This vocabulary, with all its usefulness, is rarely if ever thus relieved.

ETHICA.*—This little work is characterized by some originalities in the development of its plan, as well as some freshness of treatment in the style. It would have been much improved, however, had the author thoroughly studied the history of ethical sciences, as expressed by others, before committing his doctrines to the form of a published treatise.

INTRODUCTORY LESSONS ON MIND.†—This admirable work, by Archbishop Whately, may be recommended for many of the rarest excellencies; not the least of which is, that it performs far more than it promises. As a reading book and a text-book, it is fraught with profit and interest.

THE NEW CIVILIZATION AND THE NEW SPECULATIVE THINKING.‡—This well written address deserves our notice for its just appreciation of

* *Ethica. An Outline of Moral Science, for students and reflecting men.* By JOHN H. STINSON. New York: A. B. Kinston, Room 20, Cooper Institute. 1860. 18mo. pp. 104. Price 50 cents.

† *Introductory Lessons on Mind.* By the author of "Easy Lessons on Reasoning," "Lessons on Morals," &c. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 240.

‡ *The New Civilization and the New Speculative Thinking.* An Address before the Society of the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, December 22d, 1859. By EDWIN HARWOOD, M. A., Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, Conn. Philadelphia: 1859. 8vo. pp. 23.

the movements of our times and the causes to which they are to be ascribed. Its sketches of those movements are strikingly beautiful and startlingly true. The author shows ripe culture, deep thinking, an earnest spirit, and a warm heart. His Christian spirit is catholic and elevated; and he has the good taste and good sense, which is the more admirable for its rareness, of sinking the Churchman in the Christian, as became the theme and the occasion.

TRAVELS.

KRAPF'S TRAVELS AND RESEARCHES IN EASTERN AFRICA.*—The very extended travels which were made by Barth and the members of his party, in Northern Africa, and those which were made by Living-stone, in the south, have given value to all the supplementary researches of other travelers. The name of Dr. Krapf has long been familiar to those who have watched the progress of African discovery. A native of Germany, but sent out by the British Church Missionary Society to the eastern shores of Africa, he has displayed in his residence there the indefatigability of the one nation, and the practical talent of the other. The volume which he has now published, while written in a plain and unostentatious style, presents a clear and interesting record of his experience as a missionary, and of his observations as a traveler in Abyssinia and the neighboring country. There is one subject of peculiar importance discussed by Dr. Krapf,—important in its bearing on the vexatious question as to the sources of the Nile. Mr. Rebmann, his missionary colleague, saw in 1848, and Dr. Krapf in the following year, the high mountain Kilimandjaro, which is situated almost on the equator. Its white top they believed to be covered with snow, and so reported it. But Mr. W. D. Cooley, who has paid much attention to the history of discovery in Africa, has endeavored to controvert their views, and to show that the mountains were not white from snow, but from stones. Dr. Krapf still maintains his original belief, and states his case with great force.

Prefixed to his portion of the volume is a succinct and satisfactory review of the recent travels in Africa, down to May, 1860, (including, therefore, those of Burton and Speke,) which is attributed to Dr. Ravenstein. A neat outline map gives additional value to the book.

* *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors in Eastern Africa.* By Rev. Dr. J. L. KRAPF. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860. 12mo. Price \$1.25.

TAYLOR'S "FIVE YEARS IN CHINA."*—Mr. Taylor's book cannot lay claim to any very high literary merit; but it really does contain a great deal of interesting information about the Chinese people. It is remarkable for the extraordinary minuteness of detail with which the daily life and habits of the people are described. We are told exactly how they live, how they build their houses, what they eat and drink, and wherewithal they clothe themselves;—how they marry, how they bury. Mr. Taylor does not impress us as being a man who could philosophize upon the facts which he records; he does not always read aright the character which is expressed in all this outward life; but he was evidently a quick, and generally accurate observer, and he has given us the narrative of what he did and what he saw, in a book that is really fresh and readable.

The chapter which contains an account of his visit to the camp of the Insurgent army at Chin-kiang-foo, is deeply interesting. Mr. Taylor was an enthusiast in his missionary labors, and volunteered to go and carry copies of the Bible to those rebel soldiers, and to find out how nearly their own religious views approached a true Christianity. The expedition was a perilous one, and it is a wonder that he did not lose his head, either from the vengeance of the Imperial troops, or from the suspicious violence of the Insurgents. He was well received, however, by the highest officer at Chin-kiang-foo, and was himself vastly encouraged by what he saw of the rebellion. We confess that we are not able fully to agree with the high estimate which he has formed of the high religious character of that strange insurrection. But his statements in regard to it are new and valuable, and profoundly interesting.

BIOGRAPHY.

EVERETT'S LIFE OF WASHINGTON.†—Mr. Everett states, in the preface to this new sketch of the life of the Father of his Country, that at the suggestion of Lord Macaulay, the proprietors of the Encyclopædia Britanica applied to him to prepare for them the memoir of

* *Five Years in China.* With some account of the Great Rebellion, and a description of St. Helena. By CHARLES TAYLOR, M. D. (formerly missionary to China,) Corresponding Secretary of the Sunday School Society of the M. E. Church, South. New York: Derby & Jackson. 12mo. pp. 413.

† *The Life of George Washington.* By EDWARD EVERETT. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 348. Price \$1.

Washington. We are glad to find that the work was intrusted to one of our own countrymen, who is so admirably qualified for the task, and we are pleased to see that he has found the execution of it consistent with his other engagements. Messrs. Sheldon & Co., of New York, have promptly republished the memoir in a volume whose beautiful typography it is a luxury to behold. It is no easy matter to condense the life of a man like Washington within the limits appropriate to an encyclopaedia. In the large type of the present broad margined volume it covers about two hundred and fifty pages. Mr. Everett has not attempted to examine any of the original sources of information, for new facts, but making use of the materials to be found in the great national works of Marshall, Sparks, and Irving, he has prepared a memoir which, though extremely concise, is yet, from its polished and scholarly style, one which will be in every way attractive to the general reader. We shall not attempt to follow him as he traces the career of the "greatest of good men and the best of great men." From among the many passages which we have marked in our reading, we will allude but briefly to a single one. It is sometimes said that Washington was too grave and dignified; and the wish is expressed that there had been something more genial in his character and manner. It is forgotten that we now receive our impressions respecting him from those who saw and remember him as he was when overwhelmed with the cares and duties of a most responsible office, at a period, too, when the warm blood of youth might be expected to be somewhat cooled by years. Mr. Everett tells us that the habitual circumspection and prudence which marked him during the revolutionary period and afterwards, were "forced upon him by circumstances;" and expresses the opinion that there has been a great mistake on the subject of Washington's temperament, "which was naturally sanguine." He says that the general traits of his character in his early years, his early friendships, his love of adventure, his athletic prowess, when "he wrestled, leaped, ran, threw the bar and ran with the foremost," "have been too much overlooked."

In the appendix is a very valuable and interesting paper by Dr. JAMES JACKSON, the "venerable head of his profession" in Boston, in which he gives a very minute account of "the last sickness of General Washington, and its treatment by the attendant physicians." The disease which cut him down is represented to be a very rare one, now known under the name of *acute laryngitis*. Dr. Craik, the life-long friend of Washington, has been severely criticised for his treatment of

the case; but Dr. Jackson, after a long and carefully prepared account of it, gives it as his opinion that the treatment was substantially in accordance with the most recent scientific views respecting the management of the disease. There is also in the Appendix a copy of the official inventory of the personal property at Mount Vernon, taken by the sworn appraisers, after the death of Gen. Washington, which includes a catalogue of the books in his library. There is also a copy of the will of Mrs. Washington, which has never before been published.

TREASON OF MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES LEE.*—This is a monograph which was prepared for the New York Historical Society, by George H. Moore, Esq., the Librarian, and read before them on Tuesday evening, June 22d, 1858. It presents for the first time positive proof to the world, that Major-General Charles Lee, of the army of the American Revolution, was really a traitor to the cause in which he had drawn his sword. It will be remembered that he was tried before a court-martial, after the battle of Monmouth, for disobedience of orders; for misbehavior before the enemy; and for disrespect to the Commander-in-Chief; and that the court found him guilty upon all the charges, and suspended him from his command. It now appears that he was more deeply involved in guilt than was supposed. We have here conclusive evidence of his treachery. To those who have read the life of General Lee, by Mr. Sparks, and especially the last published volume of Mr. Bancroft's history of the American Revolution, it will not be at all surprising that this vain, selfish, eccentric, avaricious, soldier of fortune, when he found himself a prisoner in New York, in 1777, the gloomiest period of the Revolution, should be very willing to try his hand at planning for "the reconciliation" of the colonies with the mother country. As might have been expected, so it was. Mr. Moore tells us:

"While the Continental Congress were denouncing their most solemn vengeance in retaliation for any injury which he (General Lee) might receive at the hands of his captors;—while Washington, forgetting the insults and injuries which had led to his misfortunes, was straining every nerve in his behalf, and urging his requests upon Congress with constant zeal and sympathy;—he was planning, for the enemies of America, the ruin of THE CAUSE!"

* *The Treason of Charles Lee*, Major-General, second in command in the American Army of the Revolution. By GEORGE H. MOORE, Librarian of the New York Historical Society. [Read before the Society on Tuesday evening, June 22d, 1858.] New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. Royal 8vo. pp. 115. With engravings and fac-similes.

"I hold the document in my hand—in his own autograph—unmistakable and real. It is indorsed in the handwriting of Henry Strachey, who was then Secretary to the Royal Commissioners, Lord and Sir William Howe."

We have not space to go into further details respecting this treasonable correspondence with the enemy. Every intelligent student of our history will understand the importance of the discovery.

This paper which Mr. Moore read before the Historical Society is now given to the public in a handsome volume of the clearest and most beautiful typography. We have seen nothing superior to it from the American press. The work is illustrated with a fine engraving of General Lee; and with a copy of a *most amusing caricature*, which, notwithstanding, was allowed by all who knew him, to be "the only successful delineation of his countenance or person." There is also a fac-simile of the original "Plan of Treason." The work reflects great credit upon the author.

MEMOIR OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.*—This is a book which has already been before the public for a year or two, but we take the occasion of the publication of a new edition to bespeak for it fresh attention. It is an admirable book for the times. No one can read this history of the public career of the "old man eloquent," without feeling his blood stirred within him, as by the blast of a trumpet. Now that the friends of freedom everywhere are uniting for an effort to put a limit to the further extension of slavery, the widest circulation ought to be given to everything that will throw light upon the history of the aggressions of the slave propagandists, and the methods by which they have maintained their ascendancy in the national councils. Few works are better fitted to do service, in this way, in the present presidential campaign, among those who have leisure and inclination to read and think, than this memoir by the venerable Josiah Quincy, of one whom he declares to be second to none of his contemporaries in laborious and faithful devotion to the service of his country. We regret to say that the memoir is only of his public life. The allusions to his private life, or even to the traits of his personal character, are very rare, and of the most formal kind. We look forward eagerly to the day when some competent person shall give us a complete biography which shall be

* *Memoir of the Life of John Quincy Adams.* By JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 429.

worthy of the genius and the virtues of this many-sided and laborious scholar and statesman.

We do not propose to follow the biographer as he has recounted the various public services which Mr. Adams discharged so advantageously to the country, and so honorably to himself. The story is all told, fully and faithfully, from the day he went to St. Petersburg, at the age of fourteen, as the private secretary of the minister to Russia, to the day he was elevated to the highest office within the gift of the nation, and then to the day when death overtook him in the discharge of his duties within the walls of the capitol at Washington. As we have followed the history, we have again and again felt the crimson of shame as we have read the proofs of the hypocrisy and corruption, the meanness, the incompetency, and the boorishness of many who stood high in public life at the same time with Mr. Adams, and we have rejoiced that one statesman of so much ability, culture, integrity, and acquaintance with affairs, was spared so long to the country.

MEMOIR OF THE DUTCHESS OF ORLEANS.*—We opened this book with expectations highly raised; not because some of the events in the life of the Dutchess of Orleans are a part of the history of her times; but because this German Protestant Princess, who became the wife of the heir apparent of the throne of France, ever maintained her Protestant principles, and the character of a truly religious woman, both in the days of her prosperity, and afterwards in all her misfortunes and wanderings. The book, however, though full of interest, is not all we hoped. As we turned over its pages, our respect and sympathy for the illustrious exile were constantly called forth, but the memoir seems by no means equal to what such a character and such a life deserve and demand.

We will mention some of the more prominent events of her early years, which will serve to give some idea of the scope of the book. Helena Louisa Elisabeth was the daughter of the hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin. Her early years were passed in retirement, under the care of several accomplished instructors, now at some one of the palaces of her father on the sandy plains of his dutchy, and now at Doberan, or some other village upon the Baltic. Occasionally

* *Memoir of the Dutchess of Orleans.* By the MARQUESS DE H——. Together with Biographical Souvenirs and Original Letters. Collected by Prof. G. H. DE SCHUBERT. Translated from the French. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. 12mo. pp. 391. Price \$1.

she made visits to Weimar, to the palace of her grandfather, the Grand Duke Charles Augustus, the friend of Goethe and Schiller; and on one occasion she accompanied her mother to the Baths of Toeplitz, where she made the acquaintance of the old King of Prussia, who was so impressed by her good sense, beauty, and gentleness, that, through his influence, a matrimonial alliance was soon proposed by the young Duke of Orleans. The marriage was solemnized according to the rituals of both the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches, and thus this German princess became a member of the family of Louis Philippe, which has the reputation of having been "the most accomplished family in Europe."

The events in her life subsequent to her marriage, are too well known to need recapitulation. It is enough to allude to the sad accident which in 1842 deprived her of a husband, and France of a prince upon whom the affections of the whole nation seem to have been fixed;—to the memorable days of the Revolution in 1848, when she played so prominent, yet so unavailing a part in the efforts which were made to preserve the throne of France for the house of Orleans;—and then to the ten long years of her exile.

We have already said the memoir is by no means equal to the subject; but still it is well worth the reading. We have been particularly interested in the glimpses it gives of the method of education pursued in European palaces; of the home life of the royal family in the Tuilleries, in the days of Louis Phillippe,—of the consolation the widowed Dutchess found in her religious faith, when she was able to write, in 1842, to a friend: "Thank God for me. He has wonderfully sustained me. He has granted me his peace, his presence. He has strengthened and revived my poor, withered, stricken heart. My soul is filled with gratitude to God, whose mercy has caused such sweet consolation to spring up in the very bosom of death." And we must not omit to mention the beautiful exhibition presented, in the last years of her life, of a Christian mother's love and watchfulness over the education of her sons. Perhaps no portion of the memoir is more affecting than the pages in which we are enabled to trace the happiness she experiences in finding her sons, the Count de Paris and the Duke de Chartres, developing their characters according to her heart's desire, strengthening in right principle, and endeavoring to make constant advancement.

MEMORIALS OF THOMAS HOOD.*—No name stands higher among the humorous writers of the English language than that of Thomas Hood. None is more deserving of respect. Who has not laughed over his strange conceits, and the brilliant flashings of his wit? Yet Thomas Hood did more than seek to amuse. He has proved himself to have been no aimless writer. Who in our day has done better service in battling against the social wrongs of the nineteenth century than the author of that “Song of the Shirt,” whose tender pathos has moved thousands to tears? Who has shown more sympathy for the poor, the oppressed, and the wretched? Who has dealt stouter blows against the oppressor, the bigot, the pedant, the quack, and against shams of every name?

The two volumes of “Memorials” which have just appeared, give some biographical details respecting him, but consist, for the most part, of his family letters, and his letters to his more intimate friends. They have been arranged and edited by his daughter, who has been assisted by her brother. Two more readable, genial, fascinating volumes, we have rarely taken up. Full half of these letters were written from the region of the Rhine, where Hood spent the years from 1835 to 1841. He had become involved, “by the failure of a firm,” in pecuniary difficulties. But he bravely bore up under his embarrassments, and set himself to work to retrieve his affairs by means of his pen. It seems to have been for economical reasons, principally, that he established himself with his family in one of the towns on the Rhine. But he could hardly have hit upon a field more rich in material for his purposes. That he made a good use of his observations upon men and things, the warm welcome which the British public gave to all his various publications,—“Up the Rhine,”—“Hood’s Own,” &c., abundantly testifies.

But not the least interesting to us, among his works, will always be these letters. They are, as we have already said, “family letters,” written without the remotest thought of publication, abounding with the most humorous accounts of all the little daily home occurrences, both joyful and sorrowful. They exhibit him as the most tender of husbands, the kindest of fathers, and the warmest of friends; and they

* *Memorials of Thomas Hood.* Collected, arranged and edited, by his daughter. With a preface, and notes, by his son. Illustrated with copies from his own sketches. In two volumes. 12mo. pp. 310, 327. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860. Price \$1.75. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

breathe such a spirit of cheerfulness and of hope, that it is impossible to read them without catching something of the elastic joyousness with which they seem to have been penned. Yet we are told by his children that his life was one "long disease;" so long and so severe that it was "wonderful that his sensitive mind and his frail body did not sooner give way." For years, too, they tell us, he had "a hand-to-hand struggle with straightened means and adverse circumstances." Yet these volumes testify with what a brave spirit he met sickness and suffering, and how cheerfully, and courageously, and lovingly, he worked on for the dear ones that were dependent upon him. Few biographies teach such lessons of patience and quiet heroism as are to be found everywhere in these pages.

We ought, perhaps, to give at least a single specimen of the fun which characterizes these letters. We select at random. The Duke of Devonshire had written to him that he was about to have "a door of sham books" constructed at Chatsworth, for the entrance of a library, and asked his assistance in giving him inscriptions for these unreal folios, quartos, and 12mos. Hood sent a long list of titles, of which we will put down a few:

- " Persevere. In forty volumes.
- " Lamb. On the Death of Wolfe.
- " The Life of Zimmerman. By himself.
- " Manfredi. Translated by Defoe.
- " On the Site of Tully's Offices.
- " Cook's Specimens of the Sandwich tongue.
- " Recollections of a Bannister. By Lord Stair.
- " Cursory remarks on Swearing.
- " Voltaire, Volney, Volta. Three Vols.
- " Macintosh, Maccullock and Macaulay. On Almacks."

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL RECOLLECTIONS OF C. R. LESLIE.*—The autobiographical recollections of C. R. Leslie, R. A., present us with a charming memorial of an eminent painter and an excellent man. The editor, Tom Taylor, to whom was also entrusted the autobiography of Haydon, has allowed the Artist, so far as he could, to speak for himself. The early portion of the volume contains Mr. Leslie's autobiographical notes, written in an easy and unmethedical manner, abounding in anecdotes of

* *Autobiographical Recollections.* By the late CHARLES R. LESLIE, R. A. Edited with selections from his correspondence, &c., by TOM TAYLOR, Esq. With portraits. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860. Price \$1.25. [T. H. Page, New Haven.]

the distinguished people with whom he was associated. The latter half of the volume is mostly composed of the letters which were addressed by him to the members of his family and to Washington Irving. Prefixed to the memoirs is an essay by Mr. Taylor on the character and position of Leslie as an artist.

A perusal of the memoirs leads us to give a hearty assent to the high praise which the editor bestows upon his friend. "How could he be otherwise than truthful, lovely, charitable and tasteful in his pictures, who, in his home as in society, in his teaching as in his conduct, was habitually sincere, affectionate, equable, thoughtful of others, tolerant, loving to dwell rather on the good than on the bad about him?"

We confess, however, the amusement with which we read the concluding sentence of an interesting parallel which the editor has drawn between Leslie and Irving. Having praised their many kindred traits,— "their genuine Anglicism of sentiment and spirit, Americans as both were by blood; and lastly, their ever-present good taste in treating every subject they took in hand,"—he adds, "It may not seem a very high place in art to claim for Leslie, which sets him on a level with Washington Irving in Literature; but Leslie loved Irving so well and admired his work so heartily that I am sure Leslie would not complain of the parallel!"

The paintings of Mr. Leslie are well known in this country by engravings. Some of the original works of his pencil are also here; but were this not the case, we have not time in this connection to discuss his merits as an Artist. The volume before us presents his character in a most attractive aspect. His life was wholly removed from public affairs, and its events were not more exciting than those of thousands of other men. But his pursuits, his studies, his associations, were of such an order as to render the simple record of his daily occupations peculiarly interesting. In this country, as much if not more than in England, the volume will be read and prized by all who are interested in the memoirs of the times in which they live.

We may rightly claim Mr. Leslie as a fellow-citizen, for, although he was born in London, his parents were Americans, and the years of his boyhood and youth were passed in Philadelphia. He maintained through life an acquaintance with many of the worthiest of our countrymen. Irving was his correspondent from youth, almost, if not quite to the close of his life. Morse, who abandoned an honorable career as a painter for a still more honorable career as the inventor of the magnetic telegraph, was his early and familiar friend. With Captain

Morgan, the sea-faring lover of Art, he was acquainted on ship and on shore. Allston was one of his earliest instructors in art, and one of his most intimate friends. "It was Allston," he says, "who first awakened what little sensibility I may possess to the beauties of color." The names of Ticknor and Channing also repeatedly occur in the earlier portion of the volume; we may also mention that he was appointed a Professor of Drawing at West Point, and discharged for a time the duties of that officer. Among the English, especially in the circles where Art is appreciated, he was always surrounded by the best of friends. He knew Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford, was invited to pass weeks with Coleridge at Highgate, visited Rogers with constant intimacy, and was more or less familiar with Sydeny Smith, Charles Lamb, Sir James McIntosh, and many others whose names are equally celebrated in literature. By noblemen of the highest rank he was patronized to a degree corresponding with his merit as a painter and a man. Of his eminent professional associates we have not time to speak. His diary and his letters unitedly exhibit "the man affectionate, social, candid, modest, and eager for instruction and improvement; always seeking the society of the best and most eminent persons to whom he could gain access without intrusion or forwardness."

The volume is a most acceptable tribute to a most interesting man. The American edition, being published in the interest of the family, is deserving of wide patronage.

CAROLINE PERTHES: THE CHRISTIAN WIFE.*—One of the most interesting volumes of biography which has been given to the public, in years, is the Life of Frederick Perthes, the German bookseller and publisher. We are confident that those who read the review of it, on page 880 of this number of the *NEW ENGLANDER*, will wish to see the book itself. The English edition appears in two thick octavos, and is of such size that no American publisher has yet ventured to reprint it. It is costly, and cannot be easily procured in many parts of our country. We are, therefore, pleased to find that the Messrs. Carters have issued this Life of Caroline Perthes, by Mrs. Tuthill, which, though a large 12mo. of over five hundred pages, is really an abridgment of the still more extended Life of Frederick Perthes, her husband. One of the

* *Caroline Perthes: the Christian Wife.* Condensed from the Life of Frederick Christopher Perthes. By Mrs. L. C. TUTHILL. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 522.

principal charms of the original work is the exhibition that it gives of a beautiful home life in a Christian family. The aim of Mrs. Tuthill, in her selections, has been to give to American readers the history of this home life ; and to show, by the example of the Christian German wife and mother, how much may be accomplished by a woman of sense, of intelligence, of warm affections, and earnest piety, within the sphere of her own family. For the majority of readers, we think this book will be full as interesting and satisfactory as the large original English edition. We hope it may find a prominent place among the books for home reading, this winter, in thousands of Christian families.

SMILES'S BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES.*—The author of these "brief biographies" is already very favorably known to the American public by his "Life of George Stephenson," and by his "Self-Help." At the request of Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, of Boston, he has made a collection of his publications in various British periodicals, and we have them now in this handsome volume, illustrated with six fine steel portraits. We were at first somewhat misled by the title, "*Brief Biographies*." The sketches are short, but they are by no means a barren recital of mere facts and dates. They are sufficiently extended to embody the results of much careful study of individual character ; and it is not often that such an amount of valuable and readable literary criticism is found within so small a compass. The biographies are of men whose names are all now prominent before the public, as the list which we take from the "Table of Contents" will abundantly show. It is as follows :

"James Watt, Robert Stephenson, Dr. Arnold, Hugh Miller, Richard Cobden, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Francis Jeffrey, Ebenezer Elliott, George Borrow, John James Audubon, William MacGillivray, Lord John Russell, Benjamin Disraeli, William Ewart Gladstone, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Thomas Carlyle, John Sterling, Leigh Hunt, Hartley Coleridge, Dr. Kitto, Edgar Allan Poe, Theodore Hooke, Dr. Andrew Combe, Robert Browning, Edwin Chadwick, Robert Nicoll, Samuel Bamford, John Clare, Gerald Massey, Elisabeth Barrett Browning, Frances Brown, Sarah Margaret Fuller, Sarah Martin, Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Chisholm."

MEMOIR OF DODDRIDGE.†—The American Tract Society of New

* *Brief Biographies.* By SAMUEL SMILES. With Steel Portraits. Boston : Ticknor & Fields. 1860. 12mo. pp. 517. Price \$1.25. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

† *Memoir of the Life, Character, and Writings of Philip Doddridge, D. D.* With a selection from his Correspondence. Compiled by REV. JAMES R. BOYD, A. M., "Editor of English Poets, with Notes, &c." New York : American Tract Society. 1860. 12mo. pp. 480.

York has published, in a form fitted for general distribution, a new memoir of Philip Doddridge, which has been compiled by Rev. James R. Boyd, the editor of "The English Poets, with Notes." There is no nobler name among the English divines of the eighteenth century,—none more widely known in this country,—than that of Doddridge. There are few villages in the United States where his "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," has not found its way, and done good service. It would be well if this memoir could be carried to every house where the other has gone. Rarely has there been exhibited in any man a more beautiful Christian life than that of which we have here the story. In public life and in private life, at home and abroad, as a son, as a husband, as a father, as a theological instructor, as an author, everywhere and under all circumstances, he displays those qualities of mind and heart which irresistibly attract admiration and love. Doddridge was a true Christian gentleman, and his example is eminently worthy of being studied by all classes of Christians.

We must not neglect to refer also to the extracts that are given from his letters. They are remarkable for the vivacity and even playfulness of their style; and the grace with which they are expressed makes them models of epistolary correspondence.

MARY BUNYAN.*—This "Tale of Religious Persecution" is deeply interesting, not only for its subject, but also as a work of more than ordinary literary merit. The authoress has given us a picture of Bunyan's times, and of the spirit of that persecuting age, such as cannot fail to enlist the sympathy of every reader for the hard lot of the gifted Dreamer and his blind daughter, and leave a deep impression on the mind, that no blessing enjoyed by Protestant Christendom is more to be prized than the boon of religious liberty. The narrative is, in the main, true to history, and many of the scenes are brought before us with almost the vividness of present reality. Whoever reads this volume ought to rise from its perusal, more tolerant in spirit, and altogether "a wiser and a better man."

**Mary Bunyan, the Dreamer's Blind Daughter. A Tale of Religious Persecution.* By SALLIE ROCHESTER FORD, Author of "Grace Truman." New York: Sheldon & Company. 1860. 12mo.

KENDRICK'S LIFE OF MRS. EMILY C. JUDSON.*—In the history of modern missionary operations no name is better known or more respected than that of ADONIRAM JUDSON. The fact that he was a pioneer in the work of missions, together with the indomitable perseverance, the cheerfulness and enthusiasm with which he labored on to the last, the almost romantic incidents of his early, and, we may say, of his later career in Burmah, and the results he accomplished,—all make him one of the remarkable men of his age. Not the least interesting fact in his life is his three successive marriages with the gifted women whose names are so familiar in our churches. The memoirs of Ann Hasseltine and Sarah Boardman have been long before the public; and now the memoir of the third Mrs. Judson has just appeared. Our hasty reading has already shown us that she was in every respect a worthy successor of those heroic and sainted women. At the time of her marriage she was widely known, under the *nom de plume* of Fanny Forrester, as one of the most sprightly and popular of the magazine writers of the day. It was feared that when the romance of the missionary work should wear off, this "sensitive and excitable child of genius," as she was called, would sink under the privations and stern monotony of her new life. It was, perhaps, natural for those who knew nothing of her early history, to indulge such apprehensions; but they were expressed in such a public way that they were exceedingly annoying to her and to her friends. Never were fears more groundless! To us who have now before us the affecting story of her successful struggles with poverty, in childhood and youth, it is plain that her marriage was no mere matter of romance—that she knew well what she was undertaking, and that she had acquired those lessons of self-reliance which fitted her admirably for her work. As for her cheerful and enthusiastic spirit, it made her the better missionary, as is evident from the following quotation, which we make from one of her letters, written after she had been long in Burmah:

"I believe the work which goes on merrily, and without groaning, is quite as acceptable to God as the other. The bearer of good tidings should not carry a face to spoil his news—a fact of which the natives seem quite aware. However, sadness is good, and rejoicings are good; and whether we have a weeping gift or a merry gift, let us strive to use it, as we are commanded to use eating and drinking, 'to the glory of God.' Possibly my doctrine may not be considered orthodox, but it is that of the New Testament." p. 303.

* *The Life and Letters of Mrs. Emily C. Judson.* By A. C. KENDRICK, Professor of Greek Literature in the University of Rochester. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 426.

As our notice of this book must be far more brief than we could wish, we will say, in a word, that it is not surpassed in interest by the memoir of any missionary we have ever read. It is made up, for the most part, of Mrs. Judson's letters to her friends, and there is a sprightliness, a freshness, and a naturalness about them, which are really charming. We hope the book will have a wide circulation.

As showing the spirit with which Mrs. Judson labored, we make some additional quotations. The following is from her Journal, very soon after she landed in Burmah :

" This taking care of teething babies, and teaching darkies to darn stockings, and talking English back end foremost to tee-to tum John, in order to get an eatable dinner, is really very odd sort of business for Fanny Forrester. . . . When I get settled I hope to put in a mixture of higher and better things, too. But the person who would do great things well, must practice daily on little ones; and she who would have the assistance of the Almighty in important acts, must be daily and hourly accustomed to consult his will in the minor affairs of life." p. 247.

The following is from a letter about the same time :

" And then, while I lay no claim to much missionary spirit, it is a comfort to pick the poor wretches out of the mire and filth, and give them the hope of a crown in heaven. There is a 'romance' in that, which makes me deem a residence in a Maulmain barn, or a Rangoon prison, preferable to the most splendid American mansion or European palace."

Now for evidence of the way she sustained her enthusiasm. We quote from a letter written after she had tried the horrors of a "Maulmain barn," and a "Rangoon prison;" after she knew what it was to be "hungry for want of palatable food;" to be "ill and have no comforts or physician," and to be "surrounded by the spies of a jealous and unscrupulous government, without an earthly friend to assist:"

" My first *real* missionary trial—you would believe me could you hear me speak the words, though it may sound commonplace on paper)—was when, amidst sufferings such as I have described, a letter came telling of refreshments. Schools, with the life already nearly pressed out of them, must be cramped still more; assistants must be cut off; the workmen's hands must be tied still tighter; and then, if they *could* succeed in making bricks without straw, the churches at home were ready to rejoice in their success."

And again, after the detail of hardships at Rangoon, which seem almost unendurable, she writes :

" Now do you think I am in any way discontented, and would go back to America to live in a palace? Not I. I am ten times happier than I could be there." p. 277.

Well would it be for the cause of missions if there was more of such "romance" as is here exhibited.

But much as we are pleased with the memoir, there is one exception we must make. We refer to the insertion, in the chapter which bears the title of "The Betrothal," of the letters which passed between Dr. Judson and Miss Chubbuck, at the time of their "engagement." We hold that those letters ought never to have found a place in the book. The public had no right to see them. The fact that they are so *creditable* to the parties interested, is, to us, no excuse at all. If anything should be sacred, it is the correspondence of a young lady with the man to whom she expects to be united in marriage.

HISTORY.

BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.*—The eighth volume of Mr. Bancroft's great national work is now before the public. It will undoubtedly prove to be more popular, and be more generally read, than any of the preceding volumes of the series. The historian now enters upon that portion of his labors which appeals most directly to the national pride. He is obliged, in a measure, to drop the character of the philosopher, and to take up that of the chronicler of events that are comparatively recent and fresh in the minds of all. Yet while this is done, we have reason in every chapter to admire the comprehensiveness of his views, and the extent of his researches, as we see how clearly he traces the influences of all events, at home and abroad, and shows us their bearing upon the great drama of the Revolution.

The preceding volume closed with the story of Bunker's Hill. The history is now carried down to the period of the Declaration of Independence. There are many brilliant chapters, with the stirring and exciting details of military operations. We have, of course, the history of the siege and deliverance of Boston; the capture of Montreal; the long and painful march to Quebec; the sad story of the death of Montgomery; and the battle of Fort Moultrie. But the main subject of interest is the evidence—most abundant and conclusive—how tardily, and with what extreme reluctance, the colonists came, at last, to the resolution to declare themselves free and independent. It is the

* *The History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent.* By GEORGE BANCROFT. Vol. VIII. The American Revolution. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 475. Price \$2.25. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

evidence on this point, which Mr. Bancroft has sought to bring out in the present volume. Few persons are probably aware what repeated and strenuous efforts were made to avert the war, and to bring about some reasonable accommodation with the mother country. No previous historian has made the obstinacy, the injustice, the ignorance, and the folly of George III and his ministers, so apparent.

THE GOVERNMENTAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.*—We had occasion in our issue of February, 1859, to speak in terms of commendation of the very ingenious and able argument on "Slavery in the United States," by Henry Sherman, Esq. It indicated a thorough acquaintance with the constitutional history of the country, and a high degree of logical acumen. Mr. Sherman now appears as the author of a history of the progress of government in the United States. In the first part he traces the governmental history of the Colony of Virginia from its settlement to the English revolution of 1688; from its existence as the chartered company, until it became permanently established under an organized colonial government, subject to the kingdom of Great Britain. In the second part, he traces in like manner the history of government in New England, from the first expedition of the first Plymouth Colony, to the same period. This history leads the author to discuss the right of Christian nations to seize on heathen countries; also to consider the nature and origin of Protestantism, and its title to be recognized as an element in government. He believes fully that this was intended by its founders for a Christian nation, and that our government is a natural development of Protestantism. This he strives to show not so much by direct argument, as by the original constitutions and charters, petitions and statements of the people and officers of government. As a collection of original documents, the work is particularly valuable. He is not always correct in his statements, as when he says that the first settlers of the Colony of New Haven had a community of goods. In the third part, the author brings down the history of the government of the several colonies to the period of the Declaration of Independence. He here discusses the revenue and the commercial systems of taxation, and the origin and causes of the revolution, and the early steps towards the union of the Colonies which was

* *The Governmental History of the United States of America, from the earliest settlement to the adoption of the present Federal Constitution.* In Four Parts. By HENRY SHERMAN. Hartford: 1860.

afterwards effected. The Declaration of Independence the author regards as the legitimate result of the Protestantism of the reformation, and as inaugurating a new era in our governmental history. In the fourth part, the author discusses the union of the states in the revolution, their union in the confederation, and their union under the Constitution. His aim is, throughout, to show that our government is founded on the Bible, and that it is and must be a Christian government, in which alone is true conservatism.

THE AMERICAN STATESMAN.*—Mr. Andrew W. Young has been known for many years past as a writer on the political history of our country. His *Science of Government* has been extensively used in schools. He now presents a larger work, and one adapted to maturer minds. The title page expresses fully the character of the work. The author has executed his design faithfully, not seeking to enforce his own views, but as a historian to present the views of the leading statesmen of the country from the first, with their own arguments in a condensed form. We commend the work as a faithful compendium of this kind of information.

HISTORY AND ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTION.†—This is a book which every American citizen should own. No student of the Constitution of his country, who has once learned its value as a book of reference, will ever consent to be without a copy. The object of the author has been to give such a history of each of the clauses of the Constitution "as will make the objects and intentions of its framers clear and intelligible." This he has done by "giving, in connection with each clause, an account of its origin, and the modifications it

* *The American Statesman*: a political history, exhibiting the origin and practical operation of Constitutional Government in the United States; the rise and progress of parties; and the views of distinguished statesmen on questions of foreign and domestic policy; brought down to the present time; with an appendix containing explanatory notes, political essays, statistical information and other useful matter. By ANDREW W. YOUNG. New York: Derby & Jackson, 119 Nassau street. 1860.

† *A History and Analysis of the Constitution of the United States*. With a full account of the confederations which preceded it; of the debates and acts of the Convention which framed it; of the judicial decisions which have construed it; with papers and tables illustrative of the action of the government and the people under it. By NATHANIEL C. TOWLE, Counselor at Law, Washington, D. C. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 12mo. pp. 444.

underwent, or which were proposed to be given to it, and a brief statement of the debate upon it, during its progress in the Convention. To this is added the judicial construction, if any, that it has received." The convenience and value of a well prepared work of this kind will be obvious at once to all. The author says, in the preface, "The framers of the Constitution were certainly the most competent persons to explain its intended import. If the original form of a proposition was changed, the change itself, or the reason assigned for it, would indicate the object aimed at. If the clause had been contained in the Articles of Confederation, its retention in the Constitution was an evidence that it had already received a satisfactory practical construction."

An extract from the book will serve at once to show how the author's plan is carried out. We select one of the clauses about which there has lately been considerable inquiry. It is of less importance than many others, but it is short and will answer the purpose :

"ARTICLE II.

"SECTION I.

"*Clause 6.*—In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected."

"*MR. PINCKNEY'S PLAN.*—'In case of his removal, death, resignation, or disability, the president of the Senate shall exercise the duties of his office until another President be chosen, and in case of the death of the president of the Senate, the speaker of the House of Delegates shall do so.'

"The committee on detail reported the following:—

"'In case of his removal, [by impeachment,] death, resignation, or disability to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the president of the Senate shall exercise those powers and duties, until another President of the United States be chosen, or until the disability of the President be removed.'

"*Mr. MORRIS* and *Mr. MADISON* objected to the provision making the president of the Senate provisional President of the United States,—the former suggesting the chief justice.

"*Mr. WILLIAMSON* thought this subject should be left with Congress.

"*Mr. DICKINSON* asked—"What is the extent of the term disability? and who is to judge of it?"

"In this condition the subject was sent to the committee on the unfinished reports, &c., who reported the following:—

"'In case of his removal, as aforesaid, death, absence, resignation, or inability to

discharge the powers or duties of his office, the Vice-President shall exercise those powers and duties, until another President be chosen, or until the inability of the President be removed.'

"This was amended, on motion of Mr. RANDOLPH, (and Mr. MADISON,) by adding—

"The legislature may declare by law what officer of the United States shall act as President, in case of the death, resignation, or disability of the President and Vice-President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until such disability be removed or a President shall be elected."

"In this shape the subject was sent to the committee of style, &c."

"*Note*—By the act of 1792, in case of vacancy in the offices of President and Vice-President, the president of the Senate, and if there be none, the speaker of the House of Representatives, assumes the duties of President, until an election is had.

"By the act of 1845, the electors of President and Vice-President are to be chosen on the Tuesday after the first Monday of November, in all the States."

The volume contains much other valuable information; viz: a Digest of the History of the several Colonial Confederations; The Origin of the Federal Constitution; The Cession of Western Territory; The Organization of the Executive Departments of the Federal Government; Organization and Admission of New States into the Union; Table of Electoral votes for President and Vice-President from 1789 to 1850; Tables of the names of the members of each Cabinet from Washington's to Buchanan's, inclusive; Lists of Officers of the Government, from 1789 to 1860; Presidents *pro tempore* of the Senate; Speakers of the House of Representatives; Members of Conventions and Congress, prior to the adoption of the Constitution; besides other statistical information of importance.

THE PURITANS AND QUEEN ELIZABETH.*—In November, 1859, page 1100, an announcement was made of the appearance of the first volume of this unique and interesting work. A second volume has since been given to the public, which would have received a notice in the August number, had not its already crowded pages prevented. On the completion of the work, which is to be in three volumes, we propose to give an extended review of it. At present we content ourselves with making an extract from one of the chapters in the first volume, which will give our readers some adequate conception of the dramatic power of the author. The chapter treats of "The Troubles at Frankfort," and the strifes among the English exiles in 1554, 1555.

* *The Puritans: or the Church, Court and Parliament of England, during the reigns of Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth.* By SAMUEL HOPKINS. In three Volumes. Vols. I and II already published. Large octavo. pp. 549, 539. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. Price \$2.50. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

"On the 12th of March, a company of stranger Englishmen arrived at the inn of Fritz Hansen. When they had refreshed themselves at his generous board, one of them asked him, somewhat querulously, whether he had or had not sent for Master Whittingham and Master Knox. Being answered in the affirmative, the querist turned to one of his companions, saying in English, 'You can manage this German language better than I, Doctor Horn. Will you please catechise the man?'

"Upon which, Doctor Horn, addressing Fritz, asked, 'You know our countrymen in Frankfort?'

"'Yes, sir; and proud to say it.'

"'No doubt, no doubt. Englishmen are an honor to any city. But we are told that our countrymen here have not been peaceable among themselves in religious matters.'

"'O, sir! that's all over now. It was only for a little while. To-morrow—let me see! This is the twelfth day of March. Yes—to-morrow will be five weeks since they came to a happy agreement.'

"'Humph! An agreement to be half one thing and half another; half English and half Genevan,—was it not?'

"Fritz, wondering not a little at such a way of speaking about Christian harmony, replied, 'They have a Liturgy, good sir.'

"'But not like the English.'

"'I am told that some of it is like the English, and some of it not.'

"'So we have heard. But have they continued this new way up to this time?'

"'Yes, sir; and under the new way, they live very quietly and happily.'

"'Enough; if our countrymen for whom we have sent ever come, show them in.'

"It was as Fritz had said. The five weeks since the 6th of February had passed peacefully and happily with the English church, under the modified Liturgy agreed upon. The good people of Frankfort, seeing them once more walking in love and worshiping in unity, had almost forgotten the by-gone strifes; while the exiles themselves had followed their secular pursuits without distraction, and their worship without bitterness. They had indeed to regret that all their fellow-exiles should not be united in one home and one church; and especially that any should stand aloof merely through a rigid reverence for forms, whose civil and ecclesiastical authority had come to an end, whose stability and perfection even their authors had never pretended, and which were displeasing to the Reformed churches among whom the exiles had taken refuge. This regret, however, had not intermeddled with their joy.

"The company who had just taken possession of Fritz Hansen's hostel were Doctor Richard Cox, Tutor, Almoner, and Privy Councillor of the late King Edward, Doctor Robert Horn, lately residing at Zurich, and 'others of great note and quality.' Cox was one of several whom they of Strasburg had officially proposed to take oversight and charge of the church at Frankfort; and Horn had signed the letter of the 13th of October from Zurich, avowing a 'full determination to admit and use no other order than the last taken in the Church of England.'

"They were soon greeted by the principal members of the English church, and welcomed with honest cordiality. When Dr. Cox announced that he and his companions had come to abide there, Master Whittingham replied with sincerity: 'We thank God! Would that all our countrymen who are beyond the paw of the tigress and the spite of the Lutheran were one family, in one tabernacle, and at one altar!'

"'We do our part, you see, to forward your prayer,' replied Dr. Horn. 'And now, good sir, we would fain find better commodity of lodging than this hostel, an we may. An your better acquaintance with Frankfort may serve us in this, we shall be beholden for your kindness.'

"'We do remember our own needs when we came hither,' replied Master Whittingham; 'and how the kind words and good offices of Master Valeran and Master Morellio were like cold water to our fainting spirits. God forbid that we fail in the like to you. An there be Christian hearts in Frankfort, ye shall have entertainment and every brotherly service, anon.'

"The offer was as gladly accepted as it was heartily made; and all hospitality and kindness were immediately extended to the new comers. When the order of religious service was spoken of, and their hopes expressed that some further return to that of King Edward's Book might be attained, they were told unequivocally that the present order could not be changed until the last of April, without breach of a promise which had been established by invocation of God's name; that the holy sacrament had been received as the sure token or seal of the present agreement; and that therefore it would be a sort of sacrilege to change. It was, moreover, frankly stated, that any further adoption of the English Book would be offensive to the honest consciences of the church, and would hazard the good will of the citizens and the favor of the magistrates.

"'So, we find all things just as we expected, Doctor Cox,' said Doctor Horn, so soon as they were by themselves again. 'What with their conscience, as they call it, their seal of agreement, and the magistrates, we are like to have enow to look after in putting down this upstart new-fangledness.'

"'Mark me!' replied Dr. Cox, with vehemence, 'we have come *for the very purpose* of putting it down; and it shall be done. I put not *my* hand to the plough and look back. I have come to repair this broken wall; and, if need be, will copy Nehemiah, with his trowel in one hand and his sword in the other. To the wind with agreements and pledges and consciences, an they go in anything to deface the worthy ordinances and laws of our sovereign lord, King Edward, of most famous memory. An I fail in one way, I will invoke another.'

"'But they are so confiding and brotherly,' objected Doctor Horn, 'it will seem like treachery to do violence to their arranging.'

"'Say rather, their *deranging*. An Master Knox's conscience turns holy things upside down, and my conscience bid me put them to rights again, pray who should yield? Must I stay reformation, forsooth, because another maketh naughty pledge in God's name and on the sacrament? Must I be squeamish on the score of common courtesy and common hospitality? We will try whether will prevail with Englishmen,—the Primer of a vulgar Scot, or the Liturgy of a king; so mean a fellow as John Knox, or the friend and Councillor of Edward the

Sixth. We will try it—an the heavens fall, Doctor Horn—at to-morrow morning's prayers.'

"They did try it; and the first 'response' in prayer from their lips—like a discord in soothing music—wrought consternation and grief. The spirit of devotion fell, like a clipped bird. The form of prayer proceeded; but, to the last 'Amen,' not a prayer had gone up to God,—nothing but amazement, a sense of wrong, and exultation for a successful plot. Of course there were complaint and commotion. The elders rebuked their guests for so rude a violation of order in a brotherhood by whom they had just been welcomed, and in unsuspecting faith. It was of no avail. The others only retorted, that the dishonor of their country's ritual merited dishonor; that they *would* do as they had done in England; that they *would* have the face of an English church.

"This was on the 13th of the month.—Tuesday or Wednesday. It does not appear that the precarians attempted any other outrage during the week; but by some crafty measures, not on record, the pulpit on Sunday forenoon was occupied—abruptly, and without the previous consent of the congregation proper—by a preacher of Cox's party, who read the Litany of King Edward's Book, to which Doctor Cox and his friends gave the responses. Not content with this, the minister in his sermon uttered many taunting and bitter speeches against the past doings and present order of the congregation." pp. 92-98.

HISTORY OF WILLIAMS COLLEGE.*—This work is from the pen of a graduate and zealous friend of the institution whose annals it records. It is a handsome volume of four hundred and thirty-two pages, embellished with representations of the various buildings of the College, and with portraits of several leading benefactors. The value of the work is enhanced by the introduction of Governor Washburn, which contains interesting reminiscences of College life at Williamstown when he was an undergraduate. The author has, also, been aided by some of the living Professors, who furnish passages upon special topics; and besides making use of what has before been published upon this theme, he has evidently examined the unpublished sources of information with industry. This pleasing narrative leads us on from the foundation of "the Free School," (which was the germ of the College,) by the bequest of the gallant Colonel Williams, through the successive epochs of Presidents Fitch, Moore, Griffin, and of Dr. Hopkins, the present efficient incumbent of the office. The struggles with poverty through which the institution has had to pass, the contest occasioned by the attempts of President Moore and his coadjutors to remove it to Northampton or Amherst, the revivals of religion which have occurred with frequency

* *A History of Williams College.* By Rev. CALVIN DUFREE. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1860. Price \$2.00. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

among its undergraduate students, the commencement in the prayer meeting of Mills and Hall of that movement which resulted in the formation of the American Board, the generous donations to the College by Lawrence, Jackson and others, and other circumstances of interest, are detailed in this history. We commend it to the attention not only of the graduates of Williams, but of all who are interested in the growth and progress of educational institutions in New England. The connection of Williams College with Yale, is a matter upon which friends of the latter institution may reflect with satisfaction. The first President at Williamstown, Dr. Fitch, as well as the third President, Dr. Griffin, received their training at New Haven; and among the Tutors at Williams, in its early days, we notice with pleasure the name of Jeremiah Day.

HISTORY OF HARWINTON.*—This is another valuable *town history*, which we are glad to have added to the catalogue of similar works which are now rapidly increasing in number, and are of so much importance in illustrating the general history of the country. Harwinton is a town in the state of Connecticut.

PHILOLOGY.

TEUTONIC ETYMOLOGY.†—It is well known that Professor Gibbs has devoted much time to the study of scientific philology, especially in its connection with the English language. His previous linguistic studies had prepared him to enter upon the new fields which were opened by German scholars, in the domain of language; and, there is no one, we judge, in our country, who has more successfully pursued this new branch of investigation. We are not a little gratified with the fact, that the living principles of language thus mastered and possessed, Professor Gibbs has employed for the explanation and advancement, not of the classic tongues of Greece and Rome, but, with a kind of patriotic partiality, of our own English language;—and surely no language more needs to be studied in the light of philological science. The fruits of

* *The History of Harwinton in Connecticut.* By R. MANNING CHIPMAN. 1860. 8vo. pp. 152.

† *Teutonic Etymology.* The formation of Teutonic words in the English language. By JOSIAH W. GIBBS, Professor of Sacred Literature, Yale College. New Haven: Peck, White & Peck. 1860. 16mo. pp. 139. 50 cents.

these labors have been published piece-meal, in the newspaper and periodical press, during the last quarter of a century; but of late these scattered fragments have been gathered and published in formal treatises. We have heretofore directed the attention of our readers to two of these—Philological Studies, and the Latin Analyst;—we now present them with a third treatise, and the one which is, perhaps, the most important of all.

The object of this treatise we may explain as follows:—

The words of language, as they exist in the forms which are employed in speech, are to be regarded as products or outgrowths of primary original elements. Words exist in what may be called natural families, and these primary elements without being words themselves, furnish the common *materiel* out of which the whole family has grown. Philologists compare language in its words and in its elements, to a tree, of which the root and stem represent the common elements, and the branches, the words which are actually used in speech. Thus, language is made up of roots and stems on the one hand, and of families of words growing out from the roots and stems on the other. This is found to be a fact so general as to imply a corresponding law through which it has come to pass. Moreover, the outgrowth of families of words from roots and stems is not accidental, but is controlled by law. The modes in which words are thus formed, have been investigated and classified. Words, then, are formed from roots and stems, either by internal changes, or by external additions. The internal changes are either, what Prof. Gibbs calls, the play of the vowel sounds, or their modifications. The additions are either at the beginning, or at the end of words, by affixes or suffixes. The different affixes and suffixes express the relations in which the several branches of a family of words stand to each other. Now if a person should ascertain with scientific accuracy the pure root of any given family of words, and should then be able to trace out the modes through which the several branches of the family had grown out of this root, and to determine that the distinct relations of the several branches to the whole family had been expressed by the appropriate vowel changes, or the proper affixes and suffixes, he would have a complete knowledge, and that a scientific one, of that family of words—unless it might be, he could not determine why that individual root had that particular signification. He would have a complete genealogy of that family of words, and if he could ascertain the same thing as to the other families, a complete his-

tory of the language. Such is the ideal which the scientific philologist aims to reach.

Now, in view of this explanation, we can state definitely what the reader will find in this new work of Prof. Gibbs. He will find there, a list of the Teutonic Roots and Stems of the English language, and as founded on this, the several modes through which the existing families of words have been formed. He, of course, will not find the families of words themselves, or, perhaps, any one family, but the modes through which any one word must have been formed. This is the grand feature of the book—there are other things, but we must omit them.

This volume, small as it is, must have cost immense labor. To find the pure or original form of the root requires extensive research. It may be necessary to seek for it in various languages. You may hunt after it in the Anglo-Saxon, or the Maeso Gothic, or the Latin or the Greek, and not find it, for it has been preserved only in the Sanscrit, or the Sanscrit may have lost it, while the Anglo-Saxon shall have retained it. For these several languages are not derived from each other, but each is the equal of the other, and may have kept what the others have lost. So, too, the branches of the same family of words are not to be found in any one language; they have to be sought in all the cognate languages, and the various portions to be brought together and readjusted. Nowhere, we venture to say, has this arduous labor been performed for the English language, so accurately and scientifically as in the present volume.

Obviously, what is needed in such a work is comprehensiveness of knowledge, and accuracy of statement and arrangement; both of these we have in the present volume. What has been done will not need to be done over again. We commend, therefore, the volume to the attention of our readers, and trust the patience of the author will not be exhausted in waiting for that appreciation of the work which it merits, and will receive.

SCIENCE.

GLACIERS OF THE ALPS.*—Whoever would take in, by the mind's eye,

* *The Glaciers of the Alps.* Being a Narrative of Excursions and Ascents, an account of the origin and phenomena of Glaciers, and an exposition of the physical principles to which they are related. By JOHN TYNDALL, F. R. S., Member of the Royal Societies of Holland and Göttingen, etc., etc., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, and in the Government School of Mines. With Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860. pp. 446. \$1.50. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

a most captivating picture of a man of true science grappling with a great problem in nature, and, at the same time, catch something of his inspiration, and enrich his own stores of knowledge with the results of an important scientific investigation, should read the volume of Prof. Tyndall on the Glaciers of the Alps, just issued from the press of Ticknor & Fields, Boston.

The questions to which this distinguished physicist here addresses himself are not of mere local interest, nor confined in their bearings to phenomena observed among the Alps. The immense beds of gravel and sand, called drift, which cover large portions of the continents, together with certain phenomena of grooved and polished rocks and transported boulders observed in New England, as well as in other parts of our own continent and of the globe, have been supposed to owe their origin to the action of ancient glaciers, at a period when the temperature and physical geography of the globe were both widely different from what they are at present. Hence, the facts and philosophy of glacier action have, for many years past, received a large share of attention among men of science, particularly geologists, and the many difficult questions growing out of the phenomena observed, have been discussed with the liveliest interest, both in this country and in Europe.

The fact, also, that a sublime theater of glacier action, where all the phenomena are exhibited on a grand scale, lies in the very heart of Europe, and is the constant resort of both scientific and fashionable tourists from all parts of the civilized world, has tended to give a popular interest to the subject, which it might not otherwise have possessed.

No book can be better adapted to satisfy both scientific and popular curiosity in respect to these questions, than this of Prof. Tyndall's. It is conveniently divided into two parts; first, the *Narrative*, occupying half the volume, in which are given with much force and fidelity of description, the details of the author's personal explorations and adventures among the Alps during the summers of the last four or five years—including two perilous ascents of Mont Blanc and two of Monte Rosa, with a winter expedition to the *Mer de Glace*; and, secondly, the *Scientific* matter, filling the remainder of the volume, in which are contained fuller details of observations and measurements, with discussions of theories, and expositions of the principles of physics to which the phenomena are related. This second part is totally different in character from the repulsive appendices of dry figures and formulæ

which so often accompany Narratives of Exploration, and which none but the hardiest of scientific cormorants care to taste, or are able to digest. Let no one, then, however unscientific, cheat himself out of the enjoyment of this most attractive portion of the book, by imagining it to have been intended for another class of readers. Prof. Tyndall has the rare faculty of being able to render the most abstruse principles of science clear and attractive to every capacity, and we know not where the reader can turn for a more simple and intelligible exposition of some of the fundamental principles of physics, particularly the nature and relations of light and heat, than to these luminous pages.

Nor less intelligible and attractive is the author's discussion of rival theories, and advocacy of his own. These theories pertain chiefly to the motion of glaciers;—for science has not only discovered the fact, but aims to explain it, that the glaciers are in motion. Coleridge stood among the icy solitudes of the Alps in the mood of a poet, rather than of a prying physicist, when, in that sublime anthem, the "Hymn before Sunrise in the Vale of Chamouni," he apostrophizes the glaciers of Mont Blanc as impressing the soul mainly with the idea of awful silence and immovable fixity.

"Ye ice-falls! ye that from the mountain's brow,
Adown enormous ravines slope amain—
Torrents, methinks, that heard a mighty voice,
And stopped at once amid their maddest plunge!
Motionless torrents! silent cataracts!"—

To the ear of science, however, these *silent* cataracts, in making their mad plunge, crackle and crash with the noise of earthquake or of thunder, as their fathomless depths of rigid ice are broken asunder, into innumerable chasms and ridges. And these "*motionless* torrents" are shown by Prof. Tyndall's theodolite to be really in perpetual motion, winding their way down the mountain gorges with a velocity ranging from one to two, or even three feet in every twenty-four hours. They are shown, by the Professor's logic, moreover, notwithstanding their seeming rigidity and vitreous density, to be in fact veritable ice-rivers, flowing, like all other rivers, faster in the middle than at the sides, and faster at top than at bottom, with the line of swiftest current not always in the middle, but, as in all serpentine streams, shifting alternately from side to side, according to the windings of the banks, so as to form deeper sinuosities than the banks themselves.

In discussing the theories of Glacier-motion, Prof. Tyndall passes in review, with a dispassionate but searching criticism, the "dilation"

theory of Charpentier, the "sliding" theory of De Saussure, the "viscous" theory of Prof. Forbes, the "plasticity" theory of Prof. J. Thompson, and the "pressure" theory of Bishop Rendu, adopting the latter as the basis of his own, and expanding it into a consistent and apparently philosophical explanation of all the leading phenomena of glacier motion. This theory we have not here room to explain—but as a leading feature, it attributes glacier-motion to the effect of gravity or pressure—the weight of the mass above altering the form and relative position of the portions below, and forcing them to yield gradually in the direction of least resistance, or down the valleys, as in the case of other streams.

Various other phenomena connected with glaciers, besides their motion, are also discussed in this volume with great ability, and the whole subject is presented with a degree of lucidness and completeness, which leaves little to be desired, either by the man of science or the general reader.

ANSWER TO HUGH MILLER.*—A notice of this book, quite extended—more extended than its merits, (though not, perhaps, than its demerits) deserve—was prepared for our last Number, but unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, it somehow got lost, probably among the rubbish of the printing office; and on "sober second thought," instead of "making game" of the book, we deem it sufficient simply to say that it is worthless—a book indicating indeed, on the part of its author, a sincere desire to defend the Bible from harm, but itself remarkably *mal à propos* as a means of doing it. A book that holds Geology to be a humbug and Geologists infidels, that teaches that "stones grow," and that fossils were created in the rocks just as they are, yet, that in their present condition, they are an independent order of creatures, having a distinct life and province of their own—in short, that fossils beget fossils,—a book that soberly, and in italics, stakes the credit of the Bible on this contingency—"that if the pre-Adamite fossils were preceded by vegetable and animal life, then the Mosaic account, the fourth commandment, and the Biblical dependencies upon them, are unworthy of consideration, and are of necessity untrue as the foundation of Biblical and Christian faith;" a book, finally, which holds that the "ignorance" of Geologists and theologians, "has been and still is a towering avalanche of

**Answer to Hugh Miller and Theoretic Geologists.* By THOMAS A. DAVIS, Author of "Cosmogony or Mysteries of Creation," &c. New York: Rudd & Carlton, 130 Grand street. 1860. pp. 302.

infidelity upon the Scriptures," yet which expresses "the hope that a little light well concentrated, (as in our author's book,) " will melt those triumphantly dancing white feathers into bitter tears of remorse:" (!)—such a book, as every sane man who reads it will be convinced, is only calculated to make infidels scoff, the scientific laugh, and the "judicious grieve."

LECTURES ON NATURAL HISTORY.*—Prof. Chadbourne, in this little work, has entered an earnest and eloquent plea for Natural History, as an important element in a course of education. He has discussed the subject in a series of four lectures, prepared for delivery, and here printed as prepared, in which Natural History is considered in its relations to Intellect, to Taste, to Wealth, and to Religion. Its claims to consideration in each of these relations are presented with clearness and force, and with ample illustration from the facts and principles which this department of science so abundantly affords. It is shown that the right study of Natural History not only feeds and strengthens the intellect, develops taste, and enhances man's capacity for rational enjoyment, but also tends to the improvement of his moral and religious nature, and even contributes its full share, directly or indirectly, towards the production of material wealth. On all these grounds the author advocates with the warmth of an earnest lover of science, yet with no disparagement of other branches of study, a more prominent place for Natural History in our systems of education, than has heretofore been assigned it. The set of the current, in educational matters, at the present time, is clearly in this direction. These Lectures are well calculated to aid in accelerating the movement.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

LEONARD SCOTT'S REPRINTS OF THE BRITISH REVIEWS.—As we take up, from month to month, the numbers of Leonard Scott's indispensable reprints of the British Reviews, we often think of the utter astonishment of an English lady, (for years a resident of the Prussian capital, Berlin,) who was told there by a friend of ours that he saw *The Times* only occasionally, at home, in America. "Is it pos-

* *Lectures on Natural History: Its relations to Intellect, Taste, Wealth, and Religion.* By P. A. CHADBOURNE, Professor of Natural History in Williams College, and Professor of Natural History and Chemistry in Bowdoin College. New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr. 1860. pp. 160.

sible!" exclaimed the ardent worshiper of the British thunderer—"Is possible that there is any one who speaks the English language who doesn't take *The Times*! How can they live without it!" There are many reasons why we Americans do not subscribe to *The Times*; and not the least is its cost—about fifty dollars a year. But there is less excuse for not taking the English Reviews. We call attention to the advertisement on page 14 of the **NEW ENGLANDER ADVERTISER**. It will there be seen that for ten dollars a year Mr. Scott will send his reprints of *The London Quarterly*; *The Edinburgh Review*; *The North British Review*; *The Westminster Review*; and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. There cannot be many better investments of the money. [T. H. Pease, Special Agent for New Haven and vicinity.]

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.—We call attention to the Advertisement of Messrs. Littell & Co., on the first page of the **NEW ENGLANDER ADVERTISER**. There are few magazines which can be so attractively heralded to the world as this. It will be seen that its praises are set forth in most glowing terms in "a *Star Paper* by Henry Ward Beecher,"—one, too, that was penned when he was evidently in his most genial mood, and felt the inspiration that came from having a "complete set" of *the Living Age* on the shelves of his library. We heartily endorse these praises, although we have no hope of ever being the fortunate possessor of so rich a treasure. There is certainly no more readable magazine, and none more universally popular, in city and country, among the rich and among those who are obliged to expend their money with care. The *Living Age* gives its readers, every week, a choice selection from the whole range of British periodical literature, and just those articles from *The Times* and the other leading newspapers in England, which they would be most disposed to read if they had access to their files.

In the last number alone, there are extracts from the *Saturday Review*, the *Spectator*, the *Press*, the *Economist*, the *Examiner*, *Chambers' Journal*, *Once-a-Week*, and other periodicals besides. To those who wish to know what is said in the daily journals in England about all the exciting European questions of the day, and who wish the cream of the British weeklies and monthlies, *Littell's Living Age* is a necessity. [T. H. Pease, Special Agent for New Haven and vicinity.]

BELLES LETTRES.

THE SAND HILLS OF JUTLAND*—This is the title of a new volume of stories by that prince of modern story tellers, HANS ANDERSEN. We found them capital reading in the warm days of summer, and, we doubt not, others will find them equally good in the long evenings of winter that are so soon to come. Seated on the rocks, with the cool sea-breezes blowing full upon us, we yielded ourselves to their fascination, and cared not to ask whether these new stories were better or poorer than those which gained a world-wide reputation for their author. It was enough that they bore unmistakable evidence of the source from which they came. Of course they are extravagant as any tale of the Arabian Nights. Of course they are simple as a nursery rhyme. But they bear the marks of the inspiration of genius, though they set at defiance every rule of criticism. Then the spirit they breathe is so tender, so gentle, so kind, at times so joyous; they manifest such a sympathy for the poor, for the down-trodden and all who are in distress; the lessons they teach, without being too obtrusive, are so pure, and so elevated, that we cannot but wish them the widest circulation throughout the whole land.

THE MILL ON THE FLOSS.†—Since the publication of "Jane Eyre," whose advent chronicles a new era in novel writing in the present century, no modern romances which have issued from the English press have excited more interest than those of the author of "Scenes of Clerical Life," and "Adam Bede." The latter, particularly, in its dramatic delineation of character, as shown in its illustrative sketches of homely English life, its breadth and richness of painting, its mingled strokes of humor and pathos, its outspoken freedom and truth to nature, and superadded to these, and which is no inconsiderable charm, the garb of Yorkshire dialect, which marks the language of its interlocutors, giving an air of quaintness to the whole, has been received with a degree of popularity seldom equaled in this novel reading age. We repeat what is no secret, when we say that George Eliot is only the *nom de plume* for Miss Evans—a lady who has been well known for her suc-

* *The Sand Hills of Jutland.* By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860. 12mo. pp. 267. 75 cts. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

† *The Mill on the Floss.* By GEORGE ELIOT. Author of "Scenes of Clerical Life," and "Adam Bede." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860. pp. 464. \$1. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

cessful efforts in other departments of literature. As has been justly remarked, an author's second appearance before the public is even more trying than the first. Previous to this he is unknown, and due allowance is made for the fact in case of failure, as being his first effort, or, should success crown the enterprise, he may, perhaps, be overpraised; with the second, (in the work before us, it is the writer's third literary venture in the particular line chosen,) the case is different, and he is judged by the standard which he himself has set up, nor must he complain that the ordeal to which he is subjected by a capricious public, is a pretty severe one as a decisive test of his powers. Is the present volume an instance of this kind? Does it mark an advance or retrograde movement in the "scope and vigor of mind" of the author? A brief analysis of the book itself will help to answer this question.

"The Mill on the Floss," as its title indicates, is a tale of industrial life, and derives its main interest from the fortunes of two characters, who are introduced as brother and sister—Tom and Maggie Tulliver—children of the mill-owner—Mr. Tulliver, as also those of three other individuals who appear in a later period of the story, to whom we shall presently allude. We remark by way of explanation to our matter-of-fact readers, that the scene of the romance is laid in the town of St. Oggs, while Floss is the river on which the Dorlcote Mill is situated. The second chapter is taken up with the subject of Tom's education, which is the chief object of his aspiring father, occasioning a spicy conversation between himself and Mrs. Tulliver, the detailed execution of the plan being carried out in his being sent to the Rev. Walter Stelling, who undertakes to "put his pupil through" an approved course of Latin and Greek roots, reminding us of Dr. Blimbo's forcing system in "*Dombey & Son.*" While the matter is under deliberation, the reader is treated to an episode in the convening of a family party, to whom, among other matters, the topic is for the first time broached, which creates no little surprise and begets a protracted discussion on the important event in the family history. Tom and Maggie (in our minds they are inseparable) appear before us, the former as the type of the healthy young English animal, with no very decided features, "light brown hair, full lips, indeterminate nose and eyebrows, a physiognomy in which it is impossible to discern anything but the generic character of boyhood," with a dash of the mastiff in his composition, full of fun and sportiveness, more inclined to "percussion caps" than to Virgil or Euclid, delighting to tease his sister to whom he is yet devoted with true brotherly affection, and the pet of his mother;

Maggie is a stout, buxom little miss, with "dark eyes and black hair," and a face striking the beholder as possessed of uncommon beauty, her father's especial favorite, or, as he was accustomed to call her, "little wench," and the prettiest "gell" in the neighborhood of St. Oggs. To return to the family party to which we have referred, which breaks up as such family parties generally do, owing to the intractable spirit of two of its members, relating to some moneyed transactions between them—Aunt Glegg and Mr. Tulliver, in a pretty family quarrel, rather ominous in its bearing on the future destiny of Tom and Maggie. We have room but for a single extract from this part of the work, in which the reader will find some exquisite character painting, and which we present as a specimen of the whole. It is taken from the chapter entitled "Mr. and Mrs. Glegg at home," and occurs farther on in the story. Aunt Glegg is Mrs. Tulliver's sister.

* * * "People who seem to enjoy their ill-temper, have a way of keeping it in fine condition by inflicting privations on themselves. That was Mrs. Glegg's way; she made her tea weaker than usual this morning and declined butter. It was a hard case that a vigorous mood for quarreling, so highly capable of using any opportunity, should not meet with a single remark from Mr. Glegg, on which to exercise itself. But by and by it appeared that his silence would answer the purpose, for he heard himself apostrophized at last in that tone peculiar to the wife of one's bosom.

"Well, Mr. Glegg! it is a poor return I get for making you the wife I've made you all these years. If this is the way I'm to be treated, I'd better ha' known it before my poor father died, and then, when I'd wanted a home, I should ha' gone elsewhere—as the choice was offered to me."

"Mr. Glegg paused from his porridge and looked up—not with any new amazement, but simply with that quiet, habitual wonder with which we regard constant mysteries.

"Why, Mrs. G., what have I done now?"

"Done now, Mr. Glegg? *done now?* I'm sorry for you."

"Not seeing his way to any pertinent answer, Mr. Glegg reverted to his porridge.

"There's husband's in the world," continued Mrs. Glegg, after a pause, "as 'ud have known how to do something different to siding with everybody else against their own wives. Perhaps I'm wrong and you can teach me better—but I've allays heard as it's the husband's place to stand by the wife, instead o' rejoicing and triumphing when folks insult her."

"Now what call have you to say that?" said Mr. Glegg, rather warmly, for, though a kind man, he was not as meek as Moses. "When did I rejoice or triumph over you?"

"There's ways o' doing things worse than speaking out plain, Mr. Glegg. I'd sooner you'd tell me to my face as you make light of me, than try to make out as everybody's in the right but me, and come to your breakfast in the morning, as

I've hardly slept an hour this night, and sulk at me as if I was the dirt under your feet'

"'Sulk at you?" said Mr. Glegg, in a tone of angry facetiousness. "You're like a tipey man as thinks everybody's had too much but himself."

"'Don't lower yourself with using coarse language to me, Mr. Glegg! It makes you look very small, though you can't see yourself,' said Mrs. Glegg, in a tone of energetic compassion. "A man in your place shoud set an example, and talk more sensible."

"'Yes; but will you listen to sense?' retorted Mr. Glegg, sharply. "The best sense I can talk to you is what I said last night—as you're i' the wrong to think o' calling in your money, when it's safe enough if you'd let it alone, all because of a bit of a tiff, and I was in hopes you'd ha' altered your mind this morning. But if you'd like to call it in, don't do it in a hurry now, and breed more enmity in the family, but wait till there's a pretty mortgage to be had without any trouble. You'd have to set the lawyer to work now to find an investment, and make no end o' expense.'

* * * * *

"'You'd better leave finding fault wi' my kin till you've left off quarreling with your own, Mrs. G.,' said Mr. Glegg, with angry sarcasm. "I'll trouble you for the milk-jug.'

"'That's as false a word as ever you spoke, Mr. Glegg,' said the lady, pouring out the milk with unusual profuseness, as much as to say, if he wanted milk, he should have it with a vengeance. "And you know it's false. I'm not the woman to quarrel with my own kin; you may, for I've known you do it.'

* * * * *

"Here Mrs. Glegg's voice intimated that she was about to cry, and breaking off from speech, she rang the bell violently.

"'Sally,' she said, rising from her chair, and speaking in rather a choked voice, light a fire up stairs, and put the blinds down. "Mr. Glegg, you'll please to order what you'd like for dinner. I shall have gruel.'

* * * * *

"Mrs Glegg walked across the room to the book-case, and took down Baxter's 'Saints' Everlasting Rest,' which she carried with her up stairs. It was the book she was accustomed to lay open before her on special occasions—on wet Sunday mornings, or when she heard of a death in the family, or when, as in this case, her quarrel with Mr. Glegg had been set an octave higher than usual"—pp. 111-114.

Tom is still at school, having made tolerable proficiency in his education, when an event occurs which changes entirely his present and future prospects. This is the failure of his father in business and the passing of the mill into other hands, owing to the unhappy result of a law-suit in which he has become involved, where his old antagonist, lawyer Wakem, comes off victorious. The latter has a son Philip, who is a school fellow with Tom in the same institution, and who had the misfortune to be a deformed youth, though of superior refinement, to whom on that as well as other accounts, chiefly the feud of long stand-

ing between the parents of the two boys, Tom had from the first conceived a thorough dislike. Maggie, on the other hand, who had left her own boarding school to visit Tom in his new quarters, did not share this feeling, but looked upon the deformed boy, perhaps, for that very reason, (who can account for a woman's tastes?) with pity akin to love; indeed, some love-passages had already occurred between them, the knowledge of which fact, contrary to their express commands, had made a breach between herself and her father, and her brother Tom, which threatened to become permanent.

Passing over this part—which the reader will consider to be unnecessarily prolix and devoid of striking incident, we do not forget the chapters describing the Downfall at Home, and Mrs. Tulliver's pathetic wail at the necessity of parting with her household gods; also, the graphic description of poor Mr. Tulliver's illness and his broken exclamations of heartfelt anguish when the real state of his affairs is made known to him—we come to the main idea of the story. "This is the contest between the inclination of love and the stern sense of duty." Maggie has a cousin—sweet Lucy Deane, whose avowed lover is an acquaintance of the family—Stephen Guest. In the wretched state of things at home, she is invited on a visit to her cousin, when she sees for the first time her cousin's lover, who, immediately struck by her uncommon beauty and loveliness, falls in love with her at first sight. Maggie, who is already bound to Philip Wakem, in stolen interviews had with him on various occasions, since the downfall of the family fortunes, at first shrinks from this new acquaintance; at last, however, she falls into the snare set for her, for Stephen has great powers of fascination, which, like the poor bird in the gaze of the serpent, she in vain attempts to resist. Soon she finds herself in a situation drifting farther from the right, contrary to her most intense convictions of duty, face to face with the great temptation, till now, she is in serious danger of being compromised, as being in her own view, as in that of others, guilty of a double treachery both to Philip and Lucy. The contest is long and severe. At length her better conscience prevails and she turns to the old love, succeeding by a powerful effort, almost in a fit of desperation to free herself from the tempter. That as the result of this internal struggle her health and spirits should have given way, is only what might have been foreseen. Meanwhile, Tom, by his indefatigable efforts and unwearied devotion to business, succeeds in raising the fallen fortunes of the family, coming in possession once more of the old mill, which, however, is of little advantage to Maggie, who remains still

under her brother's displeasure, not only on account of her present attachment to Philip, but from her conduct relative to Stephen, on which St. Oggs undertakes to pass an unfavorable judgment. She, herself, being condemned by the major part of the female voices, and being stigmatized by him with insincerity and double dealing, is at length actually turned out of his house by her implacable brother. In this condition she recurs to her former spiritual adviser, Dr. Kenn, who has previously interested himself in her case, and who, though friendly and sympathizing, endeavors but in vain to afford her substantial relief. As a last resort he prepares to leave St. Oggs, when a letter comes from Philip completely exonerating her from all attempts at equivocation or deceit in the transaction; too late, however, to repair the mischief which had already been inflicted on her bodily and mental health; another, also, from Stephen, pressing urgently his suit. To those who have traced the story up to this point, and have perused the harrowing details till the interest has become almost agonizingly painful in this utter wreck of health and hope, though vainly wishing it otherwise, a feeling of relief even comes over the mind in presence of the "mutual forgiveness and joy connected with the final catastrophe."

Returning to Dorlcote Mill, Maggie finds herself once more in sight of home and in company with her brother Tom, over whom as also herself many changes have passed since they last met, yet his face is still turned away from her, and she feels in the desperate state in which she is placed as if her last hope was gone. Not thus, however, for her mother's arms are open to receive her, though herself in miserable destitution. Both find a temporary refuge with Mrs. Jakin, whose husband, Bob Jakin, is an old acquaintance of Tom, and who at different times has reappeared on the stage, affording them such help as was in his power. The rains have now commenced and the Floss is swollen with an unusual current, and fears are entertained and expressed of a repetition of destruction experienced in past years. Suddenly, however, it comes and the angry river bursts its barriers and sweeps everything before it—penetrating Maggie's apartment, and in one night the cottage where she has taken shelter is borne away—Maggie herself is providentially saved in a boat, in the management of which she exhibits great skill and resolution and goes to seek her mother and brother Tom, who are in equal danger. The former cannot be found; the latter she discovers and words of reconciliation and forgiveness are just uttered, when a new danger awaits them in the *debris* of the mill, floating down abreast the current directly in their path—the eventful moment arrives, and clasped

in each other's embrace they sink beneath the waters, which close over them, giving a touching significance to the motto prefixed to the work itself, "in their death they were not divided." Lucy and Stephen are united in marriage in after years, while Philip remains a solitary man lamenting a lost love.

Such is the material of the story, the plot of which the reader will perceive to be quite simple, and the wonder is, how in chronicling the words and actions of people insignificant in themselves and moving in a humble plane of life, to whose characters and conduct we even feel a degree of repulsion, the author has contrived to weave so charming a tale, giving an actuality to the scenes described and investing her personages with a human interest. The wonder ceases, however, when we ascribe the phenomenon to the inspiration of genius, which, in its creative embodiments and marvelous instincts, and in its ability to dramatize powerfully not only the incidents of the situation, but the conduct and language appropriate to it, produces an effect like the enchanter's magic-wand to which mere talent is never equal. The main fault in the volume is that there is too much of a leaning to minuteness of detail, the figures on the tapestry are too much overworked, calling attention to themselves rather than harmonizing with the bold and massive strokes of a grand outline to which they should be necessarily subordinate. The latter was the case with "Adam Bede," and was undoubtedly one great source of its popularity with most readers, who are attracted by what is vigorous and novel, rather than by what is elaborate and finished, in a composition of this kind. Yet this, after all, has its merit, and it is only the same as saying that an author may have a different style of writing in different productions, and both be entitled to praise as promoting the end in view. The faulty excess of this tendency is seen in the epithets bestowed on the various personages who figure in the story, or, as we may term it, the side lights in which their character is revealed to us, where we have not only the words uttered, but the tone and manner and all the accompaniments of the situation, which may be called the author's private mark, (as a single turn of the head or glance of the eye reveals the idiosyncracy of the individual in the conduct of every day life,) and which distinguishes the writer of the present fiction. Still further, we may mention as a defect in this volume, together with irrelevant digression, an undue inclination to moralizing and philosophical reflection. As compared with "Adam Bede" the work is a decided advance on the latter, indicating in the author more vigor and maturity of intellect. The characters of the

two children, Tom and Maggie, are exquisitely drawn, and the skill of the author in plunging the fortunes of her main personages, first in, and then conducting them out of the labyrinth in which they seem to be hopelessly involved, without doing violence to our human nature and sympathies, is worthy of especial comment. The book is characterized by a truer philosophy than that of "Adam Bede;" it has a more healthy and elevated religious tone—it is a book, in short, and this is the best thing we can say of it, which, thoroughly studied, cannot fail to improve the intellect and amend the heart.

STEDMAN'S LYRICS AND IDYLS.*—We have in this volume a collection of lyrics which were received with no little popularity when they first appeared in the New York Tribune. Among them we readily recognize "The Diamond Wedding," and "How old John Brown took Harper's Ferry." In addition, there are a large number of sonnets and odes which display some merit, and are now given to the public for the first time.

LUCILE.†—This very readable poem, by Owen Meredith, the author of "The Wanderer," and "Clytemnestra," has been published by Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, in "blue and gold."

TYLNEY HALL.‡—This is one of the earliest productions of the genius of Thomas Hood. It was written before his pecuniary embarrassments, before the failure of his health, when the world was all bright before him. It was first published in 1834, and dedicated, by permission, to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, who remained the warm friend of the poet to the last. This new American edition will be welcomed, we doubt not, by all who have learned to feel an interest in the works of one of the most popular of English writers.

* *Poems, Lyrical and Idyllic.* By EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. 12mo. pp. 196. 75 cents. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

† *Lucile.* By OWEN MEREDITH. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860. 24mo. pp. 352. 75 cents. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

‡ *Tylney Hall.* By THOMAS HOOD. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 479. \$1.25. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

MISS GILBERT'S CAREER.*—Dr. Holland, who is so well known as the author of "Bitter Sweet," and "Timothy Titcomb's Letters," has here made a first attempt in the department of prose fiction. In "Miss Gilbert's Career" he has given the public "an American story." For this he has some unusual qualifications, among which are a fine appreciation of whatever is peculiar in our New England and American character, manners, and customs; and a ready tact in describing it. This it is which has given him much of his popularity; for people are never so well pleased with an author as when he describes such characters as they see every day, and such scenes as they are familiar with. We hope Dr. Holland will go on in the path upon which he has entered. American society presents a fine field for his good humored satire.

ODES OF HORACE. "BLUE AND GOLD EDITION."†—Messrs. Ticknor and Fields have published a translation, in English verse, of the "Odes of Horace," in "blue and gold." The translation is by Theodore Martin. The volume contains a sketch of the life of Horace; and a full supply of notes, which are illustrative rather than critical, and quite interesting from their literary character. The edition will be found to be a very convenient one.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE.

THE BOOK AND ITS STORY.‡—The writer of this book published some time ago a little volume, to which she gave the somewhat singular title, "The Missing Link." We furnished some account of it on page 274 of the present volume. It was a simple narrative of her efforts in sending female colporteurs, or "Bible women," among that wretched class of people in London, who swarm in "tenement houses" in such places as "The Seven Dials." The success which these female colporteurs met with in circulating the Bible was such that her account of it has

* *Miss Gilbert's Career. An American Story.* By J. G. HOLLAND. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. 12mo. pp. 476. [T. H. Pease, New Haven. Price \$1.25.]

† *The Odes of Horace*, translated into English verse, with a Life and Notes. By THEODORE MARTIN. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860. 24mo. pp. 358. 75 cts.

‡ *The Book and its Story. A narrative for the young.* By L. N. R., author of "The Missing Link." New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 463. .

been rapidly but quietly working its way into public favor and notice; and in July last, the London Quarterly made "The Missing Link" the basis of its leading Article.

Another book now appears from the pen of the same authoress. It relates, however, to a different subject, and is of an entirely different character. It is written especially for young people, though many older in years will doubtless read it with interest and profit. It is the "Story" of the Bible; its composition and translation into all languages; the means by which it has been circulated by individuals and by societies; together with the sketches of the lives of those whose names are in any way identified with it. The book contains a great multitude of facts respecting all these subjects to which most persons do not have easy access.

HOME DRAMAS FOR THE DRAWING-ROOM.*—This is a book which will afford many good hints to those who are interested in providing such amusements as will make home attractive for young people, in the long evenings of winter. Some of the "charades" in the collection are capital.

THE BOBBIN BOY.†—This is a capital story for young people. It professes to be the history of a poor boy, who by energy, industry, perseverance, application, and enthusiasm, achieved success in life. The intimation that the story is founded on fact, and that the account of the fortunes of "Nat, the bobbin boy," as here narrated, is the history, substantially, of the early struggles of Governor Banks, of Massachusetts, has already obtained for the book very great popularity.

OUR BIBLE CLASS, AND THE GOOD THAT CAME OF IT.‡—This is a novel which professes to give the history of a village Bible Class, composed of young people of both sexes. The story is told of its foundation and its progress during several years, and we are allowed to see the "good that came of it," by some account of the lives and fortunes of

* *Home Dramas for Young People.* Compiled by ELIZA LEE FOLLEN. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 450. 1860.

† *The Bobbin Boy; or, how Nat got his Learning.* An example for youth. By WILLIAM M. TRAYER. 1860. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 12mo. pp. 310.

‡ *Our Bible Class, and the good that came of it.* By MISS CAROLINE E. FAIRFIELD. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860. 12mo. pp. 352.

its different members. Several of its descriptions of characters and scenes in village life, are quite good.

SCHOOL BOOKS.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY—PECK'S GANOT.*—There is no lack of school books on Natural Philosophy, such as they are. But very many of them have sprung from the scissors of the book maker, rather than the pen or brain of the author. And many such works, crude and full of errors, hold their place in schools and academies rather through the tact and enterprise of publishers, or the negligence of school committees, than from any intrinsic merits of their own. The work before us is by no means of this class. It is a translation, from the French, of a thoroughly scientific work, entitled *Popular Physics*, by M. Ganot, one of the best of modern writers on the subject. It covers the department of physics proper, including mechanics of solids, liquids, and gases; acoustics, heat, optics, magnetism, electricity, and electro-magnetism. As an elementary work, it is concise in style, yet remarkably clear in definition and explanation, logical in arrangement, and beautifully illustrated with numerous engravings, which are *fac-simile* copies of those in the original work. These engravings are so complete and accurate, that they are not only well calculated to convey to the mind of the pupil a clear conception of the principles unfolded, but exhibit so fully the structure of apparatus and methods of experimenting, as to render the apparatus itself, in many cases, unnecessary. Professor Peck has done a good thing for American education in producing so attractive and excellent a book for the use of schools and academies. Its convenience as a text-book is enhanced by suitable questions at the foot of each page.

PHYSICS†—A copy of the second edition of Professor Silliman's *Principles of Physics*, just ready for publication, has been received too

* *Introductory Course of Natural Philosophy*, for the use of Schools and Academies. Edited from Ganot's *Popular Physics*, by WILLIAM G. PECK, M. A., Professor of Mathematics in Columbia College, New York. New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr. 1860. pp. 480.

† *Principles of Physics*, or Natural Philosophy, designed for the use of Colleges and Schools. By BENJAMIN SILLIMAN, Jr., M. A., M. D., Professor of General and Applied Chemistry in Yale College. Second edition, revised and rewritten, with seven hundred and twenty-two illustrations. Philadelphia: H. C. Peck & Theodore Bliss. 1861. pp. 700.

late for more than a very brief notice in our present number. The work on its first appearance impressed us favorably, and we specially commended it to the attention of our readers. The new edition is a great improvement upon the first. Not only has the work been thoroughly revised, but, in order to adapt it more fully to the wants of the higher seminaries, large portions of it have been rewritten and rearranged, and a mathematical method of treatment introduced to a much greater extent than in the former edition. Indeed, so far as we can judge from a cursory examination, the work will now, in this respect, as well as in others, entirely meet the wants of the classes of students for whom it was prepared. The various branches of the subject appear to be treated in just proportion, with great fullness of illustration, and ample notices of special applications, yet with a constant reference to the elucidation of fundamental principles. While, therefore, it is well adapted to the purposes of elementary instruction, its special richness in the facts of science, and in notices of the most recent discoveries and experiments, renders it a work of peculiar value to practical men and teachers, and at the same time, of interest to the general reader. Its value as a book of reference is much enhanced by a collection of the most important physical tables, in an appendix. In its present improved form, we can most cordially commend this work to teachers and others, as supplying an acknowledged desideratum in the means of teaching physical science in our higher academies and colleges.

RHETORICAL PRAXIS.*—Books of rhetorical praxis are usually the dullest and most unprofitable of all text-books. The ingenious author of this volume has certainly proposed to himself the true ideal to be accomplished in teaching rhetoric, for he would teach his pupil to write by teaching them to think. We dare not predict that this book will fulfill the aim of the author; but we believe it to be superior to any other of the kind, and to have the highest claim upon practical teachers for a trial, for its thoroughness, its comprehensiveness, as well as for the great ingenuity and skill with which it has been prepared. We should not be surprised if it should prove to be very successful, and would recommend it most cordially to teachers.

* *Rhetorical Praxis.* The principles of Rhetoric exemplified and applied in copious exercises for systematic practice, chiefly in the development of thought. For use in schools and colleges. By HENRY N. DAY, author of "Elements of the Art of Rhetoric," &c., &c. Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, Keys & Co 1860. 12mo. pp. 309. \$1. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

HOOKER'S NATURAL HISTORY.*—Dr. Worthington Hooker, Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in Yale College, has been very successful in applying comprehensive and thorough knowledge of natural science to the service of popular education and instruction. His volume on Human Physiology, published some years since, is regarded by many of our most eminent and experienced school teachers as the best book on that subject for the instruction of schools; while it is equally adapted to the purposes of general reading. His "First Book in Physiology," and his "Child's Book of Nature," present their subjects in a simplified manner, which felicitously adapts them to interest and instruct children of an early age. Pursuing the same useful course, he has recently published a work on Natural History, for the use of schools and families. This work we commend to the attention of our readers. It is an octavo of 382 pages, published by the Harpers, in their usual excellent style, and illustrated by a multitude of excellent engravings, which teach in that easiest and most adequate of all modes—through the eye. Horace very truly said that "men believe their eyes more than their ears." Even a cursory glance over a book, so profusely and correctly illustrated by engravings, is quite instructive.

One of the manifest excellencies of this book is, that its author has successfully avoided two extremes, into one or the other of which writers of books on Natural History for the use of schools, often run—on the one hand, in the endeavor to adapt them to popular use, depriving them of a real scientific character, so that they have not the substance of the science in such a form as to be clearly and definitely apprehended and learned; and, on the other hand, presenting the subject in a form so scientific, or with so many of the technical terms of science, and with such an overloading of the details of science, that both pupils and general readers are baffled and confused. Dr. Hooker avoids the use of technical terms except when they are necessary; and when he uses them, always explains them in the first instance of their use, and explains them not by a bare definition, but by interesting as well as clear description. And his glossary at the end of the book

* *Natural History.* For the use of Schools and Families. By WORTHINGTON HOOKER, M. D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in Yale College, Author of "Human Physiology," "Child's Book of Nature," &c., &c. Illustrated by nearly three hundred engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

consists, not of definitions, but simply of references to the paragraphs in the book, in which the words are first used, and in which they are explained in a better manner than by a mere definition. And from the great mass of materials in Zoology he makes a judicious selection for the purposes of popular instruction, presenting specimens of different groups of animals, and representative features of the science, and avoiding a confused multitude of details and particulars, too often presented in books designed for popular education and instruction, and necessary only in books of reference, or for the purposes of a scientific zoologist.

We have noticed, also, that Dr. Hooker, while avoiding a confused flood of information, brings to light many interesting features which we have not seen in works of this kind. As an example of this, we would refer, in his chapter on the characteristics of Birds, to his felicitous exhibition of the arrangement of the bones and muscles for the purposes of flying.

In this book Dr. Hooker avoids the catechetical style, or that of questions and answers, and the style of formal statement, and adopts that of the Lecture. This, while it is far preferable to the others for the general reader, is also best for pupils, except perhaps those of the youngest class. It interests them more. It habituates them to express in the natural form the knowledge which they acquire. And it communicates information to them in that mode in which they must receive it in the usual experience of life.

We are pleased to learn from the author's preface that he has in the course of preparation books on some of the other natural sciences, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, &c., according to the same general plan which has been adopted in this work. We are confident that they will promote an object which we regard as very desirable, the study of these subjects in the common school as well as in the academy and the college.

MISCELLANY.

HOME AND COLLEGE.*—This is the public address which was delivered by Rev. F. D. Huntington, D. D., in the Hall of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on March last. We rejoice to see

* *Home and College.* A public Address delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, March 8, 1860. By F. D. Huntington, D. D. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co. 1860. 18mo. pp. 70.

that it has been printed, and hope it may now have wide circulation, and reach every parent who expects ever to send a son away from home to college. We are deeply impressed with the truth and justness and importance of every line. It presents to parents, and to their sons also, much food for reflection, with an earnestness and a genial sympathy which must secure a thoughtful perusal.

Our limits will allow us only to advert to the leading thought in the book, when we could wish, if this were the proper place, to republish the whole entire. Dr. Huntington insists throughout that "home"—not hotels or boarding houses—but that the "*Christian home*" is the place where the principles of the boy who is to be a student, should be carefully formed and trained from the first. He says: "To ask a college government to play the father to lads who have never learned what it is to be sons, is to make the place not only a charity school, but a foundling hospital." He then describes the points of peril, and the conditions of success in college life. He specifies the lessons that the boy should be taught from the very beginning: I. To control his appetites and animal passions; II. To obey rightful authority; III. To respect the opinions of those who are his superiors in age, in official position, and wisdom; IV. To love knowledge for its own sake; V. To beware of an inordinate desire of popularity, than which nothing is more seductive to those whose dispositions and manners are intrinsically attractive; VI. To cultivate genuine kindness of heart, and true gentlemanly feeling; VII. Above all, religious reverence and faith. How little has a faithful Christian parent to fear for a son who has been trained with such principles. Dr. Huntington says:

"The average age at which Freshmen enter college, is now, perhaps, eighteen years. Suppose it were a year or two younger. Does it seem probable, according to all we know of the moral laws, that after that time, and within a short period, desires which had before been unfelt should break out into sudden and ungovernable activity, or that those which had been held in rational subjection should all at once overmaster their restraints, and spring up with prurient eagerness, and rush into shameless license?"

THE WILD SPORTS OF INDIA.*—This book is written by no carpet

* *The Wild Sports of India.* With remarks on the breeding and rearing of horses, and the formation of Light Irregular Cavalry. By Capt. HENRY SHAKESPEARE, Commandant Nagpore Irregular Force. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860. 12mo. pp. 283. \$1. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

knight, by no shooter of small game. The author, in the language of India, is a *shikaree*, a *burro shikaree*, a veritable son of Nimrod, a mighty hunter—one who has delighted to follow the big game, and at the risk of his life charge upon boars and elephants, beard man-eating tigers in the jungle, and meet panthers in hand-to-hand fight. He tells his stories of wild adventure as a bold hunter should, in a right modest and straightforward way which is really fascinating. But he aims at something more than story-telling. He writes with an end in view. He has seen years of tough service in India, and has sons with him in the army. He writes for the benefit of the young men of England who have gone out to spend their lives there. He tells them, and their friends at home, that the best way for them to keep away from the thousand temptations—the gaming table, and the other excesses to which they are exposed, is to become hunters. Excitement they must and will have. His advice to them is to become bold riders, *shikarees*, riflemen of the woods. In this way they will retain their health, nerve, energy and strength; do a real service to the natives in ridding them of the wild beasts that prey on human life, and secure for themselves a green old age. There are some valuable supplementary chapters on the breeds of horses used in India, and on Light Irregular Cavalry, which proved so efficient an arm of the English power in the days of the Sepoy mutiny.

RELIGIOUS EXTRACTS FROM SHAKESPEARE.*—This is a book of rather a novel character, which has been prepared for the purpose of proving that Shakespeare lived and died “a true Protestant.” The compiler states that upon visiting Stratford-upon-Avon, he observed, in the room where the “Relics” are exhibited, a large written paper in a gilt frame, termed “a copy of Shakespeare’s will,” drawn up in the Roman Catholic form, and declared to be a faithful copy of the real will deposited at Doctors’ Commons. Having repeatedly seen printed copies of the genuine will, it was apparent to him that a fraudulent attempt had been made to give the impression that Shakespeare died a Papist. This book, therefore, has been prepared to set the matter in its true light. In the first place, the compiler has given a copy of the pre-

* *Religious and Moral Sentences*, culled from the works of Shakespeare, compared with sacred passages drawn from Holy Writ. From the English edition. With an Introduction by FREDERIC D. HUNTINGTON, D. D. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 296.

amble of the true will which is at Doctors' Commons; then a copy of the preamble of the manuscript which is exhibited as the will in Stratford-upon-Avon; with the assurance that there is no will of Shakespeare's with such a preamble, at Doctors' Commons. He then gives a very extended collection of passages extracted from the works of Shakespeare, which fill two hundred pages of the book, and certainly form very strong presumptive evidence that the tenets of the religion which he professed were not of the Roman Catholic faith. The compiler is himself entirely satisfied that it is proved that he was "a true and worthy member of the Reformed Church of England." The book is quite a literary curiosity; and as the "religious extracts" are placed in juxtaposition with corresponding passages from the Bible, they furnish proof, in a very interesting way, that the great English dramatist who shows such marvelous acquaintance with all other forms of knowledge was not less familiar with the Holy Scriptures. An introduction to the American edition has been written by Rev. Dr. Frederick D. Huntington.

MAJOR JACK DOWNING'S LETTERS.*—No series of humorous letters have met with such success in this country as those of the renowned Major Jack Downing. They were political squibs, but written with so much good natured *naïveté* that even those who felt that the satire was directed against themselves, joined the heartiest in the universal laugh. No one ever succeeded in representing the peculiar characteristics of the traditional Yankee, so truthfully as their author. For years the letters have been out of print. We have several times attempted to procure them, but have always, till now, been unsuccessful. A whole generation has grown up who only know of the *original* letters by tradition. We are glad to find that a new edition has been published by Messrs. Derby & Jackson, under the editorial supervision of their author, who was for some time *incognito*, but is now known to have been Seba Smith, Esq. He informs us, in the preface, that the first Downing letter was written in January, 1830, and published in the Daily Courier, a paper of which he was the editor. "At that time the two political parties in Maine were so evenly balanced, and partisan feeling ran so high, that it was six weeks before the state legislature, who came to

* *My Thirty Years out of the Senate.* By Major Jack Downing. Illustrated with sixty-four original and characteristic engravings on wood. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860. 12mo. pp. 458.

gether in Portland, on the first of January, were able to organize and proceed with the business of legislation. The political papers were hot and furious, and there was no small excitement throughout the state, which even extended to other portions of the country." At this juncture of affairs, the author of these papers, wishing to show the ridiculous position of the legislature in its true light, and also, by something out of the common track of newspaper writing, to give increased interest and popularity to his little daily paper, bethought himself of the plan to bring a green, unsophisticated lad, from the country, into town, with a load of ax handles, hoop poles and other notions, for sale; and while waiting the movements of a dull market, let him blunder into the halls of the legislature, and after witnessing for some days their strange doings, sit down and write an account of them to his friends at home, in his own plain language. The plan was successful almost beyond parallel. The first letter made so strong a mark that others had to follow, as a matter of course. The whole town read them, and laughed; the politicians themselves read them, and their wrathful, fire-eating visages relaxed to a broad grin. The Boston papers copied them, and all Boston tittered over them. The series was inaugurated, and must go on. So the letters continued from time to time, and soon were universally read throughout the country. In the course of a year or two they became more national in their character. Major Downing went on to Washington, where he was almost immediately installed as "Gen. Jackson's right-hand man." Thenceforth he most amusingly and persistently identified himself with the President and all his measures, always using the formula, "I and the President." The letters which now followed were some of the best of the series, and show how the Major helped "the General" "fight Biddle's Bank," settle the Madawaska boundary, put down "Nullification" in South Carolina, and how together they made the tour of the northern and eastern states.

Here the original series closed, in December of 1833. It had extended over a period of four years from January, 1830. In 1847, during Mr. Polk's administration, Mr. Smith commenced, in the *National Intelligencer*, a second series of the Downing Letters. Several of them we read on their publication. But though they all seem to have some spice of the old fun in them, they are by no means equal to the letters which first gained a reputation for Major Downing. Both series, with over sixty illustrations, are bound up together in the present volume, with the new title of "*My Thirty Years out of the Senate.*"

ODD PEOPLE.*—This is a book, compiled by a popular writer, Capt. Mayne Reed, which contains a great variety of information, not easily accessible to most persons, with respect to “Singular Races of Men;” the localities they inhabit; their history; their modes of life; their habits and customs. The accounts are of *The Bosjesmen*, or Bushmen of South Africa; *The Amazonian Indians*; *The Water-Dwellers* of Maracaibo; *The Esquimaux*; *The Centaurs* of the “*Gran Chaco*;” *The Feegees*, or Man Eaters; *The Tongans*, or Friendly Islanders; *The Turcomans*; *The Ottomae*, or Dirt-Eaters; *The Comanches*, or Prairie Indians; *The Pehuenches*, or Pampas Indians; *The Yamparicos*, or Root-Diggers; *The Guaraons*, or Palm Dwellers; *The Laplanders*; *The Andamaners*, or Mud-Bedaubers; *The Patagonian Giants*, and *The Fuegian Dwarfs*. The book is illustrated with engravings.

THE PATIENT'S AND PHYSICIAN'S AID.†—Let all who would keep full and vigorous health remember the old proverb: “An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure!” On this subject of the preservation of health there is proverbially more ignorance and carelessness than on almost any other. The book before us is not written with the view of leading people to be their own physicians, if they are so unfortunate as to need one; but to give them that information with regard to health and disease, which every one should know. It is a manual, and a very useful one, with directions “how to preserve health; what to do in sudden attacks, or until the doctor comes; and how best to profit by his directions when given.”

FRIENDS IN COUNCIL.‡—Those who were interested in the first series of these entertaining “conversations,” will be glad to know that two new volumes have appeared, and are published by Messrs. Munroe & Co., of Boston. We give a list of some of the subjects discussed: Worry, War, Criticism, Biography, Proverbs, The Miseries of Human Life, Pleasantness, Government, Despotism.

*Odd People.** Being a popular description of Singular races of men. By Capt. MAYNE REED. With Illustrations. Ticknor & Fields. 1860. 12mo. pp. 461. 75 cents. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

† *The Patient's and Physician's Aid.* By F. M. HUNT, A. M., M. D. New York: C. M. Saxton, Barker & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 365.

‡ *Friends in Council.* A series of Readings and Discourses thereon. A new series. Two volumes. Reprinted from the English edition. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 242, 280.

THE EIGHTH COMMANDMENT.*—Our readers doubtless all recollect the story of the librarian who placed Miss Edgeworth's "Irish Bull's" in his catalogue, under the title, "*Agricultural Works*." We think the catalogue makers will have to be on their guard, or some equally laughable mistake will be made with this book. It is certainly not a theological work, nor will it do to class it among "works on morals;" although it must be confessed the discussion involves some important questions of morality. To be brief, the particular object of this new treatise, on the Eighth Commandment, is to stop Englishmen from *stealing* the works of French dramatic authors. Perhaps this announcement may at first lead some persons to think that the discussion is altogether of local interest, and about a subject for which they care but little. It must be admitted that a great part of the book will not be of particular interest to many in this country. Still the discussion is really respecting the important question of an International Copyright. It is written by one of the oddest, quaintest, yet most amusing and popular writers in England. To those who have read the author's previous works, his name will of course be a sufficient attraction. To those who have not, we will say—whether for amusement or instruction, the book is well worth examination.

In concluding his treatise, Mr. Reade says :

"In this book, I have abused the quick and the dead like pickpockets. This is not altogether my fault, but partly their own, for being pickpockets. Still it is all the more pleasant to notice bright exceptions. * * * * * The first-class publishers in the United States, and particularly Messrs. Appleton, Messrs. Harper, Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, pay English authors liberal sums—for what?—for early sheets, a mere start of a week or two, in advance of the pirates. * * * * * I am now sending out these sheets to Boston, U. S., with a considerable fear that Messrs. Ticknor & Fields will lose money by their spirit in publishing a well meaning, unpopular work; but with a royal sense of security, that, if they receive profits, they will fire as many dollars at me, or perhaps more, than their balance sheet justifies."

QUAKER QUIDDITIES.†—This becomingly sober *jeu d'esprit*, in blank verse, appears to have been written by a somewhat progressive young Quaker. It consists of a colloquy, extending over thirty pages, between

**The Eighth Commandment.* By CHARLES READE. Boston : Ticknor & Fields. 1860. 12mo. pp. 276. 75 cents. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

† *Quaker Quiddities; or, Friends in Council. A Colloquy.* Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 48.

the conservative Jeremiah Austen and Samuel Bonus, in which they discuss the propriety of some slight relaxation :

“ In those requirements which restrain, so close
Friends in the matters of attire and speech.”

The author represents himself to be a “ member ” by birthright, and to have adopted the principles of the Friends “ from conviction.” He gives us the views which he advocates from the mouth of Samuel Bonus :

“ And can it be that our peculiar speech,
And vestments hued and fashioned by a rule
Made of an accident, with no support
But weak tradition, are the pillars strong,
Which give us all our beauty and our strength ?
Are we by *these* distinctive and secure ?
Are we defended from the world’s array
By this environment of garb and speech ? ”

* * * * *

“ And have the law—
The Gospel law, the law by love fulfilled—
And the blessed ministry of the daily cross
Done all their work, their highest triumph found,
When singularity of diction (called
By strange misnomer and assumption bold,
Plainness of speech) is by a pronoun gained,
And saying ‘ John,’ instead of ‘ Mr. Smith ? ’ ”

We have been interested in the book as a development of the state of feeling within the Society of Friends, but we must own that we prefer the sentiments of the author to his poetry.

INVOLUNTARY CONFESSIONS.*—This most interesting and thrilling Essay is taken from the closing chapter of the second edition of a work on Medical Jurisprudence, just issued from the press by Dr. Stillé and the author. It will more than repay a perusal for the exciting interest of its narratives of horror, and the materials which it furnishes for the noble, moral argument, which is suggested at its close.

**Involuntary Confessions. A Monograph*, by FRANCIS WHARTON. Philadelphia: Kay & Brother. 1860. 8vo. pp. 36.

NEW EDITIONS OF STANDARD WORKS.

THE WORKS OF FRANCIS BACON. Fifteen volumes. Brown & Taggard, Boston.

CARLYLE'S CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS. Four volumes. Brown & Taggard, Boston.

MILMAN'S LATIN CHRISTIANITY. Eight volumes. Sheldon & Co., New York.

IRVING'S WORKS. National edition. Sixteen volumes. G. P. Putnam, New York.

IRVING'S LIFE OF WASHINGTON. National edition. Five volumes. G. P. Putnam, New York.

Till recently our American publishers have been obliged to confess a hopeless inferiority to their English competitors in all that pertains to the art of printing. Occasionally a handsome volume has been issued from the American press, which has received extraordinary care; but the highest praise bestowed upon it has been that it approached, in its typography, to the beauty and finish of an English book. Every student who has been so fortunate as to possess English editions of a few favorite authors, well knows with what gratification his eye has dwelt on their faultless pages, with their broad margins and black, sharp cut letters. There is something in the mere *feeling* of the heavy leaves, as he slowly turns them over, that disposes him to be better pleased with the author he is reading. Even the peculiar perfume that clings so long to these imported treasures is choicer to him than the *bouquet* of a choice wine to the *connoisseur*.

We are glad to see that a new era is commencing in the history of American typography. The editions of standard works that have been given to the public within the past few months, furnish a new proof of our advancing civilization. It is proof at least that in the opinion of our publishers the time has come when the number of persons among us who are willing to buy good editions of works of the highest class is sufficient to sustain them in their costly enterprises. The appearance of the volumes whose titles we have given above will satisfy the most fastidious taste, and it now rests with book-buyers and book-readers throughout the land to show their appreciation of what is of-

ferred to them by their own countrymen. They can import nothing superior from beyond the seas.

The separate volumes of most of the works that we have mentioned are to be published at intervals of one or two months. We shall notice the contents of each one as it appears, and give such other information respecting it as may seem necessary. Probably in the course of the publication we shall make some of them the subjects of extended review. They are all so well known to the public, and bear such high rank in our classical literature, that we doubt not the announcement of their appearance will be hailed with increasing pleasure.

THE WORKS OF LORD BACON.*—This new edition of the works of one who still ranks among the very first of English statesmen and philosophers, is published by Messrs. Brown & Taggard, of Boston. The volumes, which are to be fifteen in number, are to be exact reprints of the latest and best English editions, of which the editors are Messrs. James Spedding, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge; Robert Leslie Ellis, M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and Douglas Denon Heath, Barrister-at-Law, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In the English edition the works are arranged in three classes: 1st, the Philosophical; 2d, the Literary and Professional; and 3d, the Occasional. The present republication commences with the second class; and the single volume which has just been given to the public is accordingly the eleventh of the whole series, but the first of the Literary and Professional works. It is intended that at least one volume shall be issued each month till the whole is completed. The edition is stereotyped and printed by Messrs. H. O. Houghton & Co., of the "Riverside Press," Cambridge, whose names are a guarantee of the excellence of their workmanship. Each volume is to be printed in crown octavo, and is to be of about five hundred pages.

The contents of the eleventh volume are: The History of the Reign of King Henry VII.—The Beginning of the History of the Reign of

* *The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England. Collected and edited by JAMES SPEDDING, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge; ROBERT LESLIE ELLIS, M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and DOUGLAS DENON HEATH, Barrister-at-Law, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Volume XI. Being Volume I of the Literary and Professional Works. Boston: Published by Brown & Taggard. 1860. 12mo. pp. 461.*

King Henry VIII.—The Beginning of the History of Great Britain.—And “*In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethe, Angliae Reginæ*; with an English translation.

As there is no public character of his age about whom more diverse opinions have been entertained and expressed than about the distinguished author of these works, it will naturally be a question with all, How are the life and services and literary works of Lord Bacon estimated by the editors of this new edition? For the present, it is enough to quote an extract from the “general preface,” which gives no doubtful indication of their views:

“He did good service when he declared with all the weight of his authority and of his eloquence that the true end of knowledge is the glory of the Creator and the relief of man’s estate. The spirit of this declaration runs throughout his writings, and we trust has worked for good upon the generations by which they have been studied. And as he showed his wisdom in coupling together things divine and human, so has he shown it also in tracing the demarcation between them, and in rebuking those who by confounding religion and philosophy were in danger of making the one heretical and the other superstitions.”

In this volume there is a steel engraving of “Francis Bacon when a boy,” from a colored bust in terra-cotta, belonging to the Earl of Verulam, which has probably been at Gorhambury since 1572.

For the information of those of our readers who live in New Haven and its vicinity, we state that THOMAS H. PEASE, Bookseller, has been appointed by Messrs. Brown & Taggard special agent for obtaining subscribers. Price, per volume: In cloth, \$1.50. In sheep, \$2. In half-calf, gilt, \$2.50. In half-calf, antique, \$2.50.

CARLYLE’S CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.*—A new edition of the Critical and Miscellaneous Essays of Thomas Carlyle has been for a long time a desideratum. We are no wholesale admirers either of the style or the sentiments of this “Jeremiah of modern times”; still we welcome this superb edition of some of the best of his writings with real pleasure. The collection has been arranged and edited by himself. Conspicuous among the contents are those famous contributions to the Edinburgh and other leading English Reviews, which served so well to introduce the great literary characters of Germany to the

* *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. Collected and republished. By THOMAS CARLYLE. In four volumes. pp. 491, 490, 480, 524. Boston: Brown & Taggard, 25 and 27 Cornhill. 1860. [For sale in New Haven by T. H. PEASE. Price \$5.]

acquaintance of the English reading public. These make up a large part of the four volumes. But there are also the well known essays and reviews on Burns, Voltaire, Diderot, Mirabeau, Boswell's Life of Johnson; and a great number of other shorter productions, such, for example, as *Thoughts on the Death of his old school-fellow, Edward Irving*, which we are glad to see preserved in so convenient a place for reference. Carlyle's writings have been read, probably, by greater numbers on this side of the Atlantic than on the other. No library, public or private, can well dispense with this convenient and elegant edition of what are everywhere acknowledged to be some of the most important contributions to the literature of the age. In the first volume there is a most life-like steel engraving from an original likeness in the possession of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Esq.

DEAN MILMAN'S LATIN CHRISTIANITY.*—Our readers will be gratified to know that Messrs. Sheldon & Company, of New York, have undertaken the republication of Dean Milman's History of Latin Christianity, than which, no more important contribution has ever been made to the history of mediæval Europe. The work will be published in eight volumes, of which, the first has already appeared. It is a crown octavo of 544 pages, printed by Messrs. H. O. Houghton & Co., at the "Riverside Press," Cambridge, and is not surpassed by anything that has come from the American press. This first volume has reached us just as the last pages of this Number are passing under our eye; and at present we shall do no more than give some few extracts from the opinions which have been expressed in the English Reviews:

"No such work," says the Quarterly Review, (Vol. xciv, p. 39,) "has appeared in English ecclesiastical literature—none which combines such breadth of view with such depth of research—such high literary and artistic eminence with such patient and elaborate investigation—such appreciation of the various forms of greatness and goodness with such force of conception and execution—none which exhibits so large an amount of that fearlessness of results which is the necessary condition of impartial judgment and trustworthy statement."

"Dr. Milman," says the North British Review, (Vol. xxii, p. 111,) "has many of the qualities of a great historian, and stands in the foremost rank among modern writers of Church history. In the fundamental point of all, truth of statement, founded on careful research and honest judgment, he has entirely

* *History of Latin Christianity*; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V. By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. In Eight Volumes. Volume I. New York: Sheldon & Company. 1860. 12mo.

satisfied us. In the process of investigation, he is always anxious and patient, and in forming his judgments candid and impartial His study of the times which he describes is complete: no original source seems to have escaped the very wide range of his reading: and the opinions of modern writers, especially those of Germany, have been duly weighed, and where necessary noticed. And to this careful research and honest judgment he adds that poetic liveliness of imagination which makes each man and each period live as they pass before us."

"No writer of our time," says the Edinburgh Review, (Jan. 1858, p. 55,) could delineate the several phases of Christian history with greater brilliancy and animation, or with sounder judgment and more solid learning. The period of the Middle Ages has twice before been surveyed by English historians of no common eminence, but we are guilty of no disparagement to them in asserting that Dr. Milman has completed their work. That element of ecclesiastical power and influence, which was an object of scorn and aversion to Gibbon, and of comparative indifference to Hallam, has now, for the first time, by any English Protestant writer, been restored to its true position as the vital center of mediæval society, civilization, history, and art. The subject of this history is professedly confined to that of Latin Christianity; but as the religious history of man involves in fact his whole history, so that of Latin Christianity is virtually the history of Christianity throughout the world. The essential distinction, however, between the religious developments of the East and West, Dean Milman has seized with happy originality and drawn out with the greatest force and clearness; nor have the fundamental differences of idea, which lay at the root of this diversity, been traced to their source with equal discernment by any preceding writer, or set forth in such masterly relief."

The publishers inform us that their edition is to be a reprint of the last London edition, and is to surpass it in convenience of form, and beauty of typography. They offer it at about one-half the English price.

F. T. JARMAN, Bookseller, is the Agent for New Haven and vicinity. Price per volume: In cloth, \$1.50; in sheep, \$2; in half-calf, gilt, \$2.50; in half-calf, antique, \$2.50. One volume, or the entire set, will be sent by mail at these prices. For eleven dollars, in advance, the entire set of eight volumes will be sent by mail, as the volumes are issued, postage prepaid.

IRVING'S WORKS.—It is intended by the publisher, Mr. George P. Putnam, that the new "national edition," as it is called, of the works of Washington Irving, shall surpass all the many former editions which have at various times appeared. It will undoubtedly be everywhere recognized hereafter as the *standard* edition. We have received Knickerbocker's History of New York; The Sketch-Book; Bracebridge Hall; and The Traveler. In beauty of typography, and in all that

contributes to elegance of appearance, these volumes are certainly unrivaled. They are printed upon tinted paper, and are illustrated with many excellent engravings.

IRVING'S LIFE OF WASHIKGTON.—Mr. George P. Putnam has commenced also the publication of a new edition of Irving's Life of Washington, in five volumes, crown octavo. They are to be in every way uniform with the "national edition," which we have just spoken of. The first two volumes have already appeared. They are illustrated with numerous engravings.

IRVING'S LIFE OF COLUMBUS.—The first volume of this work has come to us just as these last pages are passing through the press. The public are indebted to Mr. Putnam for furnishing, in this volume, several engravings and illustrations, which add much to the value of this new edition. They will be examined with great curiosity, especially by those who are interested in the history of the art of engraving. There is a fine portrait of Columbus, engraved on steel, from a picture in the *Bibliotheque du Roi*, in Paris. There is another portrait of him, engraved on wood, very unlike the first, but probably more reliable as a likeness, which purports to be a fac-simile of a wood-cut in "De Bry's Voyages." The author states that it was copied by his son from a portrait of Columbus which had been taken by order of the King and Queen of Castile, before the great navigator left Spain on his first western expedition. There are, besides, copies of two other curious wood-cuts, found in "De Bry's Voyages." But what will be examined with most interest, is a collection of five strange-looking and grotesque wood-cuts, which are said to be fac-similes of the illustrations which were given in the first authentic document which made known through Europe the discoveries of Columbus. The document referred to is a volume of but nine pages, and is now a great bibliographical curiosity. A copy of it is in the public library of Milan.

SALMAGUNDI.*—Uniform with the "National Edition" of the works of

* *Salmagundi; or the Whimwhams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff, Esq.* By WILLIAM IRVING, JAMES KIRKE PAULDING, and WASHINGTON IRVING. Printed from the original edition, with a preface and notes, by EVERETT A. DUYCKINK. New York: George P. Putnam, 115 Nassau street. 1860. One volume. Crown octavo. Tinted paper. pp. 412. Price \$1.50. [T. H. Pease, New Haven.]

Washington Irving, Mr. George P. Putnam has republished the famous *Salmagundi* Papers, which fifty odd years ago produced "every now and then, and semi-occasionally," a world of sensation at all the "tea tables" of New York. Mr. Putnam has done a very good thing in giving the public this handsome reprint. There are many reasons why *Salmagundi* must ever have a hold upon the American public, and an important place in our national literature. In point of time it was one of the earliest attempts at this peculiar species of writing in the country. Its humorous and genial sketches and satires on men and things, so much in the style of the "Spectator," give us a better insight into New York society, as it was at the beginning of the century, than anything else we have. And if this were not enough, the names alone of the authors, WILLIAM IRVING, JAMES K. PAULDING, and WASHINGTON IRVING, though they were always rather inclined to look upon the Papers as the "trivial sport of their boyish days," would be sufficient to keep the book ever fresh in remembrance.

For those who know what *Salmagundi* is, the announcement of this handsome reprint will be enough to revive many pleasant recollections of years long gone bye. For those who do not, and for the generation now coming upon the stage, we will quote the motto which we remember as always figuring on the covers of the old numbers.

"In hoc est hoax, cum quiz et jokesex,
Et smokem, toastem, roastem folksex,
Fee, Fan, Fum."

Psalmeneser.

With baked and boiled, and stewed and toasted;
And fried and boiled, and smoked and roasted,
We treat the town."

BOOKS RECEIVED, SOME OF WHICH WILL BE NOTICED IN THE NEXT
NUMBER.

A Greek Grammar, for Schools and Colleges. By JAMES HADLEY, Professor in Yale College. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 366.

The Benefits of Christ's Death. Originally written in Italian. By AONIO PALEARIO. Now reprinted from an ancient English translation. With an Introduction by Rev. JOHN AYER, M. A. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. 16mo. pp. 160.

Recent Inquiries in Theology. By eminent English Churchmen.

"Being Essays and Reviews." Reprinted from the second London edition. Edited with an Introduction by the Rev. FREDERICK H. HUNTINGTON, D. D. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 480.

A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History. Edited by William Smith, LL. D. In two volumes. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1860. Vol. I. A.—J. pp. 1176.

Historical Pictures Retouched. A volume of Miscellanies. By Mrs. DALL. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1860. 16mo. pp. 402.

Christ our Life. The Scriptural argument for Immortality through Christ alone. By C. J. HUDSON. 12mo. pp. 160.

The Agamemnon of Æschylus. With notes, and a metrical table. New edition, revised. By C. C. FELTON, LL. D., President of Harvard University. Boston: James Monroe & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 185.

The Gorgias of Plato, chiefly according to Stallbaum's text, with notes, by THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, President of Yale College. New edition, with additions. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 242.

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